

THE INDEX

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EDITORS:

WILLIAM J. POTTER.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

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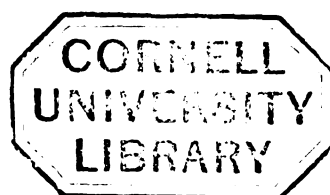


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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Rev. John Jasper's scientific ultimatum that "the sun do move" has been more than matched by the astronomical table formulated by a Welsh curate in a sermon recently delivered to an English congregation. He said: "A starr is but a lidl dot in the skyee. Saw many starrs mek one plannat. Saw many plannats mek a constellshon. Saw many constellshons mek one milkee we. Six milkee wes mek one rorribor-rallias."

We learn from *Knowledge*, an English scientific weekly, of which Prof. R. A. Proctor is editor, that at Alcira, a Spanish town near Valencia where the cholera is at present raging, of the 16,000 inhabitants it contains, 5,432 have been inoculated with the protective choleraic virus. Of those inoculated, 7 only have been attacked with the disease, and all have recovered. Of the 10,500 who have not taken this precaution, 64 have been stricken with cholera, and 30 have died,—a pretty strong argument in favor of the new preventive.

On Sunday, June 21, the Parker Memorial Society by invitation joined the Parker Memorial Science Class on an excursion to Lily's Grove, near Waltham, where they had a very pleasant picnic. Some orthodox people now wonder what the world is coming to, when a religious society can go picnicking on Sunday? The water, woods, and sky are as beautiful and the capacity to enjoy them as great on Sunday as on any other day. The birds do not stop singing, and the flowers do not hide their beauties or withhold their fragrance on that day.

ORSON S. MURRAY, who died June 14 at his residence in Warren County, Ohio, at the age of seventy-nine, was prominent years ago as an anti-slavery agitator and a radical free thinker. He prepared himself for the ministry, and for six years published the *Vermont Telegraph* in the interest of the Baptists. But he soon became an independent liberal thinker; and during fourteen years he edited the *Regenerator*, which was published in New York. Mr. Murray was a man of strong convictions; and his writings were marked by vigor, directness, and an uncompromising spirit.

THE committee appointed to manage the fund for a memorial to the late Mr. Fawcett, the blind Postmaster-General of England, has decided, "in accordance with what are certain to be the wishes of the majority of the subscribers, to establish a university scholarship for a blind person of either sex, and to appropriate the balance of the fund to the higher education of the blind in connection with the Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind at Upper Norwood, in some distinct form with which the name of Mr. Fawcett will be identified." His well-known advocacy of the equal rights of women makes the clause "for a blind person of either sex" exceptionally appropriate.

PERE HYACINTHE has been lecturing in Paris on universal suffrage and the separation of Church and State. He said that the Church and State could be safely separated only after a previous religious reformation. Macaulay said that the way to prepare men for liberty was to give them liberty. The way to inaugurate a religious reformation and to prepare the French people for the separation of Church and State is to dissolve the unholy union; and Pere Hyacinthe with his intelligence, if he were not a priest, would see this. Hyacinthe is a natural orator; and, if his mind had not been perverted by priestly teachings and a priestly office, he might at this time be doing noble work in the cause of intellectual liberty and political reform. But he lacks the genius to escape from the thralldom in which he was born, to rise above ecclesiastical influences, and to become an untrammelled, independent advocate of justice and freedom.

THE *Week* (Toronto) says the opinion that England has been made contemptible in the eyes of continental nations by England's recent foreign policy is not honestly held by any well-informed writers, and that whatever disappointment there is over the matter is among foreign statesmen, who would like to see England humbled, and thought they saw, in a possible war with Russia, an opportunity to strike a rival of whom they are jealous. "The best proof that Mr. Gladstone's policy in this matter was right is to be found in the fact that the verdict of those who speak the mother tongue the world over has been on England's side; and she stands better with them to-day, and enjoys a surer meed of glory than has happened to her on some occasions when Englishmen were more vainglorious. Let foreign journalists and disappointed Tories rave as they may, the British Government, on the Russian incident at any rate, carried with it the conscience of the civilized world."

IN spite of the praise lavished upon Mr. Lowell on his return to his native land, much of which is deserved,—for, as a man of letters, he has abroad conferred honor upon his country,—he can hardly be considered a representative of the most patriotic and democratic spirit and progressive ideas and tendencies of the American people. While Mr. Lowell has been very popular with the heredi-

tary aristocracy and the literary class, the two classes in England that are the least in sympathy with our republican institutions and with general reform, there is nothing to show, as a writer in the *Literary World* observes, "so much as exchanged calls with the men who represent the future and perhaps the speedy future of England,—men like Bright, Dilke, and Chamberlain,"—a fact that contributed perhaps to our ex-minister's unpopularity among Americans in London. This remark may seem rather ungracious; but, if we mistake not, it is demanded in the interest of truth.

THE thoroughly practical and non-sentimental side of the character of the average American citizen of to-day could not be better illustrated than it has been by the lack of enthusiasm shown by the people at large in furnishing the necessary funds for the pedestal for the magnificent, magnanimous, and poetic gift of France to America,—the Bartholdi statue of "Liberty enlightening the World,"—and the cool criticism of its merit as a work of art to which this munificent tribute to Republican ideas has been subjected since its reception. If the French nation had been the recipient instead of the donor of this statue, into what ferment of enthusiastic appreciation would not its reception have worked the public mind? When we remember that, in the supreme struggle for American independence, France was the only European power which offered any help or encouragement to the rebellious and liberty-loving American colonists, it seems most ungrateful and in the worst possible taste to look so splendid "a gift-horse in the mouth," in the fashion so many of our newspaper critics are now doing.

MR. SAVAGE, in a recent sermon, raised the question, "Is Christianity to be a permanent religion?" and said, in reply, that it could not be answered, because he did not "know of six people in all the world, belonging to the different forms and phases of religious life, who agree as to what Christianity really is." Mr. Savage applies to Christianity the "point of view" method of definition and interpretation which Dr. James Freeman Clarke applies to the "Preamble-creed" of the Unitarian Conference. Is there no way to ascertain, definitely, what Christianity really is? Is it not a system the leading doctrines of which can be learned with certainty from sources acknowledged to be authoritative as to its teachings by all Christian sects and by non-Christians, too? What would be thought of a man who, if asked, "Is Mohammedanism to be a permanent form of religious life?" should reply, "The question cannot be answered, because there is a difference of opinion as to what Mohammedanism really is"? In regard to the fundamental and the main distinctive doctrines of their system, the great mass of Christians, Catholic and Protestant, are substantially agreed,—a fact that should not be lost sight of, because many in this age who have outgrown or nearly outgrown belief in Christianity, continue from reverence for the name, or because they belong to sects that still retain it, to call themselves Christians.

THE DANGER IN WORDS.

Naturally there is much less interest manifest in Christendom over the appearance of the revised Old Testament than there was when the revised New Testament appeared, four years ago. In the latter, it was apprehended that Christian systems of theology were more involved. The New Testament is the character of the Christian Church. Any changes, therefore, in its contents were believed to affect matters of the deepest vital concern to Christianity. There will, consequently, be less popular objection to the acceptance of the revised Old Testament than there has been to the acceptance of the New, if acceptance shall be urged; but, probably, there will also be more indifference concerning either its acceptance or rejection. It cannot be said that the revised New Testament has, as yet, been popularly accepted at all. Has a single Christian Church, we wonder, anywhere adopted it for habitual use? Does it take the place of the common version in family reading? Clergymen may use it for reference in their studies. They may sometimes bring it into the pulpit to read from for a special purpose; and, in the quotation of texts, they may refer to the changes it has introduced. But, in Christendom generally, it has not even begun to take the place of the old version. In Liberal Christian churches, where Scriptural texts are not regarded as having supreme authority, and verbal accuracy is deemed of much less account than the moral or religious lesson that is involved, it is, naturally, not considered a matter of very great moment which version lies on the pulpit desk; and, in evangelical churches, the power of old associations has proved stronger than any desire for a correct translation of even what they call the infallible Word of God.

This strength of old associations, this tenacious hold which a certain collocation of words, often repeated, gets upon the human brain, is one of the most powerful obstacles to religious progress. People cling to words to which habit has wonted the ear rather than to the realities of thought. Assuming the Calvinistic theory of the Bible to be true,—namely, that it is a literal message from God to man and absolutely essential to salvation,—or even holding the modern modified theory, that the Bible, though not plenary infallible, is yet an inspired message from heaven in its precept and doctrine,—assuming either of these theories, which would be the logical inference? It would be rationally supposed that people so believing would be eager to have the message in its most correct form. If Almighty Power has spoken to man through a written revelation, then it is certainly of great importance that man should know exactly what that revelation says.

Scholars in theology have always seen this point, and hence immense labor has been bestowed on the text of the Bible for the purpose of ascertaining both what was originally written and the meaning of it. This is a labor beset with great difficulties; and it stands to reason that a version of the Bible prepared under the highest Biblical and lingual scholarship of the present day will be much nearer to being an authentic transcript of what the original message really was than the translation could possibly be which was made by the scholars whom King James called together two and three-quarter centuries ago, eminent as they were for their time, and noble as was the work which they produced as illustrative of the strength and beauty of the English language. Yet the mass of Christian people will prefer the familiar King James' version to the more accurate new ver-

sion; will prefer the words and sounds to which they have been bred, which they learned in their childhood and have been wont to hear at home and in church, rather than any change of words which fidelity to the original message may require. The logic of their doctrine about the Bible would demand that they should be eager to know precisely what God said through the original penmen; but, in fact, the impress of the old words upon their brains is so strong that they actually resist knowing anything back of the King James' translation. Habit, the sentiment of old association, is stronger than their logic.

And here is the evil of the use of ecclesiastical liturgies. Words, because of old associations, become more sacred than ideas. Sound is revered rather than thought. The progressive minds in the Episcopal Church have as yet been able to make little headway in their effort for a change in the liturgical selections of the Prayer-book. There are sentences in the readings that are abhorrent not only to truth, but to all genuine reverence and all true moral feeling; and yet, because of the long familiarity of the people with them in their forms of worship, these sentences are retained. It is much to be regretted that Unitarian churches are adopting to some extent the same faulty readings. It was in a Unitarian church that we heard a congregation solemnly praying in their responsive readings that the Almighty would pour out his "wrath" upon their enemies, and gravely asseverating, "Moab is my washpot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe." What aid to worshipful feeling or to moral impulse can there possibly be in such sentences? Or in these, which stand in the Psalter and are liable to be read wherever in religious services that selection from the Psalms is used in regular order: "The Lord hath said, I will bring my people again, as I did from Basan; . . . that thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and that the tongue of thy dogs may be red through the same"? Or in this prayer: "Let the eyes of my adversaries be blinded, that they see not; and ever bow thou down their backs; let thy wrathful displeasure take hold of them; let them fall from one wickedness to another, and not come into thy righteousness"? Could a more vindictive supplication than this be conceived,—a prayer that one's enemy should not even have a chance for repentance, should not even be permitted to return to righteousness? Yet this petition stands in the Prayer-book of a Christian Church to-day. How does it harmonize with Jesus' precept, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you"?

But, because Christian people have become habituated to reading such sentences as a religious exercise in the Prayer-book and in the Bible, they resist any change. They appear to think that the religion consists in repeating the words without regard to the thought behind them. It must be hoped, indeed, for the credit of human nature that, where words are in themselves so revolting, the mind does become callous to their meaning, and they are recited without any thought of their atrocious significance. Yet what is this but to excuse such utterances by confessing that the worship has become a mere formality of speech, a lip service, without heart and without understanding? And, if this happens where the readings are unedifying and even revolting, may it not also happen where the words are good and their meanings still acceptable to the understanding? That is, must not the stated and formal repetition of the same words in religious services tend to destroy their force as an expression of living thought, at the same time that it indelibly stamps their form upon the brain?

One proviso, however, may be admitted as a partial offset to this danger. Well-selected liturgical readings, kept open to change as advancing thought may require, and the words strong with simple dignity and charged with the meanings to which the pure heart and the sound mind would instinctively respond, might be of great use in impressing right sentiments upon people in a way that would help them in their lives, and especially in impressing such sentiments upon the growing minds of the young.

WM. J. POTTER.

CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE.

The Prayer Machine at Harvard.

The recent clash of arms at Harvard College between young agnosticism and mildewed Christianity is both noteworthy and amusing, and even pitiful in some of its aspects. Reference is had to the petition of a large body of the students to be released from compulsory attendance at prayers, and the adverse report of Chairman A. P. Peabody upon the petition, in behalf of the Board of Overseers. The brief and carefully worded petition takes the manly ground that the custom of compulsory attendance at prayers is a religious test imposed, and is, therefore, a tyrannical encroachment upon civil liberty. The great length of good Dr. Peabody's report is itself a confession of weakness; and the whole tenor of it is so humble, apologetic, almost beseeching, that one's pity would be aroused, were his amusement not so prominent a feeling. The Doctor's little hortatory homily is full of the most edifying unction (to Christians), and the points so deftly made, the whole subject so thoroughly canvassed, every loophole so carefully guarded, that, if one but grants the premises, the argument seems almost impregnable, except in one particular. But this particular, this slip, really invalidates the entire argument. Dr. Peabody admits that "voluntary attendance could not be safely calculated upon even from the students who, under present conditions, most appreciate and enjoy the service." For, he says, in churches where there is a daily service, with no lack of earnest and devout Sunday worshippers, even in the English cathedrals surrounded by the families of ecclesiastics, the attendance is so pitifully small that the service is sustained solely on the theory that it has a sacrificial efficacy apart from any benefit that can accrue to those present.

Now, the question is how to reconcile this true and damaging admission with the assertions in another portion of the report: that to "many" of the students daily prayers are "welcome and edifying," and that "the manifest solemnity and heartiness with which a large number take part in the singing and in the responsive reading indicate the reverse of carelessness and indifference; and the air of close attention, and the expression of earnest interest in many countenances during the reading of Scripture, show that the words of prophet, apostle, and Saviour are heard with the inward no less than with the outward ear."

Daily attendance "could not be safely calculated upon," and yet the "welcome and edifying" rite is engaged in by "a large number" with "solemnity and heartiness" and "earnest interest"! Such logic as this is not merely limping: it has no legs at all.

But, of course, we do not admit the first premises upon which the whole argument is based,—that a Christian rite of prayer and Scripture reading is not a sectarian rite, and therefore not a religious test. The Christian metaphysics, Dr. Peabody virtually says, should hold "the supreme place in education." Think of that! He contrives—very cunningly, although innocently and unconsciously

—so to mingle the words *moral* and *religious* as to convey the idea that the childish metaphysics of the Bible and the moral order of society are one and inseparable. And so it has always been with the theologians of every religion. They fight harder for their metaphysical dreams than for anything else on earth. The Canadian Jesuits of the seventeenth century were willing to be torn limb from limb by the greasy red aborigines, provided they could (by fair means or foul) get a drop of water on the forehead of a single one of the fiendish wretches, and thereby insure his instant admission to heaven. As Father Pijart was slyly baptizing an Indian infant under the pretence of giving it moistened sugar, the little sister of the baby cried out, "Father, he is baptizing him!" "Do you not see," said Pijart, "that I am only giving him sugar?"* I do not charge any Harvard professor with Jesuitism, of course, but only with something distantly approaching it.

The prayer-service, Dr. Peabody says, is "at the least harmless and unobjectionable"; "no reasonable objection can be made to it," etc. And he so works himself up with a kind of ostrich-head enthusiasm as to believe that there is no objection to it, except in the minds of a few lazy ones who want to sleep late, and go to a late breakfast. Infatuated doctor! How far you are from the truth! The writer had nine years' experience of academic and university life at Miami, Yale, and Harvard, and he never met with a single student—however sincerely religious he might have been—who did not admit that he was bored by daily prayers. To cut prayers is the object of every student's life. To succeed in doing so puts him in good humor for two or three days. And rightly. For young men and women naturally love honesty, and hate hypocrisy. Therefore, they despise the nauseous hypocrisy of a compulsory prayer-service. We learn from Dr. Peabody that the daily grind at Harvard consists of the "responsive reading of a psalm, a lesson from Scripture, two hymns and a prayer, with the simultaneous repetition of the Lord's Prayer,"—all got through with in "from ten to fourteen minutes"! That is, about two minutes each to the six separate parts of the services, the whole service evidently as perfunctory as the telling of beads or reading from a breviary.

One can hardly retain his respect for the colleges in view of this prayer outrage. And yet I, for one, would be the last to move for its abolition. For so odious is it that I believe it is one of the most powerful engines in the country for the downfall of the pestiferous Christian metaphysics. And with the dissolution of the theology, we may hope, will disappear likewise certain erroneous and unmanly Orientalisms of the Christian ethics,—such as the glorification of poverty, for example.

What Harvard should have is a daily un compulsory service in practical ethics,—a bright, honest little talk from each of the professors in turn, or from volunteers out of the Senior Class, giving a bit of practical experience or knowledge that will help the boys through the day, and build up their moral characters for life. The miserable prayer-fetich usurps the precious time and opportunity for such a talk as this. And the result is, and has been for twenty-five years, Harvard's reputation for unmoralness, lack of moral enthusiasm, a *blase*, *nil admirari* intellectuality. One of the finest colleges in America, the University of Virginia, founded by Thomas Jefferson, has never had daily religious services, conducted by the college officials; and yet it is abreast of Harvard in Greek and Latin scholarship, has as fine a list of graduates as any college in the land, and is pervaded

by religious and moral enthusiasm. Were President Eliot quietly to change the character of the service at Harvard, making it a helpful and really popular meeting such as I have described he would do more for the moral education of New England than any other man in the country, and would be lauded by the youth of posterity as the best president in the college annals.

I had intended, but have not space, to allude to one of the straws at which Dr. Peabody catches in his report; namely, the college motto, *Christo et Ecclesiae*. This reference of his is certainly amusing to one who knows the spirit of Harvard. I am sure every one who knows anything of Harvard will bear me out, when I say that, if there are any two objects of thought in the whole universe which are conspicuous by their absence from the minds of students and professors, they are Christ and the Church. If you were privately to accuse any live, young professor with giving the whole bent of his thought and the entire energy of his life *Christo et Ecclesiae*, he would take it as an affront. Verily, Time's wallet is full of absurdities!

W. S. K.

CHRISTIANITY AND LEGISLATION.

II.

Before civilization could emerge again, a more vigorous race with sounder ways of living had to come forward.

Before speaking of feudalism, however, a word should be said of the effect of Christianity upon that strange outbreak of Arabian fanaticism which remodelled the Eastern world, and came so near to conquering Europe. The influence of Christianity on Mohammedanism is well known. The main doctrines of prayer, almsgiving, temperance, absence of caste, submission to rulers, protection of the lowly, and proselyting by the sword, were to be found in both religions; and, in both, the key-note was the belief in salvation by faith, for an immortal future. In the absence of a pure ideal, the sensual side of Islam triumphed; but apart from this there was not the first step taken toward a legal system. The judicial function was never separated from the religious, precedents were not followed. In short, there was not the most elementary conception of law. Their military organization had, however, an effect in suggesting to the followers of the rival faith the mode in which the cross and the sword could be used together in the legal organization of a conquered land. And here one very important event occurred, which is fairly to be credited to Christianity; and that is the change of slavery into serfdom, which paved the way for feudalism. The organization of the Church was aristocratic, but it was not an aristocracy of blood. The lowest born might, and sometimes did, rise to her highest offices; and her influence was thrown strongly for the white slave at a time when he had no other advocate. When half a dozen centuries had rolled by, and the colored man needed the same protection, he did not find it; but her course in the dark ages is none the less to her credit. Other than this very important point there was not a great deal that could be called Christian legislation then. The limitation of blood feuds by substituting money payments for revenge was a change which occurred everywhere in non-Christian as well as Christian countries where wealth began to accumulate and society to crystallize. The main assistance which the Church gave to the process was through the protection afforded to the criminal who fled to her sanctuaries, and by her festivals of the Peace of God, in which fighting was forbidden, and by certain forms of religious trial in

which the accused might clear himself by taking an oath called compurgation, or by undergoing an ordeal by fire or water or the holy eucharist. Each of these had some effect for a time; but they were soon outgrown, and then became grievous burdens. Their application was pretty extensive; for the Church claimed jurisdiction of most of the minor crimes and all proceedings against ecclesiastics, and they often appear in important proceedings by the side of the more feudal ordeal of battle.

The feudal law was not constructed on what would have seemed to any other age a Christian model, and yet it was then so to a great extent. It was a law of conquest, military through and through, with an aristocracy who had all the power and a servile class who did all the work. Every free man was a soldier with an established place in the national army. Loyalty and bravery were its prime and almost its only virtues. The common rights in land of the early Teutons were extinguished by it, and of brotherhood in Christ it would be hard to find a trace. The stranger was a deadly foe everywhere; and the proverb, "One night a guest, three nights a servant," was a colloquial description of the *droit d'aubaine*, by which the stranger who stayed more than a short time in a place became the serf of the lord of the manor. The administration of justice, being generally left to the local noble, was doubtful in the extreme. Wherever a feudal castle sprang up, robbery and violence became irrepressible. One very important thing is to be credited to the Church, and that is the tightening of the marriage tie; but the position of woman was very low. The feudal law is the only known system by which women were disposed of in marriage by persons not related to them; and the brutal custom known as *droit de seigneur*, or *jus primae noctis*, flourished under it. It is all very well to sing the romantic praises of chivalry; but, when we leave its romances for its laws, we find brutality everywhere. The Church had great power, it is true; but society had feudalized the Church instead of the Church Christianizing society. The Church took her lands on military tenure, and established her military orders. She grew so powerful that she owned the soil of half of Europe, and her knights were the most powerful army of the age. "All the valor and all the chivalry of Christendom followed the banner of the Church in any field and against any foe."

As the civil courts grew too lenient, she organized that great criminal court of her own, the Inquisition. Her legal practice was vicious; for the trials were secret, and torture was employed freely. The presumption of innocence was ignored; and the accused could be put to the torture at once, without proof of guilt. Still more demoralizing were the proceedings against guilty ecclesiastics, which were hushed up as speedily as possible. No other court ever had such tremendous power or made such frightful use of it. And the end of it all was that the knightly orders of the Church were disbanded, her lands were taken from her, and her court suppressed. No State in Europe adopted her canon law, which, indeed, when taken with the comments of the casuists, was one of the most injurious codes ever compiled.

It is unnecessary to do more than allude to the long struggle over wills, trusts, written titles, the statute of mortmain, etc., in which the Church did her best to acquire land, and the aristocracy did its best to prevent her; but the traces remain like glacial scratches on the bed-rock of our laws. And it is not to be forgotten that a new mortmain law, or a law to change the administration of religious trusts, is pretty sure to come under our

* Parkman's *Jesuits in North America*, p. 97.

own consideration, if the wealth of churches continues to increase in this country as it is doing now.

Summing up the influence of Christianity upon the feudal law, it must be allowed to have been enormous. There was scarcely anything that the Church did not claim the right to supervise. But the law was essentially a law of conquest to the very last. As to its crying evil, the absence of any civil control over the great nobles and their vassals, the Church had nothing to say. The thing that arrested feudalism and opened the way to better legislation was the growth of an industrious commercial middle class. The progress of this class has been the progress of modern civilization, but it was by no means favored by the Church; for it was an independent business class that soon turned its attention to the reform both of feudal law and church government.

HENRY W. HOLLAND.

LIFE AND DEATH.

IV.

All motion is properly held to take place in space and time. Space has three dimensions, and in it motion may eventuate in an infinite number of directions. Time having but linear extension, as a consequence of this limitation, admits of motion in only two directions, exactly opposed to each other, forward and backward.

The fact that the philosophic conception of time presents the possibility of motion taking place not only in one, but in two directions,—backward from the future toward the past as well as forward from the past toward the future,—appears, so far as my own personal knowledge goes, to have been hitherto unaccountably overlooked by physicists. As a consequence of this oversight, only those modes of the unknown antecedents of motion which induce its flow from the past toward the future have been recognized by scientists as forces of nature. The existence of other modes of this unknown, inducing the flow of motive currents in the opposite direction, from the future toward the past, has until now been apparently ignored, or, possibly, its assertion frowned or laughed down by the arrogant priesthood of orthodox science.

It is for these reasons, and also because some antithetical distinction of language must be made in the designation of these two sets of forces, that I believe the retention of the present restricted meaning of the term "natural forces" advisable. And as the modes of the unknown which induce the flow of motive currents from the future toward the past are identifiable with the ideals, objects of desire, and purposes which form part of the religious and moral (ethical) life of impulsive and willing sentient beings, the term "ethical forces" seems for these modes perfectly correct and appropriate. Whether the laws by which the two groups of forces and motions are swayed will be found to be distinct or identical is a question demanding close and deep investigation. That the ethical modes of force and motion are governed by a set of laws as immutable as those of the mechanics of nature, and admitting of the building of the logical temple of a mechanics of morality (etho-mechanics) as firmly founded as that of mathematics, and never to be questioned by reason, is one of my deepest and most secure convictions.

The philosophic eye of science peers back, back, into the dim shadowy perspective of the past, searching the depths of nature for antecedents and causes of the real, tangible, actual events of the present.

The prophetic glance of ethics looks forward

into the gray dawn of the future, scanning its brightening heights for the objects of the real, tangible, actual present's purposes and desires.

The real, tangible, actual events and purposes of the present,—so men have thought and spoken before this day! But what is this present? Where, in eternity, is its beginning and its end?

A million years ago is in the past; one year or month ago is there also; so is the hour which has just fled, and the minute which has last taken wing!

The forms of the future are not yet born,—not those of a thousand years hence, nor those of tomorrow, nor even those of the second now hovering o'er us, awaiting to alight!

The present has no extent in time. An infinite diaphragm moving through eternity: what it simultaneously touches, that comes bounding out of the future into co-existence; what it together releases, that together sinks back lost in the deep, deep, the unfathomably deep abyss of the past!

But, though this present appears not to exist, yet it is only in its moving plane that we are conscious of our being. The countless memories of the past are but images reflected from its mirror. All our hopes and anticipations of the future likewise are but pictures painted upon its glassy surface.

Here, in this present, is the field of battle where the powers of the past and those of the future meet and contend for the mastery. The latter's triumph is the victory of life, the success of the former its funeral knell.

And now we close, formulating our conception of the law of the origin of life and death in the struggle for supremacy between natural and ethical forces.

Life and death, and their vicissitudes, are the resultants of the conflict, play, and composition of forces acting in twofold direction in time:—

1. *From the future toward the past (ethical, morpho-impulsive, or morphocratic forces), cognizable by their reflection in the conscious present as desire, purpose, will, or impulse.*

2. *From the past toward the future (natural or morpho-compulsive forces), cognizable by their reflection in the conscious present as logical or emotional cognition.*

And

1. *Whenever, at any point in space and moment in time, the algebraic sum (net dynamic value) of the ethical forces exceeds the algebraic sum (net dynamic value) of the natural forces then and there acting, a process of liberation, birth, and life (biotic evolution) must result.*

2. *Whenever, at any point in space and moment in time, the algebraic sum (net dynamic value) of the natural forces exceeds the algebraic sum (net dynamic value) of the ethical forces then and there acting, a process of enslavement, death, and decay (biotic involution) must result.*

In the course of the elaboration of these essays, I have become at every step more and more aware of their crudities of thought and imperfections of presentation. And, undoubtedly, I might have laid the subject by until such time when the currents of my mind, freed of their last turbidity, should spread a placid lake mirroring the undistorted truth. But, while hesitating, I recalled the fact that, after all, the stepping-stones of the world's progress are not those of unquestioned truth, but rather those of mistake and correction; and that often the merest suggestion of a new idea, however crude its form, thrown into the waters of the mental world, may carry with it that accelerative effect of force, so much to be desired in human affairs.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. FROEBEL'S essay on "Life and Death," the publication of the last part of which has been long deferred, is concluded this week.

MONCURE D. CONWAY, on June 23d gave an address before the graduating class of the alumni of Lafayette College (Presbyterian) at Easton, Pa., on "Carlyle and Emerson." Mr. Conway is willing to make engagements for lectures and may be addressed care of Eustace Conway, 18 Exchange Place, New York.

REFERRING to Mr. Beecher in connection with his lectures on "Evolution," the *Christian Register* remarks, "Instead of meriting reproach for such a radical step, he ought to be commended by his orthodox brethren for his caution in waiting until the subject had been so thoroughly discussed in print and in liberal pulpits that even his exhaustless originality must be severely taxed to say anything new upon it."

HELEN M. GOUGAR, of Lafayette, Ind., has published a card, which reads as follows:—

To the Public.—Inasmuch as John G. Williams, editor of the *Lafayette Sunday Times*, has published a full retraction of all charges made against me and my home, and has also given the assurance to proper parties that I shall not henceforth be referred to directly or indirectly in his paper, provided I will recall my offer of \$100 to any person who might publicly whip him, I do hereby recall my offer, so long as his assurance is made good.

THE *Presbyterian*, with its usual breadth of thought and magnanimity, thus concludes a paragraph in regard to the misunderstanding between Spencer and Harrison about the publication by the Appletons of a volume containing their controversial articles, which appeared originally in the *Nineteenth Century*:—

What will be the outcome of the dispute we cannot tell, but it looks as if the world might obtain some new "data" for agnostic "ethics."

REFERRING to Gladstone's request that he be permitted to decline the honor of an earldom, the *Boston Advertiser* sensibly remarks: "By this renunciation, which is not for himself alone, but for his posterity, who would by his acceptance obtain all the advantages of exalted rank, he marks more conspicuously the differences between the quality of his character and ambition and that of his great rival, Disraeli. By his declination of a patent of nobility, he has cheapened the worth of that reward of political service forever."

THE following in regard to Henry C. Wright we find in an exchange: "He was a moderate speaker, but solid, and drove his arguments with a sledge-hammer. He told us once, when listening to a discourse delivered by Stephen S. Foster in the church, Mr. Foster said something that caused him to laugh aloud. The speaker stopped, and, looking down at Mr. Wright, said: 'Henry, why do you laugh? Jesus never laughed.' 'Well,' said Mr. Wright, in his moderate way, 'he would have been a better man if he had.'"

THEODORE STANTON writes from Paris to the *Inter-Ocean*: "It is a well-known fact that Victor Hugo advocated women's suffrage, and his great liberality of mind made him the friend of all demands for the amelioration of the condition of the female sex. It was not surprising, therefore, to see hundreds of women in line last Monday. Nor were these female mourners limited to natives of this country. Poland, Bohemia, and Italy, as well as France, were touchingly represented by women and young girls bearing flowers to Victor Hugo's grave."

HENRY B. STANTON, in *Random Recollections*, says that Dr. Beman, of Troy, a leader of the New School of Presbyterians, used to repeat the following with gusto:—

"In Adam's fall,
We sinned all.
In Cain's murder,
We sinned furdur.
By Dr. Green
Our sin is seen."

The allusion is to Dr. Ashbel Green, who was president of Princeton College, and of the Old School Presbyterians.

SAYS the *Congregationalist*: "It is stated, on good authority, that, so far as can be remembered, no young man born and bred in a Congregational church in Hartford within the last fourteen years has become a minister. This is a sad showing; but, before throwing stones at Hartford, it will be well to inquire carefully whether there are not various other places of which the statement would be equally true. Most of our ministers usually have come from the country, but, for twenty years past, we think the proportion from the cities has been growing less; and the fact deserves the most thoughtful and serious consideration."

In the *Banner of Light*, we find the following mention of Mr. W. E. Coleman, who has been for several years a frequent contributor to the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* and the author of articles which have appeared occasionally in *The Index*:—

At the late meeting of the American Oriental Society in Boston, May 6th last, on motion of Prof. C. R. Lanman, Sanskritist of Harvard University, Mr. William Emmette Coleman, a well-known Spiritualist and *littérateur* of San Francisco, Cal., was elected a corporate member of said society. Mr. Coleman has also been recently chosen a member of the Páli Text Society, which is composed of the principal Buddhist scholars of the various countries of the world, and was founded in 1882 for the publication of correct texts of the Buddhist sacred writings, with translations, etc. A large portion of the Tripitaka, or Buddhist Bible, has never been published in the original Páli; and but a small portion has yet been translated into English or other European languages.

An editorial paragraph in *Unity*, signed "S.," commends to Mr. Abbot and others who remain "outside of the National Unitarian Conference because that body in its constitution recognizes, in some sense, 'the Lordship' of Jesus Christ, the following passage from the late book of that radical scientist, Prof. John Fiske, the book on the *Destiny of Man*":—

The future is lighted for us with the radiant colors of hope. The dream of poets, the lesson of priest and prophet, the inspiration of the great musician, is confirmed in the light of modern knowledge; and, as we gird ourselves up for the work of life, we may look forward to the time when, in the truest sense, the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever, king of kings and lord of lords.

If a full consideration of the above passage shall fail to make Mr. Abbot and others who declare that their position is antichristian decide to return to the National Unitarian Conference, they must, indeed, be incorrigible.

A WRITER in the *Providence Journal* says of Theodore Parker: "No man, not even Garrison or Phillips, had more intensely bitter enemies than he. There is no use in disguising the fact, this late day, that, as a whole, what were called the 'better classes' in Boston were opposed to him, and that they especially deprecated the bold stand he took against slavery and against the churches, which, in his judgment, were altogether too timid and time-serving and afraid to lift up their voices in rebuke of a system which, in his eyes, was the sum of all abominations and villanies. Writing to a friend, after having ground out one of his largest grists in the form of a sermon preached in

his Music Hall 'mill' on Fast Day, the subject of his discourse being 'The Chief Sins of the People,' he says: 'Men in the streets look long favored at me as I go by. Nevertheless, the good God lets the skies rain on me and the sun shine (I saw my shadow to-day), and I am allowed to ride in the cars and walk on the sidewalk.'"

THE New York *Tribune* says that whether Judge Stallo will be "particularly welcome at the Vatican, as well-nigh the most conspicuous free thinker in this country, is not, perhaps, a matter about which President Cleveland thought fit to ask himself." As Judge Stallo is accredited to the court of Humbert, King of Italy, and not to the Vatican, why should the President have concerned himself about his religious views? Says the *Cincinnati Graphic*, Judge Stallo "is well known as a prominent attorney, an able jurist, and a scholarly gentleman. He is a representative German, and his appointment will be particularly gratifying to those of his race everywhere. While Cincinnati regrets to lose Judge Stallo even temporarily as a resident, the city rejoices at the honor conferred upon him, and congratulates the country upon the ability and character of its new representative at the Italian Court."

THE *Independent* says: "As usual, the unbelievers have made haste to claim Victor Hugo. The wish was father to the thought, though it is evident he was out of all sympathy with the churches, and quite as far from their theology." He believed, it is affirmed, in God and immortality, and honored Jesus. "His ethical position as a man and an author was unmistakably Christian." The *Independent* says that the venerable Archbishop of Paris "was certainly in a position to know what he was doing" when he offered Victor Hugo the consolation and the *viaticum* of the Church. And the following is quoted from a memorandum the poet wrote Aug. 2, 1883: "I give fifty thousand francs to the poor. I wish to be carried to the cemetery in their hearse. I refuse the prayers (*oraisons*) of all churches. I ask for a prayer (*prière*) from all souls. I believe in God." "His great work," says the *Independent*, "*Les Misérables*, is Christian in its primary intention; and we repeat, with Dr. Pressensé, that 'we shall forever bless the memory of Victor Hugo for the manner in which he reproduces the drama of a good conscience in the admirable chapter entitled 'Une Tempête sous un Crâne.''" Yet the fact remains that Victor Hugo was an "unbeliever" in the sense in which that word has been, and still is, commonly applied to those who reject the distinctively Christian doctrines. He did not believe in the miraculous birth or superhuman character of Jesus, nor did he regard him as a Saviour in any theological sense. He did not believe in Christianity as a divinely revealed system, or as a system having any other than a natural origin and growth. He did not believe that the Bible was written by divine inspiration, or that its miraculous narratives are true, or that it possesses any authoritative character as to religion and morals. He was an unbeliever in the sense in which they are unbelievers, and so called by the Christian clergy and press, who reject Christianity as a revealed religion, and according to the current use of the word. The fact that Victor Hugo was an illustrious man whose praise is on millions of lips does not change the fact, though it may explain the attempt of the *Independent*, by special pleading, to conceal or obscure the fact. One peculiarity of *quasi-Christian* papers is the flexibility of their definitions, which enables them to say that a man is a believer or an unbeliever as may suit their purpose, without much regard to his real religious convictions.

For *The Index*.

HOMER'S ANTHROPOMORPHISM.

All things were, in world of Homer,
Conscious, purposive, like man:
Notion of insentient nature
In a later age began.
Blue sky was a giant godhead
With ambrosial, beamy hair:
Earth, all-bearing, flower-tressed mother,
Lay beneath him green and fair.
Ocean was a hoary father,
With his blue arms stretching wide
To receive the streams and rivers,
As they to his bosom glide.
'Neath the rough bark of the forests
Lovely Dryads darkling dwelt;
Oft for mortal youths emotions
Sweet of love and longing felt.
Pouted coral lips of Nalads
Up through fountains and through streams;
Oreads swift through glade and forest
Flitting seemed the lunar beams.
Striding o'er the mount in ridges,
Quivered maid and huntress bright,
Roamed the Moon, with silver arrows
Putting stags and boars to flight.
Winds and beams and swaying branches
And the cascade's fitful sound
Mythic fancy deemed the noise of
Shouting nymph and baying hound.
O'er the urns of famous rivers
Manlike figures pensive hung
Far aloof in mountain caverns,
While to light their waters sprung.
Had each lonely isle of ocean
Genius loci, damsel fair
Spell-bound mortal voyagers keeping,
Whom the wild waves landed there.
In the morning-red dwelt Eös,
Who the dewy dawnlight gave;
'Mid a cloud of roses drove she
From the ocean's orient wave:
Phosphor sparkled bright before her,
While the wind of morning blew;
Turned to pearls on flower and grass-blade
At her coming midnight's dew.
Nought of our insentient forces
Primitive poet, Homer, knew,—
Saw he *will* behind each movement
Which his eager vision drew,
Knew he not the earth which bore him
Was a flying ship of space,
Tender of a mighty orb, which kindled
Air to brightness with its rays.
He in terms of will and feeling
Sang of all things which he saw;
Countless gods beheld he, swaying
Earth and man by whim, not law;
Fair humanities enthroned he
Over mountains, vales, and streams;
Skyey archer's golden arrows
Deemed he roseate morning's beams.
Dewdrops as of dawn eternal
On the myths of Homer lie:
Back from age of science, reason,
To his fable-world we fly;
In his beauteous dreams, illusions
Bathe as in some fount of youth;
Gladly barter for their freshness
All the trophies won by truth.
But to Homer, too, did conscience
Teach the lore of right and wrong,
Dictates of the higher reason
Dominate his epic song:
E'en his gods, like men, a higher
Power than their own wills did own,
Not in terms of mortal nature
To be imaged or made known.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

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

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

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A MINISTER'S PARTING CHARGE.

Given at South Place, London, May 17.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

(Revised for THE INDEX by the author.)

In this our day, the religious interest of the world has become very complex; and the position of the unorthodox is environed with difficulties unknown to the forerunners of free thought. The old free thinkers, such as Voltaire and Paine, had a harder task perhaps than the free thinkers of our time; but it was a much simpler one, and mainly for this reason: they had to deal with a bald, dogmatic literalism and a brutally candid intolerance. They could have no hesitation whatever in meeting the dogmas with flat denial, the intolerance with plain affirmation of the rights of thought and conscience. There were no Broad Churches in those days. No Christians ventured to take their side against oppression, none apparently regarded as sceptic as having rights, the dogmas of none seemed softened by sympathy for humanity outside the fold of believers. The persecuted heretics could have no misgivings in dealing with their persecutors: they knew these were in the wrong. They could have no fear of bruising the tender piety of men who had them by the throat. But how is it now? It is plain those free thinkers won a victory they never lived to enjoy: the bald dogmas they denied are nearly obsolete, the intolerance they resisted is repudiated by the majority of Christians. But it is more difficult to administer a victory than to win it, and especially, as in this case, where the victory is especially advantageous to the vanquished. Now that bigotry has become vulgar and dogmas are re-edited to suit new conditions, Christians have become communicants in the household of humanity. They have eaten the bread of common sense, and drunk the wine of a moral passion, so that a free thinker must beware, lest in exposing a

superstition, he smite a brother. Ostensibly, the superstition goes on, the dogma, become mystical bread to the new Christian, remains a stone as offered to mankind, is represented in statutes still unjust and institutions not yet humanized. But there is a new light shining on these, so that they are turning to what the late Dean of Westminster used to call "innocent archaisms." Lately, I sat through evensong in the chapel of Peterhouse, at Cambridge, a college six centuries old. Ere service began, I looked at the great stained windows. There, Abraham, with knife uplifted over his son, seemed to say, "Behold, these scholars still believe in a deity demanding human sacrifices, and whose religion rests on sacrifice of his own son." And there was Moses with horns of light on his head, who said, "Behold, these learned men still believe in a deity who got tired after six days' work, and rested, and forbade mankind work or pleasure on that day." And John, preaching in the wilderness, said, "Behold, in this university which produced a Newton and a Darwin, my baptismal exorcism still goes on." Then I closed my eyes, and listened to the singing of prayers, creed, hymns,—piteous supplications that bore one back to distant age, when priests and peasants, surrounded by battle, murder, and sudden death, moved in procession through their villages, uttering plaintive cries to appease the wrath of God,—cries now cooled and toned to the formal liturgy, and set in scientific harmonies. Then, opening my eyes, I found the darkness had disappeared. All around the ancient chapel were blazing electric lights. They revealed a number of boys and men whose happy faces and euphonic looks did away with any distress that might have been caused by their piteous pleadings to be spared. The electric lights illumined the stained windows; and Abraham, Moses, and the rest faded into picturesque shades of distant lands and ages. The apostles' creed being sung, with organ accompaniment, did not sound so very incredible. One may sometimes hear a merry maid sing a sorrowful ditty at the piano, without supposing she is torn with anguish. The juxtaposition of electric lights with mediæval prayers, science of to-day summoned to illumine superstitions of antiquity, typifies fairly the kind of age we are in. Evensong being over, we may converse with these university gentlemen, and find them generally living amid the electric lights of their century, rejoicing in its science, literature, and art, with mainly an æsthetic or antiquarian interest in the symbols of past beliefs, which weave an antique frame round the beautiful scene of their culture.

From the university there goes forth a new kind of faith,—a Christianity modified by electric light. In that intense light, things past are revealed as past. It is bringing that "lucidity" for which Matthew Arnold pleads. This was impressively shown at the annual meeting of the Christian Evidence Society, last Wednesday. That Society used to hurl about its attacks, virulent as its logic was bad,—which is saying much; and some of you may remember how that just man, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, had to repudiate its misrepresentations of a printed work of mine. But the electric light has been discovered since then, and other changes have gone on. The Christian Evidence Society last week had to deplore a diminished income,—only twenty-three pounds in hand; but it can be congratulated on an increase of good sense. The Archbishop of Canterbury opened with a candid address, in which he said it was a scientific society. Its business is to show that there is genuine evidence for Christianity. To produce such evidence was no easy task. It was neces-

sary to follow the ins and outs of their adversaries' view. They all knew that what infidels chiefly attack is not Christianity at all. What they ridicule is what no man in the Evidence Society believed. And, on the other hand, he would caution the Society against caricaturing the opinions they oppose. They have no more right to caricature Evolution than evolutionists have to caricature Christianity. He wanted the Society's lecturers to go to the British Museum, and study the matters they undertake to talk about. They must understand what is *not* evidence, and not think any stone good enough to throw at an unbeliever. If they threw a stone into what they considered darkness, they may hit a man in the dark. If Christians had only used fair arguments, Christianity would have been saved many and vast troubles. In conclusion, the Archbishop expressed his satisfaction in learning that Dr. Temple's Bampton Lectures are to be used as a text-book by the Society. That is remarkable. Dr. Temple accepts the doctrine of Evolution. And so we have got so far as an evolutionist Archbishop of Canterbury! For the rest, amiable as the Archbishop's tone was, there was some mental confusion at one point. He said that what infidels ridicule and attack is not Christianity at all, but its caricature, which all repudiate. According to that, Christians have but seeming opponents: they and the so-called infidels repudiate the same thing. Why, then, call them infidels? Why found a society to oppose them, if they reject only what Christians equally reject? The society needed is one to inform people what Christian doctrines really are, but that is a society that will never exist. For one reason, because there are more than a hundred antagonistic sectarian views of Christian doctrine in the country; for another, because no man is prepared to defend Christian dogmas before a competent antagonist. It has been long since the dogmas of Christianity have been defended at all by any except its retained attorneys. A friend lately asked me to name a modern book in favor of Christian dogmas written by an impartial critic,—one not in any pulpit,—and I was unable to remember one. But even the pulpit council have ceased to defend the dogmas declared essential in the creeds. You ask them about total depravity, and Jehovah's curse on the whole human race, dooming it to endless fiery tortures because of the apple eaten by Adam. They answer by talking of the poetry of the Bible. You ask them about Jehovah's exaction of a blood ransom, the sacrifice of the most innocent of men, before he could allow any being to escape hell. They answer by asserting the civilizing influence of Christianity. You ask them about Jehovah's wrath, and his determination that all except orthodox Christian believers shall perish everlastingly, and they go off into arguments for the existence of a deity, or for a future life. I have never been able to find defenders of the faith who would actually defend the faith, and these many years have concluded that it is not polite to bring them to bay. The old dogmas are practically surrendered.

There were other interesting features of the Evidence Society. The Dean of Windsor said that, though there are more infidels than ever, there are also more church-goers than ever; but he failed to state that this is not because heretics have come round to the Church, but because the Church has come round to the heretics. It is possible now for a rationalist to enjoy the social advantages of the Church, and yet listen to sermons therein not very different from his own views. The same Dean, and other speakers also, testified to the improved tone of their opponents.

Free thinkers, they said, are now more reverent, courteous, and charitable. It was gratifying to hear this testimony from the clergy. Free thinkers, as is well known, have so long been in the habit of breaking their Christian opponents on the wheel, burning them at the stake, and thrusting those who ridiculed them into Holloway Gaol, that it is satisfactory to learn of their gentler frame of mind from the representatives of charity and toleration. Then Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., made a notable speech, in which he admitted that all the objections to Christianity could not be met in the scientific way. Exact science trains minds to demand absolute proof, and Christianity is not susceptible to that kind of proof. So I understood the only layman who spoke. He proceeded to say that the unanswerable arguments for Christianity are holy lives. There I agree with him. I hope there are no infidels that would not be glad to support a Christianity which produced holy lives. Let it produce a generation of believers inflexibly just to all men, whether pagans or atheist, gentle to all; let it abolish its laws which make independence of thought criminal, and impose an oppressive Sabbath on the poor; let it produce a Church in which genius can find freedom in place of that whose pulpit the greatest souls of our time had to leave after being trained for it,—Darwin, Carlyle, Emerson, Renan; let us see the holy lives, the humane lives, the single-hearted devotion to truth which does not aim to have truth on its side, but to be on the side of truth,—a love that embraces mankind irrespective of color, caste, or creed,—and there will be no more infidelity. For it would be impossible that such a generation should worship a deity wrathful, jealous, and vindictive; impossible that it should diffuse false and mean ideas of God; impossible that it should subordinate morality and charity to the metaphysics of antiquity, or devote to idle ceremonies before an idle majesty in the heavens wealth and energy that might renovate the earth and relieve the sufferings of mankind.

That there are many Christians so called, who do high service to mankind, is true. In this, they cooperate with thinkers and philanthropists who are not believers in Christianity; and, as the old sectarian divisions are more and more submerged under the flowing tide of humanity, it becomes increasingly difficult to discover the meaning or utility of a system of dogmas unrelated to the thought or work of the present time. There is too much reason to suspect that the system is maintained for its advantages to a class,—advantages of a sordid kind. If the Archbishop of Canterbury's candor had gone a little farther, he might have exhibited to the Evidence Society the cross presented to him the other day,—a cross surrounded by the evangelists and apostles in silver, a coronet above with figures of ancient bishops, the whole glittering with sapphires, pearls, and diamonds. "Brethren," he might have said, "behold the evidence of Christianity!"

It is said that St. Thomas Aquinas once visited a grand cathedral, and was shown its vast treasures. The sacristan said to him, "The Church can no longer say, Silver and gold have I none." "No," answered Aquinas, "and it can no longer say, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk." We can hardly anticipate the decline of any system which is able to decorate its master's gallows with diamonds, whose symbol of salvation is hid under plenteousness of pearls; but we may feel assured that inside that system there is a heart not to be satisfied by the richest relics of a vanished spirit and power. It will search and sweep diligently for the pearl that is lost, the pure faith that to-day

as of old can say to prostrate man, "Arise," and when it is found will rejoice over that more than all these treasures of an ecclesiastism which daringly consecrates itself with the name of one who, being rich, for man's sake became poor.

Seated among those eminent champions of the ancient faith, noting their lowered tone toward ideas they used to denounce, observing their shyness of alluding to dogmas once forced on Europe with sword and stake, I saw one moving among them whom they did not recognize, but whose presence they felt. It was the Lord of those servants come back to reckon with them. Long ago, he had distributed his possessions among them as a trust, and gone into a far country,—had been lost amid the ages,—but at length he has returned. The world is beginning to understand him, to realize him, and before all mankind his professed servants are called to give an account of their trust. At first, they scoffed him, called him an infidel, declined to consider his claims; but now they feel his stern eye must be met, that the hour of reckoning is indeed come, for beside this returning traveller are the heart and brain of the age. What account of itself can be given by Orthodoxy, with its worship of the letter and parrot-cry of "Lord, lord!" What has it to say? "Lord, I believed you a hard man, very particular to have everybody agree to every word you said, determined to send to hell all who thought differently from yourself. So I was afraid. For fear of thinking erroneously, I never thought at all. For fear of altering your talent, so that you wouldn't know it again, I hid it in a sacramental napkin, and buried it in a sod of ceremonies; and, lo! here you have the very letter and form of what you gave me."

And what is the lord answering to this one? "Servile servant! you say that you have kept my talent; but, nay, you have lost it. This bit of the first century which you have hoarded into the nineteenth is by no means what I meant you to preserve. You ought to have taken my talent to the changers,—to the ages, to the new needs of man by which the past is revised, changed, renewed: then should I this day have seen my contribution to mankind multiplied by the generations that have elapsed, swelled by the centuries; and it would have represented the science, wisdom, charity of this greater day as fully as it represented that of the more ignorant time when it was given you. You have in a way kept it,—kept it till the world has outgrown it, kept it till time has vulgarized it into cant, till it is rusty with superstition, till common sense ridicules it and common sentiment recoils from it. You have kept my talent till it has ceased to be currency, and can only be foisted on the ignorant by fraud. The only thing it is fit for now is the museum of myths. It shall be given to those who have improved that which was intrusted to them, who have added to the wisdom of antiquity the wisdom of every age that has followed, who can detach the transient from the permanent, mythology from religion, and who can utilize this talent as a legend when it is no longer of use for religion or virtue."

But what would this returning lord have to say to those who have doubled the talents he gave them, who have parted from the dead letter to gain the living spirit, who have followed growing knowledge, have drawn on the new resources of the world? To such a one he says, "Well done, faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter into the joy of thy lord!" "But who are you?" asks this free and cultured man of the present; "and what have you to do with these my treasures of science and art, earned by my own strength? And what joy is this you bid me enter?

I acknowledge no lord but truth, and seek no joy but in its possession."

"Nay," answers this lord, "I am the soul of humanity, representing the ideal and the hope that make the human religion the joy of the earth. It were a mistake in you free thinkers to suppose that your freedom and your knowledge are independent of what the past has wrought for you amid its ignorance. It were a grievous error to suppose that your science and power end in themselves. With all the facts of science and all the inventions of skill, and with the arts of beauty, you are but faithful over a few things. Only by the spirit that binds and bends all these to the perfection of man, and through him to the happiness of his world, can you fulfil all your trust, and enter the higher joy."

We need not feel troubled that this lord should be identified in the popular mind with Jesus. In a sense, the popular mind is right. This old religious society of ours—shall I not always say "ours," though parted from you?—has lived through two generations of unparalleled research into the foundations of Christian faith; and the verdict of that trial has been, "Exit Christianity." Not, indeed, that which many good hearts deem Christianity to-day, but the dogmatic system set up by Constantine as a new cross on which every brave thinker was nailed, for a thousand years.

In a sense, the command of our age has also been, "Exit Christ"; for Christ is an imperial title by which the son of man was made the son of Jehovah, or of Jove, heir of his absolutism, brandisher of his thunderbolts. But Jesus,—that is, Saviour,—name of the lowly for that ideal man who took their side against wolves in sheep's clothing, martyr of an ideal right, prophet of peace and good will among men,—this Jesus is a recovery of our own time, a son of our own century. It is a characteristic of our age that its scepticism and criticism have penetrated beyond the conventional garnish of the sepulchres of Saviours, have rolled away stony dogmas from their tomb, and revealed to the people the real nature of the heroes whose names were on their lips while their hearts were unknown. Buddha, Zoroaster, Confucius, have come forth in beautiful resurrections; and, above all, Jesus has descended from his cold apotheosis as Christ, to be a new figure in our time,—the elder brother of those who, like him, confront priestcraft and superstition, giver of a cause whose immortal fire has kindled great souls through darkest ages, flaming summit answering to summit, making one brotherhood of hearts sundered by time and space, one fraternity of the faithful and the free through the ages.

Christendom is committed to the worship of a true man. The founders of historic Christianity never intended anything of that kind. They borrowed the prestige of Jesus among the poor to strengthen their despotism over the poor, and to that end made the friend of man his enemy, whose function was to rain fire and brimstone on the world like another Jehovah. But an age has come wherein learning and thought are free. Those imperial and priestly devices are exposed; that fabrication of an Olympian Christ, to reverse what the living Jesus had done, has perished; the automaton that could only say, "Depart, ye cursed, into hell fire," painted with the name of one who said, "Love your enemies," has crumbled under criticism: the real man has been revealed, and Christendom finds him just the man beloved of radicalism and dreaded by authority.

Undoubtedly, the transition from the Jehovah-Christ to the human Jesus has brought on a danger not merely to the Church, but to social development. The radicalism of Jesus is of the super-

naturalistic type. At any rate, so it appears in the New Testament, whatever may have been his real view. And if, to-day, Jesus can be quoted to justify hostility to wealth, socialistic superstitions, and other wild notions, the authority which has compelled men to worship him as a god and accept his words as infallible has only to thank itself for these dangers. If the crisis be safely passed, it will be by the growth of a rational, religious spirit which calls no man master, while recognizing that every great soul intrusts to the world a power able to secure farther and larger powers, but ultimately destructive, if not improved and enlarged by and with the general development of the world.

As one organ of this rational religious spirit, and steadily developed by it, this Society must be charged by one whom it has instructed that it will remain strong only by preserving its continuity with the past that created it, that it will make that strength a universal benefit only by sowing products of that past like seed, selecting and cultivating, so that seed-time and harvest shall not fail. It is a long, moral evolution that has placed you here. You are latest in a procession of believers in the good and true which started forth in an immemorial past to seek a better world. That procession has moved on through the ages amid crumbling altars, mouldering temples, chanting in tongues that have ceased, fulfilling prophecies that have passed away, but holding on to the love that never faileth; and, when you, too, have passed away, and your children, and your children's children, the procession will still move on toward the land of humanity's promise. It will move on, and learn things unknown to us. Even we have moved past some of the traditions of our fathers: we have abandoned the supplications they offered to a still distant deity, and cannot sing all the hymns suited to the day of their pilgrimage. But you can see to it that their standard of fidelity, of truthfulness, of moral earnestness, of aspiration after the perfect, is upheld in your time; that the pillar of truth is followed, though its fire sometimes turn to cloud; and that, though those who come after you may see farther than you, they shall know that it is because you faithfully marched as far as you saw in your time. Let me again remind you that you can be as good as faithful men of the past only by being better, that you can keep faith with them only by carrying forward their faith to a larger form. This is your duty even to your gainsayers; and, by this, you are in real, however unacknowledged, unity with the truth that is in them. "The wise man," said Confucius, "uses what is in man to reform man." A sculptor might as well despise his quarry of marble because blemished here and there as the religious reformer despise the great stratum of religious tradition because mingled with faults and superstitions. Here, for instance, is the Bible this week published anew, with many errors eradicated. That book has largely formed our speech; it has chiefly moulded our consciousness; it is the poetry of our people. The recent translators have not ventured to handle some errors of the old translation, but others they have preserved simply because the age has not generally attained the religious elevation required for their elimination. Thus, the revisers have continued the confusion of the names translated God and Lord,—Elohim, Eloah, Jahve (Jehovah),—as if they all represented one deity, or one conception. Really, it is as if a writer on Greek and Roman religion should lump together Zeus, Jupiter, Herakles, Apollo, and the rest as "God." Under those several names in the Bible, different deities are hid; and they represent an evolution through many ages. When the Bible is truly translated and truly read, it will be seen that

the human mind moved on from the worship of the elements to the worship of an order in nature, then to a purposing power in the universe, then to a power governing the affairs of man, then to a patriarchal deity, then to a deity taking on the form of man. By theological confusion of these deities, the recklessness of the elemental deity was inherited as the cruelty of the governing deity, each successive conception was saddled with the faults of his predecessor, until at length even the human-hearted god was compelled to repeat curses originating in destructive natural forces. But it is the advantage of the religious thought of our time to distinguish what theology has confused, to interpret the moral development traced in these ancient forms, and to recognize in the human-hearted god the appeal of humanity against wrathful and cruel personifications of the remorseless forces of nature. That appeal means a deification of the purest and best elements in the moral nature of man. This incarnation of a divine ideal is found in the legend of Zoroaster, in the legend of Herakles, in the legend of Buddha, and in that of Jesus. It is under this last name that it has informed the race to which we belong, and it is to that human conception of what is divine that the religion of humanity appeals to-day.

It is but natural that free thinkers should dwell most upon the faults of the particular system that claims authority over themselves. The great evil is always that by which we suffer. Distance lends a certain enchantment to the Greek religion and Buddhism; but, really, the religion in which those derisively called Christians believed, before it was superseded by Christianity, represented an advance upon previous religions,—particularly in this, that the religion of Jesus was especially identified with the womanly qualities. Buddhism was gentle and compassionate, but it did not quite escape Oriental ideas of woman. In conversation with the chief priest of Ceylon, I asked him what had become of Maia, the mother of Buddha. "She has become a god," he said. "A goddess, you mean." "No," said he, "a god; for we believe that by great virtue and devotion a woman may in another life become male." "And I," was my reply, "would rather say that by great virtue and devotion a man may finally become a woman." He looked to see if I were jesting, but I was not. The disciples of Jesus once marvelled at finding him discoursing to a woman; but that incident is one of many in the gracious teacher's life which have trained you and me, along with many who would disown us, to cherish the womanly qualities as more related to the refined and spiritual character which religion fosters. Nature made man stronger than woman; and, through the long ages of war, the womanly characteristics were despised, because they were not military. Men made gods in their own image, fierce and warlike. But among the victims of war arose this religion: Jesus was a captive preaching to his fellow-captives; his life and teaching were idealized and developed against the god of battles and proud Cæsarism. Against consecrated cruelty and deified despotism, it raised the virtues of humility, gentleness, peacefulness, forgivingness, patience under injuries, love of enemies. Its courage was moral, the fortitude of woman. And, in the progress of civilization, it is these womanly qualities which have become socially the strongest. As more and more the brutal art of war is abhorred, and the military hero becomes extinct, society finds its strength in fraternity, its power in peace, its best arbitrations in reason and right. The ideal manliness of our time is gentlemanliness. The man of our time is more womanly, more tender, more sympathetic, securing thus a happier home and a

more beautiful society than were possible to the ages of strife and vengeance.

But this more peaceful society has been developed amid institutions based upon the privilege of power, the right of might,—institutions consecrated by a gross perversion of the religion of peace taught by Jesus, or even by its suppression. The gentle, self-denying virtues taught by him were repudiated by the Church, because they could not rebuild the reign of the Cæsars in a Holy Empire. Eventually, the kid was seethed in its mother's milk: the poor were made serfs by authority of their lowly friend. Jesus was made over by ever-servile theology into a war-god, an ally of the god of battles, against whom he had rebelled, and combined with a personification of Jehovah's unpardoning Spirit. And, although the worship of Mary and of many tender-hearted saints in the course of time somewhat subdued this hardness, Protestantism restored the unmitigated masculinity of primitive belief by resuscitating Judaism and its barbarian deity. On these are founded our laws and traditions of government, so that now, if rulers adopt a just and peaceful policy, it must be forced on them by a public sentiment formed in homes where kindness reigns and in a society developed by peace. They who would animate politics with this finer spirit of courtesy find much in the New Testament to sanction their efforts. The divine ideal therein is a Prince of Peace, fulfilling earlier dreams of humanity oppressed by tyranny and scourged by ages of war.

Herein is another trust confided by the past to this religious society. It lives at a time when humanity requires that religion shall not only be identified with a perfect manhood, but that it shall now add to that a perfect womanhood. The Jehovistic spirit which cast down the maternal ideal, the image of Mary, from the Christian altar, must be superseded, and the womanly element restored, not in any image, but in reality. This cannot be done by a Church which derives its traditions from mediævalism. It cannot be done by dissenting denominations, generally fettered by Judaism and its god of vengeance. It can be done only by the growing civility of secular society, and this can be consecrated and led only by a religion detached from Judaism and from the traditions of imperial and belligerent Christendom. Such a religion is represented by your society. By your history, by your convictions, you are pledged to stand for the cause of peace, for universal charity, for humanity. A great cause it is, and I charge you this day to be faithful to it. In standing for it, you have with you the hearts of millions who as yet cannot venture to meet with you. The earliest traditions of Christian faith are with you; and, if you are true to those virtues which alone can build up a happier, more peaceful world, Christians will increasingly find themselves and their longings better interpreted and represented here than in their own sectarian pulpits.

Even if for a time you cannot find a leader to represent your cause in this place, I trust that you will yet stand by this venerable home of your fathers and your faith. Let your light be kept trimmed and burning, remembering—each man and woman of you—that this is the very time when from each is most required his help of heart and hand. Do not despair of a cause with which all high moral and social tendencies are co-operating. Be faithful, let patience have its perfect work, and your leader will appear. And, when he shall appear, gather around him as you have gathered around me, with your strength and your support. However feeble and faltering he may be, lend him your courage, endow him with your spirit, aid him by your means to keep abreast of

the culture and resources of the age. Be sure he will come!

And now, as I sorrowfully part from you, it is with confidence that what work I have done here will be seen in the future as but a leaf on the stem of your growth,—the best I could do, but still a mere contribution to the full flower which shall crown your fidelity and your hope.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A SUNDAY IN LONDON.

Editors of The Index:—

Wishing to get a glimpse of the workings of liberal thought in London, I first rolled over the quiet asphalt (blessed boon to nerves) to the South Place Chapel, with which Mr. Conway was so long associated. I found the house only half-filled, but waited in vain for the eager courtesy that seats visitors in American churches. Upon application to one in authority, I was pointed to a side bench against the wall that was available for strangers. On the opposite wall, I saw the names of Bruno, Bacon, Fox, Channing, Mann, Moses, Buddha, and Socrates. Probably the name of Jesus was inscribed on the side hidden from view. Hymns were sung from a theistic hymn book, and an anthem was warbled, in which the soprano wished about twenty times for "wings like a dove," and said she would pray morning, noon, and evening. I wondered if music and reason would ever come to terms. Why may not sound sense be combined with sweet strains?

The preacher was F. Sydney Morris, of York, a minister who has developed into an agnostic. He did not sympathize with the eagerness of the soprano singer; and, instead of praying, he uttered a soliloquy on the mental constitution of the world, ending with the sentiment that our question now is not, Where is rest? but, Where is duty? He announced his readings as being taken from "the Hindu Scriptures," "the Hebrew Scriptures," and "the Spanish Gipsy."

The text was, "Vox populi, vox Dei"; and, in an able, clearly uttered discourse, he showed its falsity. It was described as a convenient maxim for suppressing progress. Popular opinion about God and immortality proves no more than did popular opinion of the flatness of the earth. "The self-constituted ministers of a phantom deity" had directed this opinion wrongly, but they were losing control. General intelligent opinion was, in the long run, sound; and, when the voice of the people follows knowledge and the highest intelligence, the maxim may become true. His benediction consisted of a wish to that effect.

Such a service I might style the last gasp of the "Church" before transformation into a lyceum. The theme reminded me of the neat reply of a sister of the Wesleys. When her brother, to close the discussion, said dogmatically, "I tell you, sister, the voice of the people is the voice of God!" she replied, "Yes: the people cried, 'Crucify him!'"

The free thinkers, besides having some eighty meeting places about London, have organized an "open air propaganda"; and I went to Regent Park to hear Mr. Trumper. They do not arrest out-door speakers here, being yet behind Boston in the guardianship of citizens; and I found six circles of listeners under shady trees. One British matron was proclaiming the terrors of "judgment day." A loud-voiced gentleman was preaching "Christ crucified." Mr. Trumper was introduced by some remarks about the "Holy Pigeon," and proceeded to prove that "theological sin was impossible." He devoted his "hennergies" to showing that the "attributes" of God were "holily" fit for a devil, and, if God deliberately made sinners, it was not sinful for them to sin. Near by, a pleasing young man discoursed upon socialism,—co-operation, men working with each other, instead of competition, working against each other. Socialism promises plenty, work, and leisure. Now, each British workman produces £400 per annum, and receives less than 400 crowns. When all work, three hours a day will supply every need. A paper called "Justice, the organ of the social democracy," was sold. It was full of earnest writing of a good order.

The next circle was addressed, for over an hour, by a man who stood on a stool marked "Christian Evidence Society." He attacked Haeckel on Evolution with all the ignorant and silly jests that have emanated from the pulpit in twenty years, and had the

effrontery to say that Darwin did not favor the idea of man's descent from animals, and had not written about it. When discussion was invited, I found myself on top of the Christian Evidence stool, informing the British public that Darwin had written on *The Descent of Man*, and asking them if one so ignorant of Darwin's works was competent to disprove evolution. I received hearty applause; but the speaker got mad, and berated me for "discourtesy," to the delight of part of the audience. "Mr. Orange-blossom" was introduced, and asked how the animals got from Noah's ark to Australia. The speaker said winds sometimes carried seeds. "But," said Orange-blossom, "they don't carry kangaroos."

An excited circle had gathered around the Holy Pigeon man; and hot discussions were going on with considerable wit, but with dangerous accusations. "Sullivan, you're lying, because you can go to confession to-morrow, and wipe it all off." "But your leprosy sticks to you like h—l, and you've got no remedy," was answered.

Crowds were met returning from Hyde Park, with a band of music, coconut carts, and lemonade wagons. A mass meeting had been held to protest against the new tax on beer. "A pretty mob that is," said coachee, "to set themselves against a hact of Parliament."

In the evening, I went to the Hall of Science. The lecture was to begin at 7.30. Doors were opened at seven, with admission at threepence, sixpence, and a shilling. In a few minutes, the place was packed; and the people patiently endured half an hour's vigorous piano-pounding by a skillful young lady. Mr. Bradlaugh and two daughters then walked up the aisle to the platform amid vast applause; and Miss Bradlaugh announced the subject, "England, Russia, and India." Mr. Bradlaugh is a large man, with the massive, clean face characteristic of Beecher and Ingersoll. Such an impression does he give of physical force that you wait with dread for an expected shout, and an agreeable surprise is experienced when he begins in a mild and slightly high-pitched tone. But at times he develops intense vehemence, though he never roars, and always enunciates distinctly. He is certainly an effective speaker, and has unlimited control over his followers. He deprecated war, declared the "encouragement of national antipathies to be a misfortune and a crime." It is true Russia has stolen land in Asia, but so has England. "She bought the fringe of India, and stole the garment; paid for the tissue paper wrapper, and stole the parcel." She should take her stand at the borders of India, and not concern herself about Russia's stealings outside. The way to hinder Russia is, not by fighting her, but by satisfying India, giving the right of self-government to her people. England would steal Russia, if she could, and would declare it "necessary for the civilization and Christianization of the barbarous Cossacks." So do not be too censorious of Russia. A storm of applause and cheers followed the lecture, which really deserved it; for it was full of information, candid admissions, pacific sentiments, and lofty exhortations. If more of the Tory parsons and dissenting ministers of England would imitate this despised free thinker, the British Lion would not be so often concerned in bloody scrapes.

The impression of the day upon my mind is: the British people are thinking for themselves; knowledge is spreading fast; superstition, bigotry, war, injustice, are being confronted by their victims, who, through the benefits of science, are rising to newness of life.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

LONDON, June 7, 1885.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN NEW HAVEN.

Editors of The Index:—

Gov. H. B. Harrison of Connecticut, said: "If elected, I shall be guided in my administration by the one principle of the equality of all citizens before the law."

If you would seek the most perfect caricature of religious liberty which the belated tendencies of American life can furnish, visit New Haven. You may not find it in the number of arrests and imprisonments for heresy, but in the innumerable other ways in which heresy is punished, as shown in the mute, servile, prevaricating spirit which fastens on the people a yoke of almost mediæval bondage. Here, the ecclesiastical power is assuredly the chief power

of the realm: the newspaper is its valet and clown, the echo of its wishes and behests; for you see the Editorial sandwiched between the Sermon and Religious Notes. Here, the candidate for the highest office in the nation labored hard, in one of his last efforts before the election, to convince the people that he was a Catholic by birth and a Protestant by profession. Here, anything pertaining to the Church, no matter what, ranks among the first items of intelligence. A Reverend is the very highest title of honor, church membership a sure sign of respectability. You may in some quarters, perhaps, be permitted to hint your dislike of creeds and sects, if you own yourself at the same time a follower of Jesus and an adorer of the Bible. And any one who is not ready at any time to join in the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology is a begrunted sceptic, and one who avows antipathy toward the Church is surely a native of heathendom. Still, toleration does go so far as to allow one to have what convictions he pleases, if he will but keep them to himself; and I had almost said to do what he pleases, if he only does it on the sly. Make the proprieties the chief article in your creed, and your chances are good; keep up appearances, and you are hail fellow well met. Piety, in short (whose only substitute is riches), will secure for you a front seat on whatever occasion.

There is, of course, a good and bad piety; but it is the bad one I see imaged in the manners and customs around me. And, as proof of this, I will cite not only the State laws, but the example of Yale and other institutions of a public and semi-public character, that may fairly serve as indexes of a people's religious ideal, or as showing at least one of its marked characteristics.

The Constitution of the State of Connecticut says that "no preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship." Good, if the "Christian" were only left out. For see what follows: "It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the Universe, etc. . . . And each and every society and denomination of Christians in this State shall have and enjoy the same equal rights and privileges." But I must quote more to get the true interpretation: "Any person who shall blaspheme against God, either of the persons of the Holy Trinity, the Christian religion, or the holy Scriptures, shall be fined and imprisoned," etc. And, still more, Christian churches and parsonages are exempt from taxation. The clergy have the right to solemnize marriages. The Sabbath must be kept holy, all secular labor as well as amusement being prohibited on that day, and for the violation of Sunday laws the accused is not allowed trial by jury. The governor, too, appoints Fast and Thanksgiving Days.

Then, in the public schools throughout the State, unless New Haven stands alone, God, Christ, and the Bible are duly honored. The school boards, taking their clew from these State enactments, prescribe Scripture reading and the Lord's Prayer as part of the daily routine, no matter what the religion of the teacher or the pupil may be!

And this is the state of things in Connecticut, where perhaps the loudest accusations have been heard concerning the alleged union of Church and State in Utah, the home of the Mormons. But the picture is not complete. In the New Haven poorhouse is a chapel where religious services are held by Catholic and Protestant on alternate Sundays; and this priest and minister are salaried officials of the institution, receiving from the public treasury a yearly compensation for their services. The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Asylum of St. Francis receive each from the State an annual gift of two thousand dollars, though the people have an asylum of their own for this purpose, equal to all needs in that direction.

Twelve out of the twenty-four who met in convention in 1818, to remodel the Constitution of the State of Connecticut, were Yale alumni. What their theories were then may be judged from what their practices are to-day. And it may be safely assumed that the influence of Yale to-day, on the religious habits of the community, is at least in the proportion of twelve to twenty-four. On the Green, in the centre of the town, are three churches in line; and the three gates to this public square are the entrance to these temples of worship, immediately back of which, and between them and the colleges, is the old State House. Yale was founded at a time of a close union of Church

and State, when a member of the Congregational Church only, was a freeman and a voter. And, if I mistake not, this same spirit dominates Yale to-day, of which it is as proud even as Saturn with her rings, which are a sign of arrested planetary growth. In its interior to-day is the church altar, at its portals the font of baptism; for Yale has its pastor as well as its professor, its chapel no less than its class-room. Religious exercises, public and private, are enjoined on the students. Every class has its deacons; and all must attend morning devotions as well as a regular Congregational service once or twice a week, though the student is free on Sunday to elect his place of worship, but not to neglect it. How many are there, I wonder, among the ten or eleven hundred students who feel their consciences outraged by this compulsory law? Are there among them no Catholics, Universalists, Unitarians, Jews, theists, sceptics, humanitarians, none whose attitude toward the differing, warring creeds of the day is one of inquiry or non-committal? It is not surprising that ex-President Woolsey should say he did not think the existing connection between Church and State amounted to much, and that he would even favor some form of union. Only recently, the custom of having six State senators in the corporation of the college has been changed by substituting alumni of five years' standing. The remaining members of the corporation are still the governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve clergymen. And the law requires that the president of the college must be a clergyman.

A glance at the New Haven Hospital will assist this diagnosis of the case in hand. A hospital is classed with charitable institutions, toward which the public is apt to be charitable in more senses than one. And the one in question has its sins, maladies which knife nor vial can cure, but which need the cauterizing process of plain speech; for they are among the chief causes of disease, both physical and moral, making hospitals and asylums a necessity. Closely associated with the barbarous treatment shown its hands or employes is another act of tyranny, the same in essence, however different in appearance,—the ignoring of the principle of human rights. The New Haven Hospital receives its support from various sources,—the patients, a corporate organization, the State and the public. The stockholders comprise a long list of the benevolently inclined. The State grants annual subsidies. Annual deficits are made up by public contributions. Its greatest pleasure is to recognize its responsibility to the public. Prof. Farnham recently said, "We would be justly blamed by the public, if we were to allow any improprieties." Now, it is one of these "improprieties" (though not such likely as he had in his mind) of which I mean to speak.

Perhaps one of the most conspicuous objects in one of these hospital wards—and there are six of them—is the Bible, on a centre-stand, which it is the nurse's duty to dust off every morning, and, above it on a pillar, a scroll filled with Bible-texts, which must also be changed daily, in order to present a new lesson. No harm in that, is there? perhaps the reader will exclaim. It would certainly be hard to tell what good there is in it; for the Bible is never opened, and the texts are never read. But there is something back of this. These nurses, all of them, have to attend religious exercises every evening in their dormitory, where the Bible is read, prayer offered, and hymns sung. Not wishing to raise the question as to the good there is in this to those with whose belief it accords strictly, I do not ask the question whether there is not a harm, an infinite harm in it, to those with whose beliefs or sentiments it does not accord. Now, among these nurses are Catholics, Jews, and non-believers; yet they are "put through" the same as the rest. Poor things! they dare not say their souls are their own, intelligent and educated as many of them are. I admit many of them may not feel it a grievance, but this is the saddest aspect of the whole thing. But this is not all. Connected with the hospital is a chapel, where services are held every Sunday evening by different denominations, I suppose. It is the ward-master's duty to ring the bell at the hour of six; and the nurses who can escape from duty feel it their duty to attend, and to urge others to do the same, to which they are incited by the example of the head nurse, whose piety is supposed to be of the strictest orthodox type, or, if not, must be of a very flexible nature. Then added to this are the services conducted in the wards, supposedly for the

benefit of patients. This has been done now for years by an Episcopal minister in flowing robes, who has the privilege of all the wards, in which he repeats the litanies of his Church every Sunday evening. And this he does, when there may not be one person in the ward who cares to hear him, and when most of its inmates actually abhor the ceremony. But, in his tour through the wards, he is often accompanied by a group of nurses, whose presence adds to the *éclat*, if not to the "grace," of the performance. The Episcopal Church has one rival, though not a dangerous one, seemingly; for the Methodist choir advances no farther than the hall-way leading to the ward, where it sings of "Christ's redeeming love," "Whose blood was shed for me," etc. How much comfort there is in all this for patients afflicted with various maladies, and with minds no less variously disposed in religious matters, perhaps some one can tell. Judging from the patients' own symptoms on such occasions, which ought to be a good criterion, the comfort is all "in my eye." But, of course, their souls are benefited, though they do not know it. Praising the Lord and proclaiming his gospel are always a seasonable act, and can hurt no one; and some soul may be saved from eternal perdition.

And what a disgrace it would be to have no regular religious exercises in the hospital! Only infidels, ungodly people, sinners, could think of such a thing. Now, this is the theory, I have no doubt, by which these religious observances are justified. But it only proves too clearly, I think, to the unbiassed mind, that the whole business is wrong, iniquitous in the extreme, a gross violation of the rights of conscience, a travesty of the true religious instinct and worship. Its strongest condemnation is in the excuse offered for it by many, that it is harmless. There must be those who are in high positions of trust in the hospital who are not in sympathy with these practices. Why are they silent? Is reputation worth more than the truth? Are the interests of science and of morality not one? Or is religion a something unrelated to either of these,—a mystery, say, with which reason and common sense have nothing to do?

In view of facts such as these, it is no matter of surprise that candidates for political preferment in this State should not only avoid giving umbrage to the clergy, but be extremely solicitous to have their good-will, and that all pledges as to equal rights of citizens should be couched in the most general terms. In the history of Connecticut, candidates for civil offices once received their first nomination in an assembly of clergymen. And, in one sense, this is true to-day. T. W. CURTIS.

"A DARK SEANCE."

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of May 21 there appears a letter from Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker in reply to my account of a visit to "A Dark Séance," which you kindly published on April 23. I regret that Mrs. Hooker allowed a month to pass before writing, as that long interval has carried me across the Atlantic, and I would rather have been in Boston to answer for myself; but, even at this late day, I will, with your permission, reply to Mrs. Hooker as briefly as possible. First, then, the hands which touched mine in the darkness were the medium's. I have no interest whatever in the matter save the love of truth; and I trust that years of patient study with the telescope, the microscope, and the blowpipe have taught me something of the laws of evidence, and given me some little power of discrimination. Second, the people on the opposite side of the circle, toward whom the "medium's" back was turned, did not acknowledge that "the hands were busy there," but kept calling to the medium: "Don't forget us. Come this way, won't you?" etc., as I stated in my letter. Third, the fact that Mrs. Hooker and her audiences and "the spiritualistic press" are believers in Spiritualism goes for nothing! All the world believed that the earth was flat, and that the "sun was made to rule the day, the moon to rule the night"; but the universal belief did not prove it, and one man, Copernicus, stood out for the truth. Fourth, because I told the medium my position, and expressed a desire to know the truth, I was invited to her *séance* avowedly as a reporter. As I left the house after the *séance*, the last words her money-taker said to me were to be sure and send him a paper with the report in; and of this the medium was fully aware. So, on my part, there was no deception in the matter.

Fifth, and last, for Mrs. Hooker I feel respect, only; but I must maintain the position I took in my previous letter, inasmuch as I dealt simply with facts. And, although I fully agree with Mrs. Hooker as to the implication of these facts regarding the medium, I have nothing to take back, nothing for which to apologize; and I must leave all deductions to your readers, with the simple explanation that I have in no way exaggerated the case, nor "set down aught in malice."

PETER ANNET.

LIVERPOOL, June 9, 1885.

F. S. WRITES: "The Paris correspondent of the Boston *Evening Transcript* of July 22 writes deprecatingly of the secularizing of the Panthéon on the occasion of the obsequies of Victor Hugo, and says: 'We have, therefore, in this act of secularizing the Panthéon, a reward held out by the State for the renunciation of Christian doctrine,' and that hereafter 'no man will be considered great enough to be buried there, if he has any weakness for religious ceremonies.' He regards it as a certain proof of the atheistic tendencies of politics in France. It would seem that, to this writer's mind, the only alternative is some form of doctrinal Christianity or blank atheism. How long is it going to take to get it through the heads of a class of newspaper writers that the great ideas that form the basis of all the great historic religions have no dependence upon any form of Christian doctrine? No secularization of public edifices consecrated to some special Christian creed is going to destroy or lessen men's reverence for the great principles upon which the happiness and progress of man and society must ever rest. Victor Hugo was no atheist, but a firm believer in immortality; and yet, with the penetration of genius, he saw that this great fact did not depend in the slightest degree upon the personalities and events which constitute all that distinguishes doctrinal Christianity. Hence, he regarded the rites and ceremonials growing out of these personal events as of no account in the welfare of humanity, but as bolstering up institutions which have proved themselves to be barriers to the genius which lives within the human spirit and to all progress and development."

THE London *Inquirer* says that the unveiling of the Darwin memorial statue at the Natural History Museum was an event second in interest to the burial of Darwin in Westminster Abbey three years ago. The presence of the Prince of Wales showed that royalty had the grace to pay homage to a greater majesty than that of courts. The presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury showed that the Church at last sees the uselessness, if not the folly, of setting itself against the resistless might of science. The burial of Darwin in our Pantheon was a national event; but the deepest significance was, as Prof. Huxley pointed out, international. Contributions to the memorial "have flowed in from all countries and all classes, from the bishop to the seamstress, and in sums from £5 to 2d." The federation of the world, which in politics is still so shadowy a dream, is in science an accomplished fact; and England owes to Darwin a leadership which she is in danger of losing in other fields.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLT. Its Causes, Condition, and Prospects. By Edmond Noble. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 269. Price \$1.00.

Mr. Noble, who has travelled extensively in Russia, and has acquainted himself thoroughly with its people, language, and literature, has evidently made a very careful study of one of the great problems of the advancing civilization of to-day, and gives us in this interesting work the results of his investigations and thought on the subject. His researches and observations are made from a thorough evolutionist's point of view, and he is apparently very radical in his religious opinions; but this personal bias, though plainly perceptible all through the work, is not made offensively so, and to those who are in sympathy with the author's views gives an added zest to a book which cannot fail to interest even those who do not accept the philosophical or theological ideas it in-dorses.

He traces the successive steps by which Russia, from a free, migrant, and peaceful race of people, became the great but harassed nation it now is. Prominent among these causes he considers the conversion

of the early Slavs to Greek Christianity and their enslavement by the Tatar Mongols. In the chapter entitled "Byzantinism," Mr. Noble shows how Byzantine Christianity "gradually, if not simultaneously, promulgated in Russia the three ideas of unity in deity, unity in sovereignty, and unity in territory,"—the ideas which, carried out, have made Russia the terrible autocracy it now is.

Among the forces which, in the author's opinion, have been and now are at work, ultimately to disintegrate this cast-iron government, is the religious protest of the common people against a faith forced upon them. So strong is this dissent that to-day, Mr. Noble states, "upwards of fourteen million Russian subjects of the Tsar live outside the Greek Church in a state of protest against its authority." Other forces were set at work in the reforms introduced by Peter the Great, and in the contact with the intellectual progress of other nations made necessary by emigration and immigration, and the consequent imbibing of higher ideals of liberty and self-government by all classes of thoughtful Russians.

In the chapter on "Domestic Slavery," Mr. Noble gives a deeply interesting review of the position of women in Russia in the past, and their more hopeful and encouraging prospects at present. The style is crisp, vivid, strong, and often condenses in a sentence the results of much thought and study. The author gives a startling picture of the extent and strength of the forces working in Russia for revolt, but does not think them yet strong enough successfully to cope with the government. S. A. U.

OLD SOUTH PRIZE ESSAYS, I. The Policy of the Early Colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and Others whom they regarded as Intruders. 1881. By Henry L. Southwick. Boston: Old South Meeting House. 1885. pp. 21.

This essay, which took the first of the Old South prizes offered in 1881 for essays on subjects in American history, is by a graduate of the Dorchester High School in 1880. It treats the subject indicated by the title with independence and fairness, and with as much fulness as is possible within the limit imposed upon the contestants for the prize.

We condense as we read Mr. Southwick's statement of historical facts which make the saddest chapter in the history of New England. He points out that the Puritans who settled in Massachusetts Bay aimed to establish a theocracy, with the Bible as supreme authority in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. Freedom of conscience to them "was the synonyme for the deadliest of heresies, for moral looseness and for social anarchy." As Mr. Quincy says, "They came here, not to acquire liberty for all sorts of consciences, but to vindicate and maintain the liberty of their own." "They objected," Col. Higginson remarks, "to the Church of England, not that it persecuted, but that its persecution was wrongly aimed." Sincere and full of zeal, they tried to reduce to practice the views which they held. They aimed to regulate their commonwealth by the Bible, especially the Old Testament. In the necessity of a union between Church and State they firmly believed; and, Judge Story observes, this was "their fundamental error." To do justice to their motives, we must keep in mind their beliefs and purposes. They wished to have it understood that "New England was a religious plantation, not a plantation for trade"; and to keep out heretics was, they believed, their right and duty. The right of franchise they restricted to church members.

It is not strange that, with their views and their zeal, they persecuted, banished, and killed dissenters. As early as 1629, John and Samuel Brown, reputed "sincere in their affection for the good of the plantation," were sent back to England because they adhered to the forms of the Episcopal Church. Roger Williams was banished by an order of the General Court held at Boston in September, 1635. Soon afterward, Mrs. Hutchinson, for "weakening the hand and hearts of the people against the ministers," and "being like Roger Williams and worse," was banished with her followers. Baptists were banished, fined, and whipped for heresy. But among the Puritans were those who had no sympathy with the persecution. "It doth not a little grieve my spirit," wrote Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the original founders of the colony, in 1652, to Wilson and Cotton, ministers of Boston, "to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison

men for their conscience. First you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join you in your worship; and, when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such, as you conceive, their public affronts. I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility in judgment, when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth he knew but in part, and saw but darkly, as through a glass."

The Quakers gave the Puritans more trouble than all other heretics put together. They had heard of New England as a place where "the servants of the Lord were forbidden to serve him"; and to New England they came, to break down Puritan intolerance, and to proclaim the truth by the authority of the "Inner Light." Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who arrived in Boston in 1656, were seized, their persons were examined for marks of witchcraft, their papers burned, and they were sent back to England. A few months later, eight more Quakers landed in Boston; and, on their arrival, they were thrown into jail. Laws were passed (there had been none against Quakers up to this time) that Quakers coming into Massachusetts should be imprisoned and whipped, that masters of vessels bringing a Quaker into any part of the plantation should be fined £100. A fine of forty shillings for every hour was imposed for harboring Quakers. Every Quaker who, after having been once banished, returned, should, "for the first offence, suffer the loss of one ear; for the second offence, the loss of the other; and, for a third offence, should have his tongue bored through with a hot iron." In 1658, the penalty was made death against all Quakers who should return after they had been banished. But these persecutions caused the Quakers to "swarm to Massachusetts as the hot-bed of bigotry, and therefore in the greatest need of their remonstrances and preaching." They were fined, imprisoned, and scourged by order of the General Court to the number of about thirty. How many were punished by sentence of the county court is unknown. The execution of Mary Dyer, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and William Leddra, in which the persecution reached its climax, will ever be a stain on the history of New England. "In all these barbarities, the clergy heartily concurred." But protests against the rigorous policy of the magistrates grew louder and more numerous; and, expressing as they did a growing sentiment, relaxation of the severity of the persecution followed, and with it a decline of Quaker fanaticism. "It is most evident that Quaker excesses were engendered by Puritan persecution. Quaker men were stripped of all their property, starved in Puritan jails, tortured and mutilated; Quaker women dragged through jeering crowds stripped for the lash, until, driven to a perfect frenzy by their inhuman treatment, they were goaded on to acts of defiance and indelicacy." "But what the Puritan clergy, who were the instigators of the laws, most violently opposed was the theology of the Quakers. This was the primary cause of the persecution, and this the Puritan ministers never for a moment faltered in their determination to root out." But, while we deplore and condemn the persecutions of the Puritans, we should remember that a large minority were opposed to these persecutions, and that the age was one in which "persecution was practised by every dominant sect in Christendom."

B. F. U.

THE *Herald of Health* is publishing a valuable series of papers—mainly autobiographical—upon the health and working habits of many of the best known literary men and women of Europe and America. The June number contains an interesting contribution from Hon. F. E. Spinner, giving a graphic account of how he has preserved his health and strength to his eighty-fourth year. The May number contained a similar article from Rev. Dr. Bartol, and next month we are promised one from Rev. James Freeman Clarke. Other papers by Edward Everett Hale, Ferd. de Lesseps, Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and others, are anticipated, which, together with an article on the health habits of Victor Hugo, soon to appear, will constitute a valuable contribution to hygienic science, and to our knowledge of the eminent men of our time. A German poet has well said,—

"E'en from the body's purity
The mind receives a secret, sympathetic aid";

and we cannot doubt that, in promoting the knowledge of the laws of health through the medium of his

valuable journal, Dr. Holbrook is indirectly aiding in the promulgation of rational views concerning the great questions of religion, philosophy, and morals, in which the readers of *The Index* are chiefly interested. We have had too much bilious and dyspeptic theology in these latter days. We should all aid in spreading the gospel of health.

A NOTE from L. Prang & Co. states that Mr. I. M. Gaugengigl has just finished a painting called "On the Promenade," representing two French swells at the time of the Directory. The "Incroyable" costume of the dandies is very effectively rendered, and the picture has already been sold. It is, however, still on exhibition at Lowell's gallery in Boston. The Art Students' League in New York is making renewed efforts for the approaching season's work. Mr. I. Carroll Beckwith will have charge of the antique class. Two large painting classes will be taught by Mr. I. Alden Weir, and a special life class for women will be under the charge of Mr. Walter Shirlaw.

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THE INDEX,
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THE RISE OF INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY FROM THALES TO COPERNICUS.

By FREDERICK MAY HOLLAND,

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The author of this book has chosen a magnificent subject; and, although it is formidable in extent and much of it involved in obscurity, and all of it complicated with great questions of history and human progress, he has yet been able to throw much new light upon that liberalization of thought which went very unsteadily forward during twenty-two hundred years, before the great modern movement of the development for intellectual liberty. The work is a delineation of tendencies, a series of sketches of the great minds who at different times and under varied circumstances, and with unequal effect, have struck for independence of thought, a presentation of the counterforces that have antagonized intellectual liberty, and an account of the working of all those larger agencies which have in different degrees hindered or promoted freedom and independence of thought. Without having subjected the work to critical scrutiny, we are much impressed by the evidence it shows of extensive and conscientious labor, the freshness and interest of its chief subject-matter, the untrammeled treatment of the subject, and the vigor of the portrayal of that long and agonizing conflict with bigotry and intolerance, religious and political, public and private, which is the price of our modern liberty of thinking.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript*.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

If the explosion of powder and the other noisy demonstrations usual on the Fourth of July may be regarded as indications, independence and patriotism continue to burn brightly in the hearts of the American people. There are many, however, in whom these important civic virtues have suffered no abatement, who would be glad if our national birthday could be celebrated with less noise and more reason, with less that is appropriate only to a semi-civilized condition, and more that is suited to the character and claims of an enlightened people.

The plumbers of Milwaukee, who have been on a strike, have opened co-operative shops, which are taking in work enough to keep most of the strikers in the city busy. They have cut the rates established by the master plumbers, and are hiring the men brought into the city by the latter, and, an exchange says, "so far are more than holding their own."

In a letter to an English paper, "Ouida" gives an account of cruelties to animals perpetrated in Naples. She says that, if the skin is worth a centime, the animal is skinned alive, as it is believed to be more supple, and therefore sells higher, when stripped from the living animal. Old horses, young kids and lambs, dogs and cats, are all skinned alive. There are dog-stealers—legally appointed municipal officers—who go about the city, and drive all the animals they can find into a court, where they are every day flayed alive, and their skins sold for the public profit. The municipal authorities are compromised in these cruelties, and the merciless wretches who inflict them on the poor brutes are in no danger of punishment.

The Boston Herald says: "It is one of the things that fills the minds of honest and scholarly men with contempt for the degrees conferred by our American institutions that they are bestowed, for the most part, on those who are conspicuous chiefly for their intellectual obscurity, and have done nothing, and are never likely to do anything, to deserve them. . . . In America, the degree is sel-

dom associated with genuine merit. It is often an exceedingly disagreeable appendage to a man's name, and causes him great inconvenience, if he is mistaken, as he sometimes is, for a man of learning and genuine ability. Unless the degrees can be bestowed upon men who deserve them, and whose merit the educated public indorses, they had better not be bestowed at all."

THE *Congregationalist* says that there is not "anywhere on earth a first-class daily journal thoroughly deserving to be described as a Christian newspaper." This our orthodox contemporary deplores, and it endeavors to show how such a paper can be established and how it should be conducted. The money must be put up by Christian capitalists, there must be competent editors, the paper must be "clean," "valuable," and "Christian," etc. Commenting on the *Congregationalist's* article, which is two columns in length, the Springfield Republican says: "There are plenty of ministers out of a job who would take the place of editor-in-chief at low rates. In the *Congregationalist's* ideal newspaper, 'every line is to be fit for the most innocent girl's reading.' Certainly, so should the Bible be; but we should not dare to quote in the *Republican* some of the characteristic features of King Solomon's domestic arrangements. But the *Congregationalist*, secondly, wants things boiled down (!). This, from a two-column article in a prolix religious journal, is 'too awful funny,' as the girls say. Third, it should be 'Christian.' Exactly. It strikes us from a careful observation that about as much steady-going Christianity is ploughed into the daily journals of the country every twenty-four hours as into any other business; but we are willing to take our turn with the lawyers, doctors, merchants, and business world generally, in having a better way shown up for 'poor we-uns.' But, if we are going to be taught by object lessons, we want a good example."

REFERRING to Rev. Dr. Newman's prayer for the success and prosperity of the New York State Undertakers' Society, the Montreal Star says: "From an undertaker's point of view, the progress of the 'profession,' the combination to keep up prices, the denunciation of the vultures of cremation, the imposing convention, are all doubtless very gratifying. . . . Still there is some reason to fear that the funeral business is 'progressing' more than is desirable in the public interest. It is not the fault of the undertaker any more than extravagance in dress is the fault of the dry-goods merchant. It is due to our own exceeding bad taste. The tendency is for funerals to become more and more public. Private sorrow and personal vanity are offensively thrust upon the attention of the public. Funerals are so conspicuous in Montreal that visitors must wonder when we find time to attend to anything else. A funeral being unfortunately made into a public parade, much silly extravagance naturally follows. Any funeral adjunct, however extravagant, that can be invented by an undertaker or a convention of undertakers, will be adopted and paid for, first by people who are rich in money and poor

in taste, and finally by the people who are poor in both. Among the poor, a funeral in the family is something to be remembered with pride,—a public demonstration, not only of the family's grief, but also of its social importance. It is considered of great importance to get a great number of people to take part in the procession."

IN a letter to Deputy Passy, of Paris, John Bright writes: "If European nations would accept commercial liberty,—that is, moderate or abolish customs,—Europe might soon tend to an era of perpetual peace. At present, all resources are swallowed up by military exigencies. The people's interests are sacrificed to the most miserable and culpable fantasies of foreign politics. The real interests of the masses are trodden under foot in deference to false notions of glory and national honor. I cannot help thinking that Europe is marching toward some great catastrophe of crushing weight. The military system cannot indefinitely be supported with patience; and the population, driven to despair, may possibly, before long, sweep away the royalties and pretended statesmen who govern in their names. I hope your country and mine will remain at peace, and be real friends."

GEN. McCook, ex-Governor of Colorado, in a letter to Secretary Lamar, states that, notwithstanding the unlawfulness of leasing or conveyance of lands by Indian tribes, substantially all the lands in the Indian Territory, set apart for exclusive Indian occupation, are in the possession of white men under leases from Indians who had no legal right to lease, and with the tacit recognition of the Interior Department whose duty it is to remove the intruders. The Indians' country, he says, is overrun with speculators and adventurers, who have despoiled the Indians of their property and destroyed their opportunities of self-support and improvement. He declares it is a country where "force reigns and rapine dwells," and that the representations of the men who ask for the support of the army to protect them "are not the prayers of the weak appealing for protection, but the demands of the strong, who, from a ripe experience, evidently believe that the future and the past will be the same."

THE renewal of the order of the prefect of Rome, forbidding the procession of the Catholic Church in the streets of that city, together with the laying of the corner-stone of the Victor Emanuel monument on the Capitol, amid great enthusiasm of the people, put the clerical press almost in despair. One of the papers says that the condition of the pope is now an object of scorn and derision. Recently, a band of pilgrims visited the pope, when an address was read in which he was called Peter, and it was declared that he was in the bondage of Herod. This leads an exchange to remark: "It is certainly a strange captivity, when the captor can be visited and addressed in this manner in his own resident city. When this address was read, the pope was surrounded by fifteen cardinals, thirty bishops and archbishops, and a full royal pageant."

OLD FACES IN NEW MASKS.

"There is nothing new under the sun," said the melancholic Solomon—or the Hebrew writer who figured under that kingly name—more than twenty centuries ago. We of the nineteenth century are apt to think that we live in an age of *new* things. In many respects, of course we do. Yet it often happens that the seemingly new things are only old things in fresh disguise. Not a few of the inventions and discoveries which have specially marked our own time were known, it is now understood, to ancient peoples, who have either kept themselves excluded from the rest of the world, as the Chinese, or were overwhelmed by some onslaught of barbarism, and left, like the ancient Egyptians, only the relics and ruins of their civilization to excite the wonder of modern antiquarians and scholars.

Theories and philosophies of the universe are continually repeating themselves. Auguste Comte's Positivism had its forerunner in Confucius. Agnosticism is a new word, but it is a new word for a very old thing. In its essential principles, it was the system of Buddha, and the basis of the Buddhist religion. Pessimism is another word much affected to-day; but it is a word that very well describes King Solomon's mood of mind and whatever philosophy he was considered to have had, as portrayed in the dismal Book of Ecclesiastes. The old scholastic disputes of the Middle Ages between the Nominalists and Realists reappear in the latest articles of metaphysical philosophy which have come from the printing-press. Transcendentalism is Plato revived; and Plato's spiritual philosophy, again, was anticipated in the ancient religion of the Hindus. In prehistoric Egypt,—marvellous Egypt,—the principles of almost all kinds of knowledge appear to have been known, some of which the modern world has not yet rediscovered.

But natural science, at least, is new. Yes, the modern world is ahead of the ancient in most of the details of the knowledge of nature, as also in the practical application of the sciences and arts to modes of living. Yet, when we leave the details of the special sciences and endeavor to go back of them to certain general principles and forces which might account for the beginning and continuance of things in the universe as a whole, it is surprising how soon we find ourselves repeating the same speculations about atoms and forces, heats and coolings, gases and solids, attractions and repulsions, expansions and contractions, substance and power, which the old philosophers of Greece and Asia busied themselves with centuries before the Christian era. Some of those old philosophical and religious writers seem by their guesses to have almost hit the modern scientific theory of evolution. One of the most ancient of the Vedic hymns deals with the problem of the world's creation very much as an evolution poet might do it to-day. Paul's memorable sentence, "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," was anticipatory of the scientific phrase, "the struggle for existence." The New Astronomy is even intimating that something akin to the old Asiatic theory of the periodic emanation and reabsorption or destruction of the material universe may be the actual law of creation and destiny of the solar and stellar systems of worlds.

In ethics, especially, has it become the fashion to coin new words and formulas for old ideas. "The egoistic and altruistic dispositions," "the self-regarding and other-regarding motives," are the grandiloquent phrases under which ethical writers now speak of our old familiar acquaint-

ances, "self-love" and "neighbor-love." Common-place truths are thus sometimes put into such strange and fine garb as to be mistaken for new philosophical theories. The practice reminds us of the story of the school-boy who was eager to display to his grandmother his new acquisitions in natural philosophy, by explaining to her the homely process of sucking an egg. "You see, grandma," he said, "we perforate an aperture in the apex and a corresponding aperture in the base; and, by applying the egg to the lips and forcibly inhaling the breath, the shell is entirely discharged of its contents." "Dear me," exclaimed the old lady, "what wonderful improvements they do make! Now, in my younger days, we just made a hole in each end, and sucked." The grandmother knew the thing very well, and she could describe it in terse Anglo-Saxon; but she did not recognize in it the boy's scholastic vocabulary. So in most of the modern treatises and magazine articles on the subject of morals there is a plentiful use of strange and learned terms. Many honest and not at all ignorant people are led to suppose that, under these new and uncouth words, some before-unheard-of system of ethics is announced,—some "wonderful improvements" in theories of conduct. But strip off the finery of the new phraseology, and below the disguise may be readily detected the old and simple Hebrew precept,—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Modern ethical theories may deal in many high-sounding formulas, but beneath the best of them the substance of thought consists of this old commandment and the Golden Rule,—which mankind in all nations somehow contrived to discover before any philosophical theories of morality were ever thought of.

WM. J. POTTER.

HONOR TO GOETHE.

Faust, Egmont, Iphigenia, Götz, Wilhelm Meister, Hermann and Dorothea, have been guiding stars of literary progress for the last hundred years. They shine brighter than ever now. Whole forests of criticism and imitation have sprung up under this genial radiance, and art has found its choicest themes. Science, too, remembers gratefully that forerunner of Darwin and Spencer, who gave botanists the inspiring truth that the various parts of the flower are only modifications of the leaf, assuming new forms to meet new conditions. His discoveries, claimed also for Oken and D'Azyr, that men have a mid jaw-bone, like other animals, and that the skull is only a highly developed vertebra, have been of great help in bringing to light our real origin. Goethe advanced, as Haeckel says, with gigantic strides, so far beyond the naturalists of his own age that scarcely any of them could follow him; though this failure to appreciate him was largely due to his obstinate partiality for his worthless theory of color, which scientific men have been unanimous in rejecting, but which fascinated Hegel and Schopenhauer.

We who read *The Index* have a peculiar right to honor Goethe, because his views of theology and philosophy were so much like our own. While paying religion all the respect due to its historic importance, he pointed out the defects in its various manifestations as clearly and boldly as could have been done by his own Mephistopheles. There was little change in his views from 1781 to 1831. In the former year, he wrote thus to Lavater: "It is a robbery for you to tear out all the noble feathers of a thousand different fowls, in order to deck your own bird of paradise. . . . Even a supposed voice from heaven would not convince me that water can burn, or a virgin

bring forth a child, or the dead arise. Rather hold I this for blasphemy against the great God and his revelations in nature. I am as earnest in my faith as you in yours; and, if I were to speak openly, I should speak for the aristocracy which I think inspired by God as zealously as you do for the monarchy of Christ."

In 1831, he places among Faust's last speeches that which, with the change of a few words in Bayard Taylor's admirable version, runs thus:—

"The sphere of earth is known enough to me;
The view beyond is barred immutably:
A fool who there his blinking eyes directeth,
And to find men above the clouds expecteth!
Firm let him stand, and look around him well!
This world means something to the capable.
Why needs he through Eternity to wend?
He here acquires what he can comprehend."

Earlier in the same great poem is the well-known suggestion of Mephistopheles that no student of theology can hope to succeed, unless he sticks to only one teacher, taking all he says as infallible, and, in general, holding sacredly by words. Such passages should be kept in mind, as we hear about the course of Goethe lectures which begins next week at Concord. Nothing shows better the extent of his fame than that he should be thus honored by the adherents of a system about which he wrote, in 1827, thus: "Of the Hegelian philosophy, I do not want to know anything, although Hegel himself pleases me. I have, in any case, already got all the philosophy that I shall need until my end,—indeed, properly speaking, I do not need philosophy at all." (Düntzer, *Life of Goethe*, Vol. II., p. 396.) It was thirty or forty years before that he had made Mephistopheles exclaim:—

"I say to thee, a speculative wight
Is like a beast on moorlands lean,
That round and round some fiend misleads to evil plight,
While all about lie pastures fresh and green."

It would be easy to fill columns with quotations on almost every subject, showing how far Goethe rose above his age, and how fully he enjoyed the light of those views which are now most advanced. We may well say of *Faust* what its author said of *Reynard the Fox*, that it is the world's unholy bible.

No bible, however, is infallible; and there is one subject on which Goethe was not so far advanced as many of his own contemporaries, like Schiller, Fichte, Rousseau, Franklin, and Paine. No American can forget that the great question of the age was whether the people should govern themselves or be governed by kings and princes. The great agitation for political liberty began before Goethe was born, and lasted after his death. His ablest works were written during the crisis of the struggle. It must be frankly acknowledged that he took the wrong side from first to last, and amid the constant protest of his friends. His first successful work, *Götz von Berlichingen*, degrades those heroes of 1525, who died in a vain attempt to set free his enslaved countrymen, into mere robbers and murderers. There is as great a misrepresentation as Shakspeare committed against Joan of Arc. The ability of men of humble rank to set their country free is disparaged with similar disregard, not only of the truth of history, but of the rights of citizens, in *Egmont*. This was at the outbreak of the French Revolution, to which grand movement Goethe responded by his *Bürgergeneral*, a farce evidently written in order to expose the sacred cap of liberty to cruel scorn. Faust's final working out of his own salvation is made to depend largely on his achievements in protecting a good-natured emperor, who had shown himself utterly unfit to reign, from being deposed by the best of his subjects. This is all the more significant because Goethe passed more than

fifty happy years as one of the ministers of an absolute sovereign, acquiesced without protest, so far as we know, in driving away the free-souled Fichte from his professorship in 1799, and took an active part in suppressing, in 1816, the journal in which Oken advocated political reform. The life-long favorite of princes and fine ladies could, perhaps, scarcely be expected to do justice to the oppressed. But we cannot honor him as we do Victor Hugo and Emerson.

Neither can we forget how he deserted women after winning their hearts; how this infidelity almost cost Frederika her life, as he acknowledges; how he kept poor Christiane, whom he finally married, almost twenty years as his mistress; how much likeness there is to Don Juan in the adventures of his Egmont, Wilhelm, and Faust; and how his *Melusina* and *Elective Affinities* represent marriage as too narrow a restraint upon human fickleness. The last-named work, which has a place in the Concord curriculum, brings the offenders to a bad end; and so do the notorious novels about Captain Kidd and Jack Sheppard. More generous views of matrimony, as well as of politics, would certainly have increased his title to honor. But there is no doubt of his place beside Shakespeare, Dante, and Homer, among the world's greatest poets.

F. M. HOLLAND.

SUCCESSFUL FRAUD AS A NATIONAL EDUCATOR.

With all but a small minority of men, who may be characterized as defiant, the triumph of any fraud exercises a great fascination, partly through more or less distrust of their own intellects, partly through moral cowardice, which prompts them to avoid a conflict. Even in matters of personal injustice, many will yield rather than fight; and men are almost always more ready to acquiesce in the sacrifice of the rights of others than in the sacrifice of their own.

When any wrong has triumphed in a country, both individual and national character are more or less perfectly reduced to submission to the successful fraud,—a truth which the rulers of the miserable human race have never been slow to perceive, and they have rarely shown any lack of promptitude in availing themselves of it. The innumerable examples furnished by history of the crushing of justice by tyrants, through fraud and violence, are a sufficient attestation of the value of their discovery. The only safeguard against their machinations is perfect and complete exposure. After this has been effected, if the individual or the body politic has not sufficient vigor for self-preservation, it will be damned,—I use the term in the etymological sense.

It is as furnishing means for this exposure that, in my opinion, the great value of *The Index* consists. Many of us, it is true, are more or less interested in the discussion going on between the idealists and realists,—on the one hand, the apparently convincing proof that everything is generated in the ego, and, on the other, the inquiry as to why the ego, which generates everything within itself, takes the trouble of addressing itself to other egos outside of itself. Yet I am obliged to confess that, while I would not yield to a single reader of *The Index* in admiration of philosophical and literary excellence, my chief interest in its success and continuance springs from the fact that it is a medium for the perfectly free discussion of all questions of practical importance to humanity. Although its primary and principal object is, as I understand it, the secularization of the government, the complete divorce of Church and State,

nevertheless that liberal spirit which has presided over its management, from its foundation to the present time, has always refused to exclude the discussion of questions of reform, which, though they cannot be said to have any connection with this object, are nevertheless of capital importance to the human race. Notwithstanding the acknowledged ability, therefore, which marks *The Index*, I, for one, must say that, if this perfect freedom of expression, which is its most distinctive feature, were suppressed, my interest in its success would instantly cease. In spirit, it is the legitimate successor of the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-slavery Standard*.

In accordance with this characteristic, we find in its columns energetic appeals in favor of womanhood suffrage and the rights of the laborer, discussions of Mormonism, apologies for the "mugwump" movement, and even disguised defences of Irish disloyalists, who manifest the strength of their convictions by assassinating rent-paying tenants, hamstringing their cattle, and blowing up with dynamite public edifices on the opposite side of the Irish Sea, with imminent peril to life and limb of innocent men, women, and children.

The first of the frauds which have passed unchallenged in our history was the national pretence in the belief that "all men are created equal." This belief was, as every one knows, avowed by the nation in 1776; and, although the single colony of Georgia was permitted to annul the principle and enter the confederation of the original thirteen with the plague spot of slavery, the pretence was kept up, and the Constitution so adroitly worded that, although slavery was never named expressly, the institution itself entered under cover of a hypocritical verbiage, and rapidly infected the entire nation, with what enormous disaster we were effectually taught in the culminating rebellion of its supporters.

The national hypocrisy which was generated by this pretence, and which found its expression in spread-eagle Fourth of July orations and in almost universal national boastfulness, rendered it easy for the enemies of liberal government to plan and execute their criminal designs, and made a corresponding self-sacrifice on the part of Garrison and his coadjutors one of the most difficult tasks ever encountered by a band of generous men and women united to attack a powerful wrong firmly enthroned in Church and State and in the hearts of a people thoroughly debauched through acquiescence in a successful fraud. The abolitionists were the *enfants perdus* of this battle, and have never been surpassed in the world's history in intellectual comprehension, moral integrity, and unflinching determination. The effects of this enormous fraud still paralyze the nation and thwart the efforts of the liberal party, notwithstanding our incurable boastfulness, which endeavors to ignore the humiliating fact. Through these means, the nation has been intellectually stultified and morally blinded,—a truth which is everywhere patent through the spirit of compromise, an abnormal capacity for hair-splitting in justification of wrong, and a general tendency to the use of indirection, deception, and trickery in our national politics, in which no one dreams of expecting or requiring honesty. If any one did so, he would be set down as an entertaining example of simplicity.

The pretences of the Christian Church constitute another obtrusive example of successful fraud, which has exercised a most disastrous influence on our national character. It has constantly and ostentatiously thrust itself forward as the sole representative of the spirit of Jesus, who ever ministered tenderly to the needs of the wretched of

earth, and taught explicitly that true religion consisted in succoring the miserable, the least of whom he especially singled out as his brethren. The Church which assumes his name has remorselessly outraged the rights of these very brethren of Jesus, everywhere acquiescing in and generally apologizing for and defending the institution which crushed them to the dust, in some instances even buying and selling them on the auction-block. And the late Judge Black, who was an exceedingly orthodox member of an evangelical church, among his very last utterances declared his devotion to the lost cause of slavery, without rebuke, so far as I know, from a single Orthodox writer or speaker. And now its recognized defenders impudently arrogate to that Church the credit of abolishing the institution, publicly vilifying the only men and women who ever raised their voices against it. The ruinous intellectual and moral effects engendered by the acceptance of this fraud are incalculable.

This kind of persistent effrontery assumes a peculiar form in the Romish Church. The recent Plenary Council in Baltimore had the coolness to declare "emphatically" that there is no antagonism between "the laws, institutions, and spirit of the Catholic Church and those of this country." An example of more brazen impudence has never been presented to an admiring world. For, if there is one principle which is recognized in America and secured by civil enactment, it is the right freely to judge public men and measures,—the right of free discussion. Now, I fancy that Innocent XIII will be regarded as authority in the Romish Church in the United States. It is but a few years since he publicly uttered these words:

"We cannot conceal the fact that, with a strange impudence, things have reached such a pitch that anti-Catholic schools have been opened under our own eyes, at the very gates of the Vatican.

"The situation resulting is such that we are compelled to see error establish its chair in our city, while efficacious means for imposing silence are denied us."

The italics are my own. But little imagination is required on the part of those who are even moderately acquainted with the doings of popery to form a tolerably correct idea of the nature of the "efficacious means" the lack of which the Holy Father laments.

These fraudulent pretensions, also, are generally allowed to pass without exposure; and thus another disastrous influence is added to those so long active in confusing the intellect and moral sense of the nation. I cannot say what may be the condition of things in Boston, but in Philadelphia there is not a single newspaper into whose columns even a brief presentation of these facts would be admitted. And, quite recently, a pretentious literary club of this city "gave a reception" (whatever that may mean) to Ryan, the archiepiscopal mouthpiece of His Holiness here, a man who has never made a single contribution to the literature or science of the world, and whose sole recommendation for the honor is that he represents the obscurantism of which his Church is the most conspicuous advocate and support. When this dignitary was introduced to his see, the most notable banner in the procession which escorted him bore the inscription, "Filial obedience to our ecclesiastical superiors," a fact of which the president of the club and his associates could not have been ignorant. One woman knelt before His Grace and solicited the privilege of kissing his hand, which was kindly accorded to her.

Now, if Col. Ingersoll, who is probably, at least the equal of His Grace in intellect, and is very certainly superior to him in loyalty, not only to the

country, but to those enlightened principles which one would expect in a literary club,—if Col. Ingersoll were to take up his residence in Philadelphia, we should look in vain for any such recognition of his services to the nation and the party of light and progress. The president of the Penn Literary Club is the son of a distinguished Unitarian clergyman. William Hogan, once a Romish priest, says that he has found the Unitarians of the country especially friendly to popery.

The reason of the singular discrimination referred to above is that the archbishop is the representative of retrogression, while the energetic Colonel is an aggressive leader in the attack on popular wrong and error. His Grace is said to be very insinuating,—not an uncommon trait in those whom the Romish Church selects to represent her, especially in very responsible and conspicuous positions.

Quite recently, the public was notified that the Catholic Historical Society (Catholic history, you know, is quite different from vulgar history) would hold a meeting in the rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and that an accomplished papist would hold forth in a dissertation showing "William Penn's friendly relations with the Catholic Church." This discourse will naturally be characterized by that peculiarity to which I have referred parenthetically. Penn's own words are: "And that Principle which introduces Implicit Faith and Blind Obedience in Religion will introduce Implicit Faith and Blind Obedience in Government. This is that Fatal Mischief which Popery brings with it into Civil Society, and for which such Societies should beware of it and all those that are Friends to it."

The latest instance of successful fraud on a large scale is the accession to power of a political party whose entrance upon the discharge of governmental functions was both planned and executed in fraud and violence, without which the opposing candidates at the last presidential election would unquestionably have been inaugurated. So little disguise was there in this matter that the party journals favoring the usurpation openly declared beforehand that the South would be made "solid"—that was the term—through these means, and all this in the face of ostentatious professions that the whole was done in the interest of "civil service reform,"—the purification of American politics. A more barefaced usurpation the history of the world does not furnish,—a usurpation which was accomplished through the defeat of constitutional government in this country. And the people have been publicly complimented, even by Republican journals, on their cheerful acquiescence in this outrage. Much of this acquiescence on the part of Republicans is the result of a vain hope that they will still be allowed the undisturbed enjoyment of the emoluments of office. "The Golden Age" (with some change in the interpretation of the phrase) has returned. Theodore Parker's admirable *bon mot* has not lost its force. According to that truly great and independent man, the American doctrine of the Holy Trinity takes this form: "I believe in the golden eagle, I believe in the silver dollar, and I believe in the copper cent."

This latest lesson in fraud, as a national educator, is the legitimate consequence of those which preceded it, and paved the way for it. Its results will conform to the principle which I have endeavored to elucidate in this communication, that the inevitable consequence of successful fraud is national deterioration. It is another example of what a distinguished living French historian calls "the vicious reactionary spirit of the nineteenth century."

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

PULPIT INSINCERITY.

A prominent clergyman, who "confessed a disbelief of several doctrines upheld by him in his pulpit," asked why he did not avow from the pulpit what he admitted in conversation, answered: "The time is not ripe for that: my congregation is not ready. You know what St. Paul said: 'I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able.'" The *Christian Register*, alluding to this case, pertinently remarks, "It is quite likely that the congregation would be ready, if the minister was, and perhaps even rejoice to get meat instead of the insincere milk of the Word." The "insincere milk of the Word," which many congregations get from the pulpit, is skimmed, watered, adulterated, and unfit even for intellectual babes and sucklings, such as those to whom Paul wrote. May not the difficulty with some of the clergymen who imagine "the time is not ripe" for the utterance of their thought be in their own unripeness, morally if not intellectually, rather than in the unripeness of the time? They seem to think that "the time is not ripe" for them to speak their thoughts until they have been made popular by the labors and sacrifices of those foolish enough, with their mistaken ideas of duty, to give the world, through evil and through good report, their honest convictions,—those who believe that "To side with truth is noble when we share her wretched crust, Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just."

Socrates, Jesus, Luther, Bruno, Galileo, Paine, Parker, Emerson, and Darwin did not think it necessary to wait for the time to ripen before making known their ideas, the expression and defence of which, indeed, they seemed to think the most effectual way to prepare the people to understand and accept them. But the thought of some ministers is so profound and precious that it must be kept from the people for a generation or two, because, forsooth, "the time is not ripe" for it! If such ministers would but indulge the luxury of talking in the pulpit with entire sincerity and frankness, they would experience a sense of relief, and feel that inward peace and that self-respect which come from conscious loyalty to truth, and at the same time discover that multitudes in the churches and outside of them are ready and glad to hear from the pulpit their most radical views. There might be, among some of the older members of their congregation, a little stir,—just what is needed, probably; but the radical utterances would surprise nobody by reason of newness or novelty. These clergymen should therefore tell the people all they know and honestly believe in regard to religion, and cultivate courage and independence in learning more and in giving the results of their study and thought to their congregations. Nothing in this age of increasing intelligence can be more fatal to the moral influence of the clergy than insincerity in the pulpit.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

COL. R. E. WHITMAN writes from Glen Haven, N.Y.: "Mr. Newton's paper, published in *The Index*, is a clear expression of what thousands are thinking and feeling. It breathes a live religion, a true and vigorous faith. He touches the keynote of revolt against so-called religion, when he says: 'The very violence of the denunciations of religion may, then, simply prove the depth of feeling which has been outraged, the intensity of the loss which appears to have been sustained. Humanity has been fed on dogmatic gravel long enough. It asks for bread, and, despairing, seeks it elsewhere.' All honor to Mr. Newton."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS the *Jewish Messenger*: "We recognize it (the new revision), as a step in advance, but only a step. The marginal readings strike us as evincing more Hebrew knowledge than the text. The work of the American revisers appears in several instances to have surpassed their English colleagues in exactness and scholarship. It would be both unjust and impertinent for the Jewish pulpit and press to fail to acknowledge the merits, such as they are, of the new version. We hope that in the next revision, a century or so to come, rabbis and Catholic priests will be found among the revisers."

THEOLOGICALS are in the habit of ascribing everything good or imagined to be so, in the natural world and in the affairs of men, to God, and dwelling on the wonderful wisdom of his works. But Talmage says, "What God does is not so wonderful as what he does not do." So it seems when one imagines such a God as Talmage believes in, and thinks of a cyclone, an earthquake, or a pestilence. Carlyle, in one of his fault-finding moods, complained that "God does nothing." So long as men construct gods in their own image, and hold to the notion that the order of nature is subject to personal will and volition like their own, we must expect all sorts of speculation as to what God does and "what," to quote Talmage, "he does not do," and such expressions of disappointment and despair as that of Carlyle from men who cannot reconcile with their fancies the irreversible facts of nature.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE, in a sermon on "The People's Sunday," says: "I would have cheap Sunday afternoon trains into the country on every road leading out of the city. I would have cheap steamers down the harbor. I would have art galleries and reading-rooms wide open and free." "This for the afternoon. On Sunday morning, I would have everybody, so far as possible, go to church. . . . And, then, the Sunday evenings, if I could have my way, should be given to the home in the company of wife and children and friends." To Mr. Savage's sensible ideas in regard to "The People's Sunday," we add the suggestion that there should be also forenoon trains into the country for such as prefer to spend the early part of the day in the fields and woods, where can be found at all hours "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything."

A WRITER in the *Banner of Light*, after protesting against attempts to expose the trickery of mediums in a public circle, where there are "common rights and a common understanding as to the conditions," concludes as follows: "There are frauds, I admit. I find them, every day and hour, in every department of society. I have not the least doubt that ninety-nine out of every one hundred of so-called exposers are themselves the veriest frauds. If not in this, then in other things. They might find ample employment in casting the monstrous beams out of their own eyes. They prove their fraudulent character by violating the common understanding and obligations of all circles. We should resent these things, and teach these charlatans that we have rights which they shall respect." Our spiritualistic contemporary calls attention to the "remarks on 'exposers,'" from which this extract is taken, and "which readers in the latitude of Boston," it thinks, "may peruse with profit at the present time."

THE following is from an article in the *Liverpool Mercury* by a writer whom we recognize as

one of the contributors to *The Index*: "When this curious family, so closely allied to the salt-water lobster, first arrived in the Kentucky cave, in that misty past which is scarcely measurable in terms of years, so far back is it, they were doubtless of the same size as their relatives, and as keen of eye as any of them; but, in the deep, dark recesses of the cavern, where no ray of sunlight ever comes, their eyes were of no service, and so died out. Any organ which is not used will finally be lost, just as the arm of a Hindu fakir, which he holds above his head through the weary years to please his god, will become shrivelled up and useless. So, too, with the organs of thought. If men put their thinking out, as they send their washing, to be done by some one else, they will become incapable of reasoning intelligently. Then they will follow their leaders like a flock of sheep, and, at the dictation of the 'unco guid,' shout for the closing of museums on the only day on which those for whom they are primarily intended can get a chance of visiting them."

THE words we recently credited to the editor of *Liberty* should have been credited to an editorial contributor to that paper. Our quotation was from a paragraph which we found reprinted in an exchange, and taken, as we supposed, from an editorial article, when the copy of *Liberty* in which it appeared was not at hand. The editor of *Liberty* thinks it "altogether likely that Mr. Underwood in committing this offence knew what he was doing," and calls attention to it "simply to show the devices of which this Free Religionist is capable,—devices quite in keeping with the political methods which he champions." At the same time, he observes that the quoted words command his approval, and that "there is no harm done in this case." Still, this correction is due him, and is cheerfully made. The invitation to notice some of the "material in *Liberty*" which invites criticism we shall accept when the editor of that paper becomes broad and just enough to discuss principles without indulging in petty personalities and spiteful abuse of those who take exception to the anarchistic theories he has adopted and is trying to disseminate.

In a letter to the Boston *Herald*, Don Piatt says:—

The rule of the majority is to the last extent exacting and brutal. When brought to bear upon our eminent men, it is also senseless. Poor Garfield, with his sensitive temperament, was almost driven to suicide by abuse while alive. He fell by the shot of an assassin, and passed in an instant to the roll of popular saints. One day it was contempt to say a word in his favor, the next it was dangerous to repeat any of the old abuse. History is, after all, the crystallization of popular beliefs. As a pleasant fiction is more acceptable than a naked fact, and as the historian shapes his wares, like any other dealer, to suit his customers, one can readily see that our chronicles are only a duller sort of fiction than the popular novels so eagerly read,—not that they are true, but they deal in what we long to have the truth. Popular beliefs, in time, come to be superstitions, and create gods and devils. Thus, Washington is deified into an impossible man, and Aaron Burr has passed into a like impossible human monster. Through the same process, Abraham Lincoln, one of our truly great, has almost gone from human knowledge. I hear of him, read of him in eulogies and biographies, and fail to recognize the man I encountered, for the first time, in the canvass that called him from private life to be President of the then disuniting United States.

In the Providence *Evening Telegram*, we find the following favorable mention of Mr. Hinckley and his society:—

The society bearing the name of Free Religion in our midst has had its best guarantee of usefulness to the community in the number of earnest-minded and sincere people who have gathered about Mr. Hinckley,

who has been the leader in all good work undertaken by them. The society has been singularly fortunate in its minister as a man full of moral solicitudes, tempered by a just and reasonable mental control. There have been few, if any, moral and philanthropic plans set on foot in Providence during the past several years in which Mr. Hinckley has not appeared as an adviser and worker. We speak, of course, only of those plans to benefit the less favored classes, to which all who were interested were invited, regardless of sectarian or political association. To the call of these, the minister of the Free Religious Society has been found always obedient. Let the Ten Hour Law, the Civil Service, the Equal Rights of Citizens, Temperance, suffice to illustrate what we mean. Such movements often win for those who lead them a reputation for idealism and Quixotism; but they will demonstrate often that, though the knight rides a tilt alone against a gigantic wrong, the knight is greater than the dull opposing force, in that he is a man and alive,—life always wins in the end.

A Tokio correspondent of the *Chicago News* writes thus of Japan: "There is a remarkable absence of pauperism in this country. The rich men are few and far between,—that is, counting riches as we count riches in America; but a man with an income of \$1,000 a year is considered a wealthy man, and a peasant or farmer who has \$100 laid by for 'a rainy day' is ranked almost among the capitalists of his district. In all the empire, it is estimated that there are less than ten thousand paupers,—a wonderful record for a population of thirty-seven million. Not to make comparisons, which Mrs. Partington says are 'odorous,' I suppose you have at least ten thousand paupers in Illinois. Perhaps your readers will begin to think I am falling into the habit—a habit as old as the days of Shakspeare—of travellers who praise everything in foreign lands, and depreciate everything in their own. There is a tendency in that direction when one compares the social life, the happiness and contentment of all classes here, with the relative conditions which prevail in America. I am not opposed to missions or missionaries, but I honestly believe that enlightened Japanese missionaries could do much good in America."

A GERMAN journal, describing Bismarck in the Reichstag, says:—

When he begins to speak, the color of his face changes from pale to red, and gradually assumes a light bronze shade, which gives his powerful skull the appearance of polished metal. It is a surprise to hear Bismarck speak for the first time. The soft, almost weak voice is out of all proportion with his gigantic frame. It sometimes becomes so soft that we fear it will die out altogether; and, when he has spoken for a while, it grows hoarse. The Chancellor sometimes speaks very fast, sometimes very slowly, but never in a loud tone. He has no pathos whatever. Some of his most remarkable words, which in print look as if they had been spoken with full force, as if they must have had the effect of a sudden thunderbolt on the audience, are, in reality, emitted in an ordinary tone of well-bred conversation. Personal attacks upon his enemies are spoken by Bismarck with ironical politeness, and in such an obliging tone, as if they concealed the kindest sentiments. But, if his anger cannot be heard, it can be seen: his face gradually grows red, and the veins on his neck swell in an alarming manner. When angry, he usually grasps the collar of his uniform and seems to catch for breath. His brows are lowered still more, so that his eyes are almost invisible. His voice grows a shade louder, and has a slight metallic ring in it. The sentences drop from his lips in rapid succession. He throws back his head, and gives his face a hard, stony expression. But it is difficult to discern when his anger is real and when artificial. The Chancellor has been seen trembling with rage, and more like the elements let loose than like anything else.

"THERE has been and is," says the Boston *Sunday Herald*, "a decided belief that the Christian religion, while accomplishing something for humanity in the way of philanthropy, does not appeal to the unselfish life of humanity with

nearly the force that pure altruism does. It is thought that the rewards held out in the future life debase the purity and consistency of human conduct. Men feel that philosophy takes higher ground than religion, and content themselves, as George Eliot did, with an ethical working system that controls the forces of this world without the intervention of Christianity. The avenues of cultivated thought and the lines of practical life are full of these ideas, and to a great degree they are guiding the conduct of the world. . . . There can be no doubt that, when presented as a scheme of rewards and punishments, Christianity, in the light of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, takes on odious and repulsive features, and aids the revolt toward agnosticism. The reply is that this statement of the truth of the resurrection is not Christianity. It is an attempt to influence the renovation of humanity from wrong motives, and has filled the churches of the land, wherever this kind of motive has been presented, with insincerity and hypocrisy." But the *Herald* thinks that "what Christianity means is that Jesus Christ is enthroned in the heart of humanity, and that he leads the higher life of the world."

GEORGE ELIOT. *For The Index.*

As when the siren voices held in thrall,
In days of old, the wanderers by sea,
Enchanting them with wondrous melody,
So did thy spirit to our spirits call,
And keep them spell-bound in new realms of thought;
And even as the song, divinely sweet,
With undertone of sadness still is fraught,
So, too, thy voice with sorrow was replete.
Thyself a shining light, thou knew the shade;
But, from the silence of the soul's recess,
The lamp of thy great genius shone afar:
The weary worker in his loneliness
Descried the ray, and dreamed it could not fade.
To him thou art as an immortal star!

GOWAN LEA.

WORDS. *For The Index.*

If every bitter phrase our lips let fall
Sped winged forth,
Homeward to fly some day at Memory's call,
From south or north,
From west or east, with threefold piercing power,—
Would we forego
The sneer unjust, the taunt, in anger's hour?
Ah, no! Ah, no!
If one should say, "This night, but newly dead,
The pall shall drape
Your friend, who now sits hale and rosy-red,"—
Would we not shape
Each act, each look, with longing, lingering love
And tenderness,
Anointing him with the full strength thereof?
Ah, yes! Ah, yes!
If we could know! O hearts that break anew
Each morn and eve,
Had all your speech been just and kind and true,
Ye would not grieve
As they that have no hope, thinking on graves
Where, cool and green,
Above dear silent forms the long grass waves
Or winds blow keen.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PA.

HELEN T. CLARK.

WHEN we consider that what gives a man value among men, and holds firmly our regard for him, is trustiness,—the thing meant when it is said, "you can depend upon him,"—we are inclined to rate integrity first, and to count the absence of it as the most moral defect.—*Anonymous.*

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

DISCUSSION OF SOCIALISM.

Addresses following Dr. E. Heber Newton's Essay at the Convention of the Free Religious Association, May 29, 1885.

Address of Mr. Frederick A. Hinckley.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Twenty-three hundred years ago, in the kingdom of China dwelt one of the world's great souls, who declared, "Whatsoever ye would that man should not do unto you, ye should not do unto them." Eighteen hundred years ago, the Galilean carpenter's son proclaimed in the affirmative form the same truth. From other regions, from India and Persia and Arabia, and from all around the globe, have come down to us that constant aspiration and longing of humanity for the coming of the time when all class lines should be wiped out, and all men in the world should stand side by side, hand in hand, and shoulder to shoulder in one brotherhood. It is the same aspiration, it is the same longing, which speaks in Socialism to-day. All down these years, men have been meeting in churches; and they have been trying to save their souls for the kingdom of future bliss, unmindful of the fact that the best way and the quickest way to save the human soul for the future is to save the human body for the here and now. And to-day it is the same old question we are considering. And as we look through the various channels of society, and try to find out how well that dream has been realized, how practical has become the religion of which men have talked and for which they have longed in all these years, what do we see? We see on the one hand the mansions of wealth, on the other the hovels of poverty. It is not necessary that we should stop to investigate. The most momentous problem of the day, which stares us in the face so plainly that there is no one so blind but he must see and feel its force,—the problem of social sci-

ence, the problem of a reformed political economy, the problem of religion itself,—is so to order the conditions of this world that every child born into it shall have a fair opportunity of growing up happily and usefully, and of leading a progressive and beautiful, an earnest and loving life.

And if, to-day, after all these years of study, after all the earnest life-work which has been put into the ages of the history of mankind, if to-day the thinking and feeling people of America are not ready to take this problem into their keeping, to devote to it their best efforts, to do all they can to help its solution, then rest assured, friends, other agencies will come in, other forms of settlement be found, which will be neither pleasant nor creditable to us to contemplate. For, if the history of the world shows anything, if the history of all the great causes for the enlargement of the rights of humanity shows us anything, it shows us that the time comes when it is not safe for the thought and the conscience of the people to leave certain questions alone. And I hesitate not to say, earnestly and solemnly, that the time has come, in the history of the relation between labor and capital, when the thoughtful and the loving and the just people of our communities can no longer remain silent concerning it. [Applause.]

Why, friends, if we could only forget all about the future, if we could only sink all our differences of theology, of metaphysics, of philosophy, in this grand thought of standing side by side and shoulder to shoulder, for the practical interests of humanity, what an influence we could have right off here to-day! [Applause.] The summons has come to us on this platform this afternoon, the summons has come to us from the Episcopal Church. Already the question is agitating the progressive minds in all the communions; and I believe that it is for you and for me now, in a spirit generous, hearty, and enthusiastic, to assure our brother who has come here that we answer him from the depths of our hearts, and that, by the Eternal, we will stand by his side, and by the side of all men who, like him, feel the momentous issue which is upon us,—stand side by side with him and with all noble souls in striving to bring about that time when all human kind, without distinction of race, condition, color, sex, shall be blended into one grand humanity and genuine religion, capable of winning all our hearts, having fused all our purposes and melted us into one. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. Henry B. Blackwell.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is eminently fitting that in the Parker Memorial Hall this subject should be considered; for you remember that Theodore Parker preached one of his most impressive sermons to show the importance, the necessity, of some change in the individualism of the society of his day, and you recollect the illustration that he made of the social ideal, as it presented itself then. And it is not fifty years since, here in New England, that the bravest effort ever made, perhaps,—certainly as brave as any,—was made to inaugurate a perfect Christian society in the form of the Brook Farm Association. And all over the country, under the influence of that movement, there were more than fifty combinations of men and women who tried to live a Christian life in a sense in which it is impossible to live a Christian life to-day. I was then young enough to feel the ardor of the enthusiasm of the advocacy of social problems, and to take the heartiest interest in those attempts at their solution. I had a sister who for some time was in the Brook Farm community. I had other friends, one of whom passed away only a few months ago, who was, I some-

times think, the best man I ever knew,—Charles H. Codman, known to most of you,—who spent his childhood in the Brook Farm Community.

And, although that movement was not successful, pecuniarily, because it ignored and overlooked those fundamental laws of business which are the pecuniary laws of gravitation, and which will have their way; and though failure was therefore fore-ordained from the commencement, because it hadn't a material basis for success,—yet I never met a man or woman who was at Brook Farm, who did not say it was the most happy, the most useful, and the most delightful portion of their lives. I recall old Miles Greenwood, of Cincinnati, known for many years as one of the most enterprising and successful pioneers in the manufacture of iron in the Mississippi Valley, a man of Herculean frame, of great native powers, though small cultivation. I remember he once said to me: "Mr. Blackwell, I have made a half million dollars,"—and in those days half a million meant more than five millions means to-day,—"but I have never lived except when I lived in the community of Robert Owen at New Harmony." Said he: "I had existed before, and I have existed since. I have been what men call a successful man, but I never knew what it was to live except when I was at New Harmony." And I have heard such sentiments expressed by many others. And although Horace Greeley had to go back to the *Tribune* office, and Charles A. Dana, another Brook Farm boy, has found his material basis in the editorship and proprietorship of the *New York Sun*, and although those forty or fifty movements faded away like the rainbow that has been spoken of, they left their impress in the minds and the hearts of the generation that is now passing away. It took form in the anti-slavery movement and the woman suffrage movement, and all the great social movements that have been agitated since then for the improvement and elevation of society.

Now, I don't like the name "Socialism" very well, because it seems to be so vague. There is not a man who wants to live on the earnings of his neighbors, who is not liable to call himself a socialist. It means anything that men choose to make it. I like better the word co-operation. Because I cannot forget that, while it is true we are made brothers and sisters in this world, it is also true that we are made our own natural care-takers in this world, and that no man and no woman can safely trust the management and direction of his or her personal affairs to any society or any organization or any government. [Applause.] I believe to the very marrow of my bones in the doctrine of individualism. [Applause.] I stand to-day with Thomas Jefferson on the principle that "the best government is that which governs least." I claim that more important than to secure any organic change is our duty to make government take its hand off of industry, and to do away with these legislative monopolies which bind and fetter the industry of men and the industry of nations. [Applause.] I want, first of all, a political society that is true to the ideal of Socialism, a society that recognizes woman as the equal of man [applause], and every man as the equal of every other man. I don't expect to see a government succeed while a certain class undertake to manage the affairs of the other class, and that the best and the most Christian class which we have. I want that every man and woman, in the first place, should be recognized as members of society; and then, perhaps, we may have a government worthy of the word.

Then, again, I don't want to be tied up with the doctrine that monopolies are necessary. And yet they are necessary. Railroad companies are

just as essential to the building of railroads as anything can be, but I would criticise them sometimes. What can be more necessary than manufacturing corporations? And yet manufacturing corporations are selfish. When I saw, only yesterday, that in Rhode Island they had adopted the ten-hour law for women and children, I thanked God. [Applause.] And yet, to-day, when I spoke to one of the most public-spirited and earnest friends of human happiness and human welfare whom I have ever known, who is also a Rhode Island manufacturer, I learned that it was a question, even in the mind of that good friend of human rights, whether the passing of this law was or was not a benefit. And, certainly, it is true that it was done by demagogism. It was done, not from a sense of right on the part of the Legislature of Rhode Island, but because the workingmen organized themselves and defeated certain members of the Legislature; and the members of the Legislature, taking alarm because certain other members had been defeated and their own heads were in danger, enacted the ten-hour law for women and children. Well, now, you know that is a very poor motive; and yet that is the way in which reform comes. Reformers themselves are selfish.

I recollect that Mormonism, with its attendant evil of polygamy, grew directly out of one of the noblest movements, in some respects, we have ever seen in this country, when the men and women who had been impressed by the preaching of Smith,—a genius and, I presume, a self-deluded fanatic, but, I believe, a sincere man,—driven by persecution, took up their march to Salt Lake City under Brigham Young, and underwent privations and sufferings that were worthy of the early Christian martyrs. And for what? To sacrifice their individuality to a religious despotism which would condemn men to ignorance, and is content to place woman in worse than slavery. Thus has the fruit of the sacrifices of the zeal of those pioneer Mormons become a menace and a danger to our very institutions of Church and State. A zeal without knowledge is not safe; and I think the first duty we all owe to each other is to make our own lives, as nearly as we can, a success, according to our own best conception of what success means. [Applause.] Let us live truly by our own conception of duty, and do all we can to lead others to do the same.

It is the first duty of a man in business to pay his debts. He cannot afford to put borrowed capital into socialistic experiments or into churches or into any good and charitable cause, so long as he needs the money to make his own footing secure. We ought, first of all, to be able to stand on our own feet, to represent ourselves, and, if we have any more vitality left, then we ought to do what we can to help other people to stand on their feet, and get into a position to help themselves. And so, while I am hardly a socialist, still I recognize the nobility of the aspiration, and sometimes feel as if I am willing to give up everything, except the advocacy of women's rights [laughter and applause], and go out with other men and women to do as the Brook Farmers did,—to try to live a Christian life, and try to have the kingdom of God around us. It would be the most glorious happiness a man or woman could enjoy, to do that very thing. But we have all got to consider. We have all got to look at both sides, and be careful that, in our advocacy of Socialism, we do not lose sight of that other doctrine,—the doctrine of individuality. [Applause.] Both of these gospels have to be preached; and I am not now preaching the gospel of selfishness, but the gospel of self-help.

I was reading, only a day or two ago, of one of the most noble instances of human heroism of which I have ever read or heard. It occurred in my own city of Cincinnati, and in a printing-office, among laboring people. You all read the account,—how, by the upsetting of a can of benzine, a fire was started and instantly spread through the combustible material in the midst of which men and women were working, and in a moment, almost before you could tell it, the building was in flames. The brother of the employer rushed up into that dangerous place, and began assisting the poor girls to get out of the window, lowering them down one after another by a rope, and, finally, while descending himself, the rope was burned, and he was dashed to pieces. And a poor colored man, who has not yet had his own social equality fully recognized in that city, bravely sacrificed his health, and almost his life, in trying to break the fall of the girls who jumped from the upper windows of the building. But, while this man who lowered down the girls by the rope sacrificed himself in saving three or four of them, another man had the coolness and the presence of mind to see that there was a trap-door in the roof of the room; and, in a few moments, he threw open that trap-door, and saved a dozen or more lives, without any risk or any danger to himself. Now, you see how the presence of mind of this man was worth more than the heroism of the other man. He looked to see what could be done; and, while the other man was laboriously lowering a single girl by the rope, he saved a dozen by the trap-door, where they all might have been saved, if they had only kept their wits about them. That is what we must do. We have got to try to help our fellow-men and our fellow-women; but we must begin by studying the laws of nature and of common sense, and by making our own lives solvent. And, if we can make ourselves solvent, we have put ourselves in a place where we have a right to try, also, to make other lives solvent and successful.

The PRESIDENT.—Mr. Blackwell has told us something about the Brook Farm experiment, and of his having a sister and friends in that institution. But we have a gentleman on this platform at this moment who was himself there, one of the original Brook Farmers; and he has not yet lost his dream, though long ago awakened rudely from it,—his dream in a better state for humanity, through the principle of Socialism. I have the pleasure now to introduce to you Mr. John Orvis.

Address of Mr. John Orvis.

I remember during the early period of the associated movement, by which was known that great socialistic agitation out of which the Brook Farm sprang, that, as it came up before the minds of seers, whose hearts had been awakened to the claims of humanity through the anti-slavery and other causes, they were made to feel that there was a broader question than that of mere chattel slavery, or the rights of the negroes. An anti-slavery lecturer myself at that time, I felt called upon to embrace the new and larger movement. And I never shall forget the feeling with which that course on my part was regarded by Mr. Garrison, by Mr. Phillips, by Pillsbury, and Foster, and those with whom I had been associated. They said, "Mr. Orvis, you are recreant to the claims of the slave." I made no reply, but kept steadfast to my faith. Some eighteen or twenty years ago, in a labor-reform convention, which was held in the Meionaeon, we managed to get Wendell Phillips to be present. After he had been listening awhile, he was called upon to speak; and he said, in his crushing manner, with

that coolness and deliberation which of itself was a battery against which common men could not stand: "This is the negroes' hour. Co-operation, the most beneficent word in the English language, will yet have its day; but it must wait at least half a century. When the negroes' claims are conceded, then women's claims are next to be considered." Some of us rose and asked Mr. Phillips by what authority he claimed to announce that this was the negroes' hour, or woman's hour, specifically. The fact that these other questions were here, in the providence of God, was reason enough for their consideration. And we told Mr. Phillips that neither the question of slavery, nor the right of a man to himself, nor the rights of a woman, would ever be justly settled until this broader question of an equitable and just relation in a true social order was solved.

Now, it would seem to me, from what I have heard this afternoon, that really the Nihilists, these so-called dangerous classes, are the only people who have a real faith in religion; who have a faith, I mean, in the practical doctrines of the Christian religion, who have a faith in justice, who have a faith in righteousness, and who demand that these things shall be made practical. What do you witness? The orthodox religious world, on the one side, facing these dangers, as they think, of Socialism, say that there is no hope for human salvation, except in the vicarious atonement of Christ; and they call upon us to accept him as our final great teacher, and, despairing of happiness and justice and righteousness here, to look for it only hereafter. On the other hand, there are the political economists, who equally despair, and who are teaching the doctrine that justice does not enter into the principles of political economy. They have seized the ideas which have been given to them by the apostles of the evolution theory of Herbert Spencer and of Darwin, of the survival of the fittest, and they say, "That is the law in human society, as everywhere else"; and he is the fittest who is the strongest, who is the most unscrupulous, who survives in the midst of an internecine conflict. Here we are relegated back to the old doctrine of Thrasymachus, as he sat at the feet of Plato, who attempted to demonstrate to his pupils that justice was more profitable than injustice; and, calling upon them to define what justice is, Thrasymachus says, "I proclaim that might is right, and justice the interest of the strong." We have got back, in our political economy, to that; and the Anarchists and the Socialists are the only people who raise any protest against it.

Now, we have heard a good deal during this meeting of the necessity of scientific direction. I believe in science, of course; but has the world been really uplifted by science? Was there any science in the teaching of Jesus, in that great command, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and mind and soul and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself"? What is the meaning of that? That you shall love justice, that you shall love right, that you shall love love and justice before all other things. Who now has any faith in the practicability of love? Who believes in justice as you believe in gravitation? And what is justice but righteousness, and what is science as applied to society but justice?

Now, if we believed in moral truth as we believe in gravitation, do you think that the iniquities, the crimes, and the overreaching and fraud which exist everywhere in society would remain to-day? Not at all. We have got, then, to come back to this fundamental teaching. This question of the rights of labor is at the front. It came up when the Northern men had been South

and settled the question for the negro slave; when they marched home, their hearts beating dead marches in sympathy for their slain comrades, their reversed arms, whether they knew it or not, were charged to the muzzle with the rights of the laboring man everywhere. That question is up; and it is never to be settled, or to go down, until it is finally righted. [Applause.]

And, friends, it is to be settled in this way: It is to come before the people, just as Garrison placed the great issue of slavery before the people. It is to be considered in its moral bearings. Never before has the labor question, or any aspect of Socialism, except sporadically, been presented on that basis. It is for us to decide whether we will take up this question of social equity, and adjust it, as we may, or whether we will pass through a period of blood and revolution. It is for the privileged, it is for the educated, it is for the wealthy, it is for the wise, to say, "We will take hold of this problem, and settle it on the basis of righteousness," or, neglecting it, leave it to be settled as the issue of slavery was settled. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. Giles B. Stebbins.

Mr. Chairman and Friends,—I so admire the wonderful patience and endurance of this audience that I shall show my respect for them by saying but very few words. And let me say, first, that I am especially gratified that, in such a company of men and women, favored by fortune beyond the average, there has been such earnest, intelligent, and thoughtful interest manifested in the affairs of those who may be thought to be below them. It is the lifting up of the lowly. Now, a fact or two, in order to help us a little in any work in that direction. It is, I think, demonstrated by the latest statistics that all over the civilized world there is a little uplifting of the average condition of the laboring man,—very little, but still it is gaining. And, in this country, most favored of all countries, it is found that the percentage of the value of the products of labor which goes to the laboring man is larger than in any other country in the world. That shows the uplifting tendency of our free institutions.

Now, this afternoon, as I listened to the gentleman, Dr. Newton, who gave the opening address, I was especially glad that he presented us the higher aspect of a great movement of our time, because you cannot judge any movement in political economy or religion or anything else, unless you take into your consideration both its higher and, perchance, its lower aspects. I am more familiar with the West, the home of my adoption, than with the East, the home of my birth. I know, for instance, that in my city of Detroit, if you go among the men who talk the most and the loudest about Socialism, you will find a disagreeable preponderance of bad beer and worse tobacco and mean whiskey. And, more than that, these men are not like the patriarch of old, who said, "Would that I could curse God, and die"; but they curse God and live on, and drink their bad beer and whiskey.

Now, that is the bad side of Socialism. The movement is not to be judged by that; but, taking that extreme into account, we must also take in the other extreme, which our friend so admirably and ably portrayed before us in his excellent address this afternoon. You remember, doubtless, in the story of the old French Revolution, that, when the Bastille was besieged, the liberated prisoners joined with the ferocious mob that assaulted it to batter down its walls. They didn't stop to build up anything: that was not the work of the hour. They said in their desperation and

in their fresh awakening from despair: "Smite down these battlements, tear away these foundations, wrench down these iron bars! Give us a sight of the blue sky, and give us a breath of pure air to breathe!" That was the first desire. That is the first desire of ignorant and sometimes embroiled men, who feel that they are crushed, and want some remedy. But time changed all that. The children of the men who tore down the foundations of the Bastille are to-day building up, and trying to build wisely, the foundations of an enduring, glorious French Republic. And so the children of the ignorant and embroiled in our time, let us hope, will by and by be doing something for a better future for us all.

Let me say here, just a word, that my feelings are decidedly with corporations. I have been familiar with a number of capitalists and employers of laborers in different parts of this country, and have met the gentlemen under circumstances where they would sit down with me, or were sitting down together, and talking over these matters confidentially. And so I have got at their real feelings touching this subject. They were able men, they were humane men, they were just men, in the main; and I think that, really, to-day, there is often found quite as much justice on the part of the employer toward the employed as there is on the part of the employed toward the employer. But this varies with character. Now, I have heard these men express themselves in this confidential way: that they have small faith in strikes. They didn't like labor unions, but they always spoke with the utmost respect and confidence of the coming of co-operation at some time in the distance. And they always said, too,—and that is a good lesson for the workingmen,—that co-operation never could be possible, unless the workingmen are intelligent and self-respectful and wise and frugal. And so there is this work for the workingman to do for himself on the one side, and this work for the capitalist and the employer to do for the workingman on the other.

But, leaving that, a word only in regard to the other topics that have come up here this afternoon. I think that to-day, so far as the religious aspects of Socialism are concerned, there is a strong tendency, among the lower class of socialists especially, to reject everything that has had a religious nature in the past. They scoff at the very name of religion. They sneer at the future life. They laugh at the priesthood. They would destroy the Church, its good and its evil alike. I don't wonder at all at this. The day of all that will pass by. I want to express my gratification at watching, here in the good city of Boston, through this Anniversary Week, the trend, the turn, of popular thought. I have seen signs of a healthy reaction. It seems to me the trend of the best thought (and I have noted this in different assemblies during the week) is toward the three great foundations of the religious life of the world: first, toward the conception of a supreme, infinite intelligence, or toward that philosophy of things so tersely and charmingly stated by Waldo Emerson, when he says,—

"Ever fresh the broad creation,
A divine improvisation,
From the heart of God proceeds,—
A single will, a million deeds."

I think we are tending in that direction. I saw in the Unitarian Association, and elsewhere, a tendency toward a higher ethics, toward a nobler morality, toward a more complete consecration to duty. One of the best signs of the times is that my friend Hudson Tuttle, on his great Ohio farm, and Dr. Taylor, in his pulpit in New York, are trying to block out some deeper and more search-

ing system of ethics, not wrought out from any creeds and dogmas, but from the spiritual realities of the soul of man.

And, then, it seems to me the trend is in another direction also: all these problems are to be wrought out, not by the clash and jargon of conflicting sounds as of old, but by a frank expression of opinion on such a platform as this. That is to be the method of settling difficulties and arriving at conclusions.

So I have noted a trend of thought toward a confidence in a continuous personal existence hereafter. Years ago, in the days when, a New England boy, I used to delight to make a pilgrimage up to the good city of Boston now and then to listen to that glorious great man (whose greatness was only exceeded by his goodness) for whom this building is named, there was one emphatic statement he used to make often and grandly: that the deepest, the grandest, and the most convincing proof of the immortal life was that the soul of man had demanded it in all ages and in all countries. I think Theodore Parker was right; and I think that that immortal, that undying desire, that testimony of the soul, is broader and deeper than any testimony of the senses, and is an overwhelming evidence in regard to the continuity of our personal existence in a great hereafter. And yet it should be borne in mind that there are in this country, and throughout the civilized world, to-day millions of men and women, among them some of the gifted, the great, and the noble, and a large company of the plain, middling class that are always the world's best saviors, who not merely believe this through faith, but, after the old apostolic idea, with the knowledge added to faith; who believe in the real existence of their friends, not lost, but only gone before, and of their real presence sometimes in hours of privileged spiritual communion and communication. And so we can leave this question, and all these great questions, to the consideration of platforms like this.

One word, and I close. An allusion made by Mr. Newton to the Church Congress in the city of Detroit not long ago brought that important meeting to my mind. Occupied otherwise, I had opportunity only to attend the sessions for perhaps four or five hours. But I must say that, attending during those four or five hours, listening to the addresses of distinguished clergy and laity in the Episcopal Church, I was refreshed with a sense of the new atmosphere that we are breathing,—I heard so little of the Thirty-nine Articles, so little of the old formalism, so little of the old idea of the supremacy and unity of the Church and State, and I heard, and everybody heard, so much that partook of the spirit of the new days, so much that partook of sympathy with labor, so much that showed an earnest desire for the benefit of the great mass of the people, and so much—best of all, in my opinion—that indicated that, even among the Episcopal clergy, the day is dawning when the supremacy of man's conscience shall be recognized, and the rights of his reason and of his intuitive faculties shall be held above all books, all creeds, forms, and ceremonies, and confessions of faith. We have a great deal to do in this world to bring this better day, and the work which is being done here on this platform is one of the agencies for hastening on the brighter time. [Applause.]

Address of George A. McNeill.

I wish to thank the Free Religious Association, in behalf of the socialists here assembled, for the privilege of the "benefit of the clergy" [laughter], as you know we have all been ranked as destroyers, infidels, and outcasts. But we are told to-day, what some of us have realized for years, that

there is a true Christian religious spirit of inspiration permeating and inspiring us in our efforts to bring Socialism to bear upon our own time. And, in behalf of such socialists as I may represent, I thank our distinguished friend from New York for that historical and that inspiring address which he has given us to-day. [Applause.] Some of us have read the last chapter of Henry George's book, and some of us have interpreted that chapter in its true spirit. But the religious aspect of Socialism is hardly worth as much consideration as the social aspect of religion. The fact is, my friends, that to-day the Church is on its knees, asking what it shall do to be saved; and it is practically calling upon us socialists and labor reformers to save it. And there is nothing else under heaven that can save the Church, except the acceptance of the Christ that it crucifies day by day. For, when Christ stood before Pilate, he stood there a communist and a socialist, crucified, not so much because of the fact of the faith he preached, as because of the danger to government at that time. For eighteen hundred years, the Church has been pointing the despairing soul of man to a future heaven. But it now comes to us at last, or will come to us to-morrow, saying, "We are going to give you something of that heaven here." And, if you want to fill the souls of the despairing with a longing for that heaven in which I believe, give us some taste of it here, that shall make us hunger for more. [Applause.]

Socialism is the destructive and constructive force of humanity moving upward. And, when our friend from Detroit tells us that the Socialism of Detroit is found in the beer garden, it is not found in any worse place than Christ found it. For he was accused of associating with publicans and sinners, and that is all you can say of the beer drinkers. But I have visited these men in their beer gardens. In eighteen States of this Union have I associated with the different nationalities who gather here under our flag; and, though not a drinking man myself, I have often found in those beer gardens more of the genuine religious inspiration than I could find in the churches of the land since the days that our honored Theodore Parker preached in Music Hall. All hail to the Church! I would do it no dishonor. It is the great organized conservative force that has held, by its superstitions as well as by its truths, something of that glorious hope which is now revealing itself as a new light and a new gospel to those priests who are not dumb dogs that dare not bark, —the blind leaders of the blind. We have this week seen a revered doctor of divinity, a representative of the Orthodox Congregational Church in this city, speaking words for Socialism. And to-day that conservative Church, of which I am a member and which I honor, is represented here by our friend from New York. It is glorious that these two extreme conservative bodies have met together this week on a common platform, saying to the Church, "You must reorganize on the social foundation that Christ laid down." Dr. Lyman Abbott said that Jesus Christ not only came to save souls, but he came to save society; and that is what Socialism proposes to do.

Now, my friends, our friend, the distinguished advocate of woman's suffrage, belongs to that fast disappearing class—we are personal friends, and he will excuse the allusion—who are clinging to the idea of individualism, terribly afraid they will lose something of their own, if you put them in the grand whole,—afraid that legislation will in some way interfere with the individual. And while my friend was glad, as all of us are glad, that the Rhode Island Legislature has lifted itself to the level of enacting a ten-hour law, he still be-

lieves in the Jeffersonian doctrine. Now, the truth is, legislation has woven around our limbs its chains for centuries. We stand bound, in wrist and limb, by systems which have been constructed and upheld by legislative enactment; and we can only be emancipated by legislative interference. Wealth is power, and numbers are power, and knowledge is power. And when capital holds its wealth and the power of the cultured class on its side, and seeks to hold us down to the level of the civilization of a hundred years ago, then we rise in our numbers, and use demagogues, if necessary, to enfranchise ourselves. And I believe that to-day, if some demagogue should vote for woman's suffrage in the Massachusetts Legislature, as doubtless many demagogues did, our friend would vote for them rather than for a non-woman suffragist. [Laughter.]

Now, my friends, I don't want to detain you; but I would like to say one or two things about the practical steps in that slow process of evolution which, as we are taught by history and experience, we must take. I know the danger of delusion; but there is one safe, practical step that we can take, one safe, practical step that we must take. Before I mention what that step is, let us look at the condition of things to-day in this free republic, with its high protective duties upon the importation of the cheaper products of Europe. According to the reports of the Boards of Trade, we find that there are millions, I won't say how many, but it is enough to say that there are a million willing men in this country who are unable to find work. The mills in this State and other States are stopping. Why? Because, the political economists of the old school tell us, there has been over-production,—too much cotton cloth, too many boots and shoes, too many musical instruments, too many carpets, too many hats and caps. But, if every man and child were supplied with the things that are necessary for health and comfort, there would be no such thing as over-production. What is the trouble, then? Capital finds very small chance for investment, dividends are diminishing, incomes decreasing, and wages being reduced in this great land of plenty. What can we do to avert the calamity which is threatening us? The remedy is simply to reduce the hours of labor. It is a very simple thing; and yet, if, when that great army of the republic came from the South and went into our workshops as producers, they had gone to work on the eight-hour system, there would have been no panic in 1873. A reduction of two hours a day upon eight million workers means the setting to work of two million unemployed workers: it means higher wages and more intelligence. Here, then, my friends, is a suggestion of a practical step to be taken.

The discussion of this question as a sentiment, and the discussion of this question as a religious matter, are important. But it is also important that the minds of thinking, practical men should be directed to the question, What shall be done now? Not what shall be done to-morrow, but what shall be done now? And, when they look and study as closely as they may, they will find the safest, broadest, and most effective step that can be taken to emancipate labor is in the direction of a reduction of the hours of labor. If I could speak to the united clergy who gather here on this Anniversary Week, I would say to them, "Go back to your churches preaching the gospel of Christ and less hours of labor." Our friend, the clergyman, has told us that, when Christ preached that grand evangel of hope to the poor of his day, they flocked to hear him. Why? Not so much because of the hope in that glorious future promised them as in the hope of some immediate benefit to them

and theirs. Now, that man who does not hope that his children will enjoy more of life and the benefits of civilization than he has enjoyed, that man who has no hope that his children will have a better chance than he has had, that man whose religion does not force him to make a better opportunity for his children on the earth, has no right to hope in a glorious future after death. Let us have, then, I say, a taste of that hope now. I know that many socialists are charged with infidelity and unbelief, and with a contempt for the Church. But where have they been taught that feeling? They have been taught it by precept and example, by the Church itself; and the contempt which the Church has manifested toward every uprising of the poor, and every new departure of free thought, has taught these people, when they do rise, to turn back upon the Church with the same feeling of contempt. Happily, under the auspices of the Free Religious society, the socialists can to-day shake hands with the Church, and express their willingness to go forward to the building up of that Church which Christ founded, and of that hope which he inspired, and which we wish to realize.

The PRESIDENT.—We had expected to hear on this platform one whom we always welcome most cordially, and listen to with the greatest interest, Mrs. Spencer. Unfortunately, we are disappointed. She had herself expected to be present to speak on this topic this afternoon. Yesterday, a telegraphic despatch came from her, announcing that her health would not permit her to make the journey. I wish, especially, she could be here at this moment to sum up the discussion of this subject in a speech similar to the one that she made at the Free Religious Convention in Albany, where a subject kindred to this had been under discussion. Seldom have I heard upon any platform a speech so appropriate to the occasion, which brought out so clearly the various points in the discussion as it had proceeded, and which, also, inspired our hearts with so much of faith and cheer. We cannot have her here to-day. And so it happens, almost for the first time, that we have not had the voice of any woman upon the platform in this Convention. At the festival this evening, a woman is to preside over our tables, Mrs. Cheney. And let me say here, as she has left the house, what I should not, perhaps, like to say of her in her presence. Last evening, at the annual business meeting of the Association, owing to a constitutional necessity which arose from a change of the By-Laws of the Association two or three years ago, she was the one who in regular order was rotated out of office as a director in the Association,—an office which she has held from the very beginning of the Association. No one has brought into the councils of the Executive Committee a more judicial mind, a more sympathetic heart, a firmer conviction of the principles which underlie this movement, and a more faithful persistency in adhering to those convictions, through all the crises through which the Association from time to time may seem to have been passing. She has been faithful through all; and to-night, very appropriately, she presides over our festival. But, though she retires from the directorship of the Association, she does not retire from membership. We shall have her sympathy and her judgment and her wise counsels still.

Shall we hear any further remarks upon this subject this afternoon? The speakers, so far as advertised, I think have all been heard from.

Joanna J. Kaime, a representative of the Canterbury Shaker Community, arose in the audience, and, asking permission to say a few words, was cordially invited to the platform.

Remarks of Joanna J. Kaime.

I felt as though I could not leave the city of Boston without expressing the great pleasure I have enjoyed here in attending the meetings of Anniversary Week with you. When I look back and realize the changes that have taken place since the time the founder of our institution, who was a woman, came to this country, a little more than a century ago, and first pronounced many of the views I have heard expressed here this afternoon and during this week, I say to myself, The world does indeed move. Ann Lee, whom I am pleased to call "mother," first pronounced in this country, as we understand it, the equality of the sexes, and the duality of the Godhead, which is now recognized and indorsed by many outside of our institution. To set aside the doctrine of the Trinity was then considered almost blasphemous. Yet she did that, and established a parental form of government. She denied, too, there was any such thing as a literal physical resurrection.

Perhaps she established the co-operative system as early as any one. Of course, she preached the doctrine of peace and unity; and, coming at the time of the American Revolution, she was imprisoned as one who was a Tory, and as preaching what was detrimental to a republican form of government, which our fathers were trying to establish. But the institution which she so early established has survived so far, and prospered; and whatever there may be of error, whatever there may be of wrong in it, I know that time and the blessing of God will purify it. It has been our effort to live true to the teachings of Christ, and to show ourselves to the world as earnest, honest, Christian workers.

I am glad to meet in this hall with the members of the Free Religious Society. My early days were so blessed with the ideas advanced by the anti-slavery movement, and all the way up since I joined the institution I am in, that I feel I live in the very atmosphere of free thought. My father was an intimate friend of Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, and the *Herald of Freedom* was as well known in our family as the Bible. I remember reading with tears of the murder of our lamented Lovejoy in the West. I have kept pace with the progress of all these movements, and I always feel it a pleasure when I meet any of the friends of woman suffrage or of Free Religious thought.

I came upon this platform to speak these few words, simply from a conviction of a religious duty I owe the institution of which I have been a member almost forty years. That institution has afforded me every opportunity for freedom of thought, for freedom in every respect; and if any advancement is lacking, and there is much which I hope to gain in the future, it is not owing to our institution. I thank you, Mr. President, for the privilege I have enjoyed. I am very glad to have met all these friends here, and hope you may prosper as our prayers go up to God for your success.

Remarks of Mary E. Wilson, of the Canterbury Community.

My dear Friends,—In listening to the earnest speeches this afternoon and throughout the week in behalf of a purer Christianity, of woman suffrage, and temperance, and moral reform, I said often to myself: "Can I leave the city without telling the friends that I live in a home where I believe the kingdom of heaven is established upon the earth? Can I leave the city without proclaiming this truth, and inviting all who have any interest in this direction, who are seeking and asking what they shall do to be saved, to come with us; to go wherever the spirit of God will lead

you to seek a higher life and a greater truth that will bring your souls nearer God?" I have found this life. I have found the truth that has been spoken of this afternoon. It is in Christ. It is a Christian life. It is the purity, the uprightness, the honesty, the nobility, that alone gives a noble character to any one in this world. And it is this character that will bring about the reform that is needed, that will result in the Free Religious associations, that will result in the greatest benefit to mankind. And the Shakers, my friends, are thoroughly in earnest in this work. They are really members of your Association. We are not able to become actual members, for we did not know the fee to pay in; but in life and in principle we are members. And I want it to go far and near. I ask you to bear it in mind, and remember us in your prayers before God as brothers and sisters, as co-workers with you in this universal brotherhood.

This principle is thoroughly exemplified in our societies. Practical peace is there taught, and it is there practised. And there are many other noble principles I might speak of, all taken from the noble pattern of the life of Jesus. We live after that pattern. We have no other pattern, no other Saviour, no other God but the God that you are serving.

Remarks of Mrs. A. M. Diaz.

As a woman, I would like to call your attention to one point brought up by Mr. Blackwell and others, with regard to what question should take precedence. And I want to say that where one human being claims the right to decide questions of right and duty and conscience for other human beings, as men now do for women, that claim should have, certainly, a very prominent place in our councils. Because that might be said to be wicked. Anything which is opposed to the Divine Order is wicked, is sinful; and the Divine Order is the freedom of every individual in everything according to the laws of his being. And while man thwarts that Divine Order in woman, by claiming the right to decide for her, he is wicked and sinful. There is a great deal more that might be said; but at this late hour it would not be proper, and we will put it off for another time. I didn't want to leave without bringing out that idea, as a woman, because I didn't think a man could handle it. They don't know how it feels. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT.—This discussion is getting exciting; and woman, after all, has made good her right to be heard in it. But the clock shows that time will not wait. The hour for adjournment has arrived, and more than arrived; and, with your permission, I will now pronounce the Convention adjourned.

CORRESPONDENCE.**"BEYOND THE VALLEY."**

Editors of The Index:—

This book narrates the experiences of one of the principal pioneers of the new religious thought which is so rapidly supplanting the old in all the more enlightened portions of modern Christendom. His experience forms one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of mental development. Commencing his career as an ignorant, unlettered youth, destitute of even the most ordinary education, he astonished the thinking world by inditing a work in exposition of the great scientific ideas which have since so convulsed the religious world by their bearing on all the prevailing systems of religious beliefs, even before Spencer or Darwin had written a line, losing all the details of the voluminous work on the doctrine that associative progressive development,

** Beyond the Valley. A sequel to The Magic Staff. An Autobiography of Andrew Jackson Davis. Boston: Colby & Rich, publishers. 1885. Price \$1.50.*

through the impelling action of invisible or spiritual forces, was the central principle lying at the foundation of all phenomena, physical and mental. His subsequent works comprise some thirty volumes, on a vast variety of subjects, most of which have been translated into foreign languages, all treating from the same stand-point as the first one, and unfolding a philosophical system more comprehensive and sweeping than any the world has yet had.

This thrilling and beautiful work will prove intensely attractive to those minds who are not too much hampered by the religious prejudices of their creeds, or contracted by that gross materialism which admits the existence of nothing substantial that does not fall within the scope of the external senses. Besides the interesting personal experiences of the author, there are interspersed throughout the work discussions of vital questions of the greatest practical import to every one. Among them is a chapter on crime and the cure of criminals, which the writer would earnestly commend to the attention of thinkers, and also of the author's discussion of insanity, the true relations of the sexes, and several others equally interesting. The whole work is written in language wonderfully clear, concise, simple, and beautifully poetic.

In this book, Mr. Davis brings a large amount of evidence in refutation of the gossip in connection with his recent divorce, including letters from Mrs. Davis. It seems to the writer that no candid mind can read this work without being impressed with the integrity and generous and justice-loving character of its author. Instances of his remarkable faculty of clairvoyance and psychophonic and psychometric powers are as well attested as any facts in human nature; and the writer respectfully suggests to the Society for Psychical Research that they would find a far more prolific and a richer field of inquiry in the experiences and psychical developments of Mr. Davis than in experiments with any half-fledged and undeveloped mind-readers and subjects, who in many cases do not possess the faculty of vision without the use of their eyes equal to that of an ordinary sleep-walker. No reader of this work will complain that it is wanting in variety or that the author lacks the power of language to express the poetical and philosophical thoughts with which it is filled. To those prejudiced minds who have imagined that Mr. Davis' philosophy was lacking in the religious or devotional element, the closing chapter, which consists of a series of morning meditations, is commended to their attention as one of the most beautiful expressions of this sentiment to be found in the English language, which are as philosophical as they are poetic.

F. S.

BOOK NOTICES.

BEYOND THE VALLEY. A Sequel to The Magic Staff. An Autobiography by Andrew Jackson Davis. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1885. pp. 402.

In this volume, Mr. Davis resumes the narrative of his life in much the same style which marks the volume to which it is a sequel. There are many to-day, doubtless, who regard Mr. Davis as a seer, and others, with no belief whatever in his power to discern spirits, who have read some of his works with interest, and to whom his visions and fancies furnish valuable materials for psychological study. The period covered by this "sequel" has not been marked by any experiences in Mr. Davis' life which will seem very striking or remarkable to those who are familiar with *The Magic Staff*. Although the narrative is interspersed with reflections often practical and sensible, there are some portions of the work that are, to our mind, unwholesomely ghostly. The main thought is much like that to be found in the author's other works,—spiritualistic, mystical, and sentimental.

A subject to which a disproportionate amount of space is given, and to which the writer again and again recurs, is his marriage. Evidently, one of the main purposes of the book is to give the reasons which led him, by the advice and direction of his "ever watchful guardian," Galen, recently to apply to the courts of New York for the decree which adjudged his marriage null and void, on the ground that the divorce obtained by his wife from her former husband in Indiana was not valid in the State of New York. He discovered, it seems, soon after his marriage in 1855 that, although "pleasantly associated

with a gentle, loving, and intelligent woman," he was not united, as he had supposed, to his "eternal mate in conjugal life." On Oct. 4, 1884, when he was walking upon "Crescent Beach," between Old Nahant and the city of Boston, a voice from above said: "Nullify your legal tie. The time is almost come." Three days later, Galen said, "You may write to Mary nothing will tempt you to return to New York until she and you are on the way to legal personal liberty." We may be permitted to doubt whether Galen or any other spirit out of the flesh uttered these words, although Mr. Davis is probably sincere in thinking so. We believe him, too, when he says: "I am an advocate of perfect individual liberty, but I am no libertine. I am wholly for the freedom of the affections, but I am no free lover (in the licentious meaning of the term)." It is none the less true that his theory of eternal spirit mates, to which he gives such prominence, in connection with his own personal experience, would, if people should adopt it and attempt to carry it out, leave marriage with no other foundation than mere fancy, whim, and caprice. When Mr. Davis, with all his supposed spiritual knowledge and wisdom, and with the help of Galen and other wise spirits who have been in the Summer Land many centuries, has had such poor success in trying to find, and perhaps has not yet found, his true eternal spirit mate, how are ordinary men and women going to discover theirs? Mr. Davis was mistaken, as he thinks, as to his "spiritual counterpart" in 1855. He may be mistaken again. What confidence can plain, practical people, who are not "interiorly" illumined, have in their ability to select, without numerous trials at least, their eternal spirit mates? When men and women married, and with children who need the care, protection, and love of parents and the influences of home, discover, as one or both of them may think, that they are not spiritually mated, should they separate and search further for their true mates, or forbear with each other and remain together, deferring the eternal mating business till they get into eternity? Marriage is founded in the love of the sexes, in the desire for offspring, in the need of a home, in the requirements and interests of civilized life. It is refined and elevated by the cultivation of the nobler parts of our nature. It will be improved by larger knowledge, and by more judgment and forethought in the selection of conjugal companions. But we do not see how Mr. Davis' theory in regard to eternal spirit mates can either be proved true or be of any value in adding to the permanence or the purity of the marriage relation. It is enough that husbands and wives who are strongly attached, and who believe that death is but the entrance to a larger life, will find satisfaction in believing that their love will continue undiminished in the life beyond. B. F. U.

OBITER DICTA. New York: John B. Alden.

This is one of Mr. Alden's judicious reprints of English writings, likely to please fastidious readers. It was issued in London anonymously, and met with a warm welcome from the English reading public, selling rapidly through several editions. The author is said to be Augustine Birrell, who has an article on Emerson in *Good Words* for June. The work consists of seven essays, critical, didactic, philosophic, humorous, and egotistic, on the following subjects: "Carlyle," whom he criticises in a supercilious manner, which makes one long to hear the fierce philosopher's estimate of him; "On the Alleged Obscurity of Mr. Browning's Poetry,"—poetry which to the author of *Obiter Dicta* is not at all obscure. "No other English poet," he declares, "living or dead,—Shakspeare excepted,—has so heaped up human interest for his readers as has Robert Browning." The essay "On Truth-hunting" seems to discourage in the main any such quest, for he avers that "nothing so much tends to blur moral distinctions and to obliterate plain duties as the free indulgence of speculative habits." The essay on "Actors" must be rather disheartening to men like Booth, Irving, Salvini, etc., since his dictum is that "no man of lofty genius or character ever condescended to remain an actor." He evidently doubts even Shakspeare's genius in this sentence. He finds a subject more to his taste in "A Rogue's Memoirs," meaning thereby the memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, of whom he writes: "Though, doubtless, we prefer saints to sinners, we may be forgiven for liking the company of a live rogue better than that of the lay-

figures and empty clock-cases, labelled with distinguished names, who are to be found doing duty for men in the works of our standard historians. What would we not give to know Julius Cæsar one-half so well as we know this outrageous rascal?" The drift of his essay entitled "The Via Media" may be learned from the concluding words: "The world is full of doleful creatures who move about demanding our sympathy. I have nothing to offer them but doses of logic and stern commands to move on or fall back. Catholics in distress about infallibility; Protestants devoting themselves to the dismal task of paring down the dimensions of this miracle, and reducing the credibility of that one, as if any appreciable relief from the burden of faith could be so obtained; sentimental sceptics, who, after laboring to demolish what they call the chimera of superstition, fall to weeping, as they remember they have now no lies to teach their children; democrats who are frightened at the rough voice of the people, and aristocrats flirting with democracy. Logic, if it cannot cure, might at least silence these gentry." The closing essay has for its subject "Falstaff," in whose character, as depicted by Shakspeare, the author of *Obiter Dicta* sees much to admire. These essays are very readable, however much one may dissent from the opinions contained therein. The style is piquant from its very egotism and assumption of being authoritative. S. A. U.

BIRDS IN THE BUSH. By Bradford Torrey. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 300. Price \$1.25.

The readers of Mr. Torrey's book will doubtless arise from its perusal with some doubts as to whether "a bird in the hand" is really "worth two in the bush"; that is, if the birds in the bush are studied with the loving interest and philosophical scrutiny evidently bestowed upon them by this writer, who weaves from his observation of their songs and habits many curious and fanciful bird romances, which will be read with interest even by those who are not themselves bird lovers or students of ornithology. "At best," he says, "it is very little we can know about what is passing in a bird's mind. We label him with two or three *sesquipedalia verba*, give his territorial range, describe his notes and his habits of nidification, and fancy we have rendered an account of the bird. But how should we like to be inventoried in such a style? 'His name was John Smith; he lived in Boston, in a three-story brick house; he had a baritone voice, but was not a good singer.' All true enough, but do you call that a man's biography?"

A unique feature of this book about birds is that nearly all the birds of which Mr. Torrey treats are those to be found on Boston Common, and the unobservant frequenter of the Common and the Public Garden will no doubt be surprised to learn that more than threescore different species of birds can be found therein. The titles of the chapters will give an idea of the scope of the work,—“On Boston Common,” “Bird-Songs,” “Character in Feathers,” “In the White Mountains,” “Phyllida and Coridon,” “Scraping Acquaintance,” “Minor Songsters,” “Winter Birds about Boston,” “A Bird-lover's April,” “An Owl's Head Holiday,” and “A Month's Music.” S. A. U.

THE CHILDHOOD OF JESUS. By W. C. Gannett. London: Sunday School Association.

This is a reprint by an English Unitarian Association of Rev. Mr. Gannett's rationalistic interpretation of the boy-life of Jesus for the use of Unitarian Sunday-schools. This is made interesting by relations of the mode of life among the people and in the land where Jesus lived; and the meagre details supplied by the New Testament writers are helped out by descriptions of the usual life of the children of that age and country, and by inferences drawn from the allusions found in the allegories and sayings ascribed to Jesus. The narrative part of each chapter is followed by review questions, with "hints for the class-talks" and "hints for conversation" on the topics treated.

THE *Art Amateur* for July has an interesting notice of a French artist who died last May, Alphonse de Neuville. He was one of those men of natural talent who persisted in pursuing his career in spite of early discouragements. He painted scenes of military life and life on the seashore. So careful was he in the study of all the details of his work that the walls of his studio were full of bullet marks where the painter

had fired, in order to get models for effects in his pictures. It gives also an account of the life of Henri Scott, a young artist only thirty-eight years old, who was suddenly stricken down in the Louvre, just after he had come from the varnishing of his picture at the Salon of 1884, and who was taken home and never recovered consciousness. Like many young artists, he found his best chance for becoming known in work for illustrated papers. He contributed many spirited sketches to *La Vie Moderne*. His success stimulated him to overwork, which was probably the cause of his early death. Several pine woodcuts from his sketches are given, and a drawing of the artist by Adrian Marie. One of these sketches is of the beautiful Abbey of Mont St. Michel on the island of the same name, of which a full description is given. "Art Life in Rome" contains some good hints to artists, and a pleasant notice of the new Cleopatra of Mr. William Story. The *Art Amateur* is good reading for warm weather, and would afford profitable matter for discussion to groups at watering-places. E. D. C.

In the July number of the *North American Review*, David Dudley Field and Henry George have a "conversation" on "Land and Taxation." Dorman B. Eaton gives his ideas as to the results of civil service reform. "Is Christianity Declining?" is the subject of an article by Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst. Gail Hamilton writes on "Prohibition in Practice"; President J. B. Angell, George T. Curtis, and Justice T. M. Cooley on "The Extradition of Dynamite Criminals"; and William Clarke on "An English Imperialist Bubble." The other articles are by President S. C. Bartlett, on "The Subterranean History of Man," and by Thomas W. Knox, on "The European Influences of Asia." These, with the free-hand "Comments," make an unusually strong number.

THE Boston publishers are already sending to the trade tempting announcements as to what they propose to offer for the holiday season. D. Lothrop & Co., who promise to outdo all their previous efforts in the line of beautiful gift books, among other elegant books will offer *Heroines of the Poets*, *Stabat Mater*, and *The Old Arm-chair*, with illustrations specially designed by Lungren, Hassam, Miss Humphrey, and others.

ROSE KINGSLEY, who is one of the choicest of English writers, has a new book, which is to have fine original illustrations and reproductions of rare engravings, in the press of D. Lothrop & Co., entitled *The Children of Westminster Abbey*.

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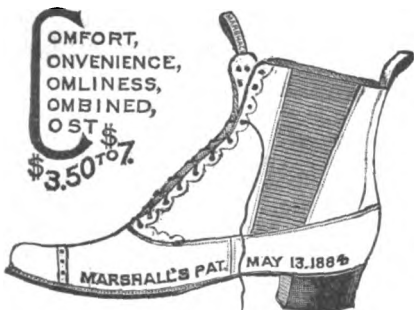
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

LAST week, employes of rolling-mills in Cleveland, mostly Poles and Hungarians, who had been hired because of the cheapness of their labor, and who were on a strike for higher wages, marched to all the rolling-mills in the city, broke down the doors and gates, assaulted those whom they found at work, and forced them to depart. The city authorities did not exhibit much courage or efficiency, and the State militia had to be called upon to restore order. Intelligent workingmen not less than their employers must regret such lawless acts.

The bill for the gradual extinction of slavery, introduced by the new government of Senator Saraiva into the Chamber of Deputies of Brazil, aims at steady emancipation by the means of indemnity to the slave owners, like the British Act of Emancipation in the West Indian Islands. The premier expects that by 1892 there will be no slaves in the country, and that this great social and industrial revolution will have taken place with but little friction or temporary injury even to the social condition or business prosperity of that country.

FREE thinkers in Germany, as in this country, are generally disinclined to unite in an organization for the advancement of their views. Still, the German League of Free Thinkers, we learn from the *Milwaukee Freidenker*, numbers about one thousand members. The additions the past year have been two hundred. There are affiliated societies that hold regular meetings in Berlin, Stuttgart, Cologne, Hamburg, Bremen, Vienna, and other cities. The Berlin organization bears the name of Lessing, as others do the names of Humboldt and Feuerbach. Dr. Louis Büchner is the best known member of the League.

THE French Republicans will issue, before the date of the next election, a manifesto, demanding a reduction in the period of military service to the shortest time compatible with the exigencies

of the national defence, economic reforms, especially a readjustment of taxation, and a policy which will guarantee freedom of conscience, and oppose that clericalism "which, under the mask of religion, is really a union of all the factions hostile to the Republic." The manifesto will condemn a foreign policy of adventure, and appeal for a union of all French Republicans against the Monarchists. There is, it is evident, a lack of unity and of well defined policy among the Republicans of France, and it will not be surprising if the Monarchists make gains in the autumn election.

THE French Chamber of Deputies, for the purpose of encouraging an increase of population, has made a liberal appropriation, to be used in supporting and educating every seventh child born in French families and in needy circumstances. In the present state of European affairs, the statesmen of France are, doubtless, impressed with the importance of a large population, from which to draw for military purposes; but an increase of population by paternal provisions like that of the Chamber of Deputies is hardly possible, except by lowering the average intelligence and moral and social condition of the people. War and the armed defence of nations by the necessity imposed of stimulating increase of population, thereby intensifying the struggle for existence among the poor, and selecting the young and able-bodied for the battle-field, are a continual hindrance to the advance of civilization.

A CLERGYMAN writes from Boston to the *Brooklyn Times* that many people who have grown dissatisfied with Unitarianism, and are not quite ready to become Methodists or Baptists, are going to Episcopalian churches. "Undoubtedly," he says, "that Church is the most successful assailant of modern rationalism here for the present." We have heard the Episcopal Church spoken of as a Church that "never interferes with politics or religion." We cannot vouch for the truth of this statement; but we know many free thinkers who attend Episcopalian churches, and we are inclined to think that they do not attend from any interest in what is commonly called religion. The method of the Episcopal Church of assailing rationalism seems to be that of quietly absorbing it, and saying nothing about it, and at the same time holding out to all classes of intelligent people strong social attractions. We recognize in this no assault upon modern rationalism, but rather its acceptance, and one of the means of its diffusion and incorporation into the beliefs and life of the world.

IN an apostrophe to Gen. Grant last Sunday, Rev. Dr. Nettan said: "O illustrious sufferer in yonder cottage! what a lesson thou art teaching to the warriors and statesmen of the world and to the youth of that country thou hast saved, by finding within thyself at this supreme moment those elements of repose and happiness which to-day excite the admiration of mankind, and fill the hearts of angels with delight!" There are those who appreciate Gen. Grant's military ser-

vices, but do not forget those of a multitude of other heroes, many of them now resting in Southern graves, who contributed to the work of "saving" the country; and there are those who view with respect Gen. Grant's patient and dignified bearing during his trying illness, but do not care to hear it preached about and praised as something rare and exceptional, in order to magnify by contrast the virtues of one man, when in almost every community are men and women suffering and dying upon whom the gaze of "warriors and statesmen," Dr. Newman, and the rest of mankind, is not fixed, and in whom the courage, fortitude, and thoughtfulness for others are not less admirable than in those whom circumstances have raised to eminence.

AFTER eight days of interruption of its business, with attendant inconvenience to the public and expense to the city treasury, the Chicago Car Company, in a conference between a committee of the strikers, the officers of the company, and representatives of the city government, agreed to take back all the strikers, and to investigate the conduct of the sixteen men who, the strikers have declared, were discharged for no other reason than that they were leaders in the agitation which led to formal complaints by the drivers and conductors, and secured from the superintendent recent concessions. In agreeing to these peaceful terms of settlement, the company has yielded to a strong public opinion, which desires to see the legal rights of the company respected, and at the same time its employes treated with fairness and justice. One of the orthodox ministers of Chicago, when the excitement was at its height, in his Sunday sermon, talked about mowing the streets with artillery, etc., if necessary to enforce the law; but there was, fortunately, no need of carrying out this rather premature suggestion, for the law-abiding spirit was strong among the strikers and the people generally, although there was an element which only a strong police force restrained. And the peaceable ending of the difficulties, which at one time threatened to be very serious, gives satisfaction to all classes. Sooner or later, the disagreements arising between corporations and their employes, especially when the interests of the public are directly concerned, must be settled by some kind of arbitration and according to common sense. Especially when a corporation, established for the convenience of the public, asks for special protection against their workmen and those in sympathy with them, on account of alleged injustice done them, the corporation should be required to submit the matters in dispute to a board of arbitration. Had this been done in Chicago at the beginning of the difficulty, the strike could have been avoided, and loss to the company and its employes and to the tax-burdened city prevented. Of the sixteen men discharged by the Car Company, fourteen have been reinstated; and the president of the company has stated that there was no adequate cause for their discharge by the superintendent, thereby virtually condemning the action against which the employes protested.

BOURBONISM.

Bourbonism is a word that is not found in the dictionaries, unless it be in very late editions. Yet it is a word with a well-known and very expressive meaning. Of the sovereigns and princes in Europe of the Bourbon stock, it has become a proverb that they never learn anything new and never forget anything old. Their brains are of the iron-clad order, impervious to a change of impressions of any sort. Hence, they are conservatives, not from principle, but from sheer habit. That to which they were born and bred is to them a divine right,—an order of things that should be fixed and eternal. The progressive course of events, new ideas, proposed reforms, affect them not in the least in respect to their beliefs and efforts. If things move on and jostle them out of place and power, things are at fault, not they; nor will they deign to change their plans or principles to suit the new emergencies: they will wait for things to come back to them. Of course, things will not go back. There is a logic of events that is continually pushing to the front new problems for solution, new political and social conditions. The politics of Europe have progressed, and the Bourbons accordingly and inevitably have been left behind. They complain and talk of their divine rights, and do not cease to present their claims; but society cannot stop to listen.

This represents the general attitude of the Bourbon stock. It is true especially of the individuals of the Bourbon blood who have sat upon thrones. It was the marked characteristic of the late Count de Chambord, claimant of the throne of France, who lived and died in a firm religious faith that nothing had happened in France since 1830 which at all impaired his right to be its sovereign. In the Count de Paris, a more progressive kind of blood mingles; and he appears to have used his eyes and brain to some purpose in learning what is going on in his own time. And Alphonso, of Spain, though but a weak monarch, seems to have heard something of the echoes of the acclamations of praise that followed King Humbert's heroic visits to his cholera-stricken subjects in Naples last autumn, and a few days ago actually broke away from his keepers, and went *incognito* into the cholera district of his kingdom, greatly to the consternation of his ministers and parliament. But these occasional individual exceptions do not break the force of the proverb that Bourbon blood is incapable of learning and incapable of forgetting; and so *Bourbonism* is a word which has been coined to represent that cast of mind which is insensible to conditions of political change, and sets itself doggedly to stem all the currents of progress.

It is in respect to politics that the word is specially used. The Bourbons in French politics are those who do not recognize the fact that France has ever been a republic or an empire. The Bourbons in Italy are those who have no political recollection that Humbert or Victor Emanuel has ever reigned as king of that country. The Bourbons of the Democratic party in the United States are those who persist in believing that the ascendancy of that party means the return to power of the same party with the same principles which had the administration of the national government in the days before the slave-holders' rebellion. The Bourbons of the old Whig party were those who continued to believe, as late as 1860 and 1861, that nothing of importance had been taking place in Kansas and Nebraska, or had happened to the Missouri Compromise. And now a well-defined Bourbonism is developing itself in the Republican party. It consists of those of the party who appear

to be unable to see that the conditions of political questions, or the issues that divide the political parties, are at all different from what they were in the time of the war and the years immediately following. The Bourbonism of the Democratic party shows itself, too, in the too oft rehearsed claim that Tilden and Hendricks were only kept out of office in 1877 by Republican fraud and usurpation,—a claim repeated at the last Yale College Commencement, where Vice-President Hendricks was foolishly introduced as a man who had twice been elected to that office. And a spirit akin to this species of Bourbonism appears among those Republicans who maintain that it was only by fraud and usurpation, on the other side, that the present Democratic administration came into national power at Washington. The truth is, in our view, that both of those Presidential elections, considering the unusual incidents and excitement attending them,—the Republican in 1876 and the Democratic in 1884,—furnished a signal proof of the strength of our national polity, and will be so regarded by the impartial historian.

But it is not in politics only that this quality of mind called Bourbonism may be seen. It prevails especially in religious matters. Those Christians who decline to recognize any new version of the Bible are Bourbons in religion. Those members of the Southern Presbyterian Church who voted to depose Dr. Woodrow from his professorship in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, because he had ventured to teach a mild form of evolution, are Bourbons. The Pope's encyclicals, which from time to time fulminate from the port-holes of the Vatican the most sonorous denunciations of all those features of human progress which specially characterize the present age, represent the very essence of Bourbonism. The Orthodox preachers, here and there, who are still preaching in their old logical rigor the Five Points of Calvinism, are the Bourbons of Orthodoxy. But every sect has its Bourbons, even the most liberal. They are those who stand by the creed and ways of the fathers, and remain blind to the fact that there are children and grand-children who may also have brains and conscience. Even the Liberalism that is outside of the churches displays its Bourbonism. There are Liberals who keep fighting on the same field of battle where Paine and Voltaire made the assault, and seem not to have learned that all the enemy who are worth thinking about have left for other intrenchments. They keep firing away at forts which were long ago silenced, and are only garrisoned now by a few belated stragglers or by members of the theological invalid corps. Too much of the argument of modern Liberalism against the Bible and the churches is of this sort. It may have its use against the Bourbonism of the other side, but neither that nor this appears to have any true appreciation of the mental and moral forces which are summoned to the solution of to-day's problems.

Reformers, as well as other people, need to be on their guard against making a fetish of the cause to which they have specially given their labors. It is much to know when a cause has been won. It is a mark of the highest military genius if a general discerns when he has conquered, and can move forward at once to use the advantages which his success puts in his hands. Had McClellan seen at Malvern Hill what the Confederate commanders have since told him, that he was then and there complete master of the field, the war might have been closed in '62. So the most efficient reformers, besides ability, vigilance, and zeal, have the additional wisdom of knowing when their reform is accomplished. After the work is really done, to go on thrashing the old straw, while the same energy is called for in fresh

fields that are ready for the sower or even crying for the harvesters,—this is one of the saddest kinds of Bourbonism.

WM. J. POTTER.

CHRISTIANITY AND LEGISLATION.

III.

I ought not to leave unmentioned the revival of the Roman law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; for it was a very important event in European history, and, as Blackstone says, "established in the twelfth century a new Roman empire over most of the States of the continent."

The papal lawyers saw at once that it could be used to strengthen her hands at the expense of the feudal aristocracy; and they procured for it her sanction, and did their best to introduce it. Its despotic doctrine of the divine right of kings pleased royalty everywhere; and it cannot be denied that the Roman rules of trial had a good effect in limiting the abuses of trial by battle and trial by compurgation or ordeal. But it was so alien to the time that its best legal points remained unappreciated, while its worst, its hideous sanction of torture, came into general use, in spite of the instinctive repugnance of Teutonic nations. Notwithstanding its faults, however, the Roman law had a power of growth in it which the feudal law had not; and to-day it is the basis not only of our maritime law, but of most of the codes of Europe. In England, under the Normans, who had a genius for legislation, it was for a time popular, and was even cited as decisive for a few years under Edwards I. and II.; and it is the basis of Bracton's work. But it was always regarded as an alien system by the mass; and, when the Norman element had merged itself in the people, the Roman law was ignored by the king's courts, though still administered by the ecclesiastical courts, with more or less modification, as canon law, until their abolishment by the Puritans. During all this time, the jurisdiction of these priestly tribunals in England was very extensive, though rather ill-defined, including a large part of the minor offences, heresy and some crimes like adultery and embezzlement, which we now punish severely at law. Here, also, her judicial processes were very bad. She was seldom allowed to use torture, as she did on the continent, and she had to have a royal warrant before she could burn a heretic; but she ignored the simplest rules of evidence, and often allowed her clerks to escape punishment by taking an oath of innocence. A very considerable part of the community was shielded from all severe punishment for crime by this law of benefit of clergy, and her rule against interest on money was a constant embarrassment to trade.

"It is difficult even to imagine [says Sir J. F. J. Stephen] a state of society in which, on the bare suggestion of some miserable domestic spy, any man or woman whatever might be convened before an archdeacon or his surrogate, and put upon his or her oath as to all the most private affairs of life,—as to relations between husband and wife, as to relations between either and any woman or man with whom the name of either might be associated by scandal, as to contracts to marry, as to idle words, as to personal habits, and, in fact, as to anything whatever which happened to strike the ecclesiastical lawyer as immoral or irreligious." And such is the survival of obsolete laws in England that even "to this day there is no legal reason why any ecclesiastical court in England should not try any person for adultery or fornication, and enjoin penance upon them, to which they must submit under pain of six months' imprisonment. No doubt, however, the first proceeding of the kind would be the last.

The public would not endure it." Add to this her autocratic doctrine of the divine right of kings, which it required a civil war to destroy, and we can easily see why the Roman and the canon law should have been so much disliked by the English people, and why the Christian religion, guided by this unpopular code, had exceedingly little influence upon the common law.

Its name appeared often. The earliest Saxon codes, which consisted mostly of regulations for compounding blood feuds, contained expressions of Christian sentiment, which would have been impressive, if they had not been united with barbarous provisions, which made them wholly inoperative. When feudalism had been forced upon the common law and oppression was at its height, the court solemnly declared that Christianity was a part of the common law; but the only particular in which it ever enforced the law of love, without special legislative sanction, was to punish blasphemy with death. Feudalism, however, was never so bad in England as it was on the continent. In the absence of castles for the nobles or a standing army for the king, life was more orderly, and law more certain and free from aristocratic interference. A middle class sprang up; and trade began with its laws, which after a time were recognized by the State. It is true that much of this legislation was founded on mistaken ideas about co-operation and the State regulation of profits and labor. A certain amount of interference was, indeed, necessary in those lawless times. Each trade had to have its guild for its own protection. But, as civilization thrived and constraint was outgrown, the repeated experience of year after year proved the advantage of free competition; and, slowly, the law adapted itself to it, and developed its true business character.

The first step in its rise was the success of the king in taking the administration of justice, to a considerable extent, into his own courts (largely by certain legal fictions), instead of leaving it to the local courts,—a reform which was more important in its effects, for a time, than the Magna Charta, although it afterward led to the Star Chamber and other abuses. With this came legislative improvement, and especially that wonderful idea of a representative government, chosen by the people, to hold the national purse-strings,—an idea which was entirely new and vitally important. And in the course of time came the other equally original conception of a trial by lawyers before a jury, based upon evidence, guided by precedent, and in criminal matters enforced by the State, and secured by *habeas corpus*, which was the safeguard of British independence.

These two conceptions of how to make and how to enforce law—which seem to us so simple, so matter-of-fact—were as novel then as they were effective. Both were democratic. Both the judicial machinery, which put the administration of justice in the hands of the people, and the legislative machinery, which gave them the control of the government, were the invention of the most brilliant of modern races. The same Norman genius, which, when it had allied itself with the upper class in Europe, produced the aristocratic feudal system, when it took the side of the people in England, produced the democratic common law. That mighty Northern race, whose banners were borne in triumph from the Orkneys to the Sicilies, from Dublin to Jerusalem,—a race which created a new language, a new art, a new literature,—shaped both the two great legal conceptions, the mediæval and the modern, the military and the commercial, the feudal and the common law.

In the narrow field that I have chosen, it would be out of place to describe the moral benefits conferred by the Church, which counterbalanced her lack of jurisprudence. I am confined to the legal side; and, from that side, it must be said that her abuses were so great that the first thing that an English reformer turned to for ages was the clergy. And there he found himself invariably opposed by the whole power of the Church. Over and over again came the same conflict, until the Reformation shook off the supremacy which men had accorded to Rome, and left the king free to make reforms, which swept away her interference with English laws.

H. W. HOLLAND.

MYTHOLOGY.

That which is best, it has been well said, may become the worst, worst possible. We see this abundantly illustrated in the mythologies, vast structures of superstition, resting with crushing weight on all the powers of the mind, and blighting, as with fatal spell and paralyzing terror, the whole life. This came not seldom of a gross literalism taking a bright poetic image or metaphor as strict prosaic truth, a figure of speech as naked statement of fact. It was long ago said by Emerson, speaking of the attitude held by Christianity, past and present, in relation to Jesus, "the idioms of his language and the figures of his rhetoric have usurped the place of his truth; and churches are built, not on his principles, but on his tropes." "Christianity," he declares, "became a mythus, as the poetic teaching of Greece and of Egypt before."

So is it everywhere when the mind attempts to rest in concrete and sensuous rather than to rise and dwell in spiritual and invisible. Mr. Tylor speaks of the "tendency to clothe every thought in a concrete shape, which has in all ages been a mainspring of mythology." This has been perpetually the infirmity, the disposition fixed and, we may almost say, irresistible, to take everything in the letter; in thought, every concept, however in itself ethereal, abstract, or purely spiritual, in liminary, sensuous form.

No language is free from the liability to become this snare. Every line of a poet, every bright, radiant metaphor, striking image or figure, may, by a process of degradation, be reduced to the plane of a literal, poor, and even very gross prose; and out of that will germinate an elaborate, blinding, and enslaving myth. The *nomina*, as Max Müller felicitously puts it, become *numina*, words are made powers, things, gravest realities; names given as personal to some natural object, not seldom, for picturesqueness of effect, are transmuted to deities, made objects of worship, and carry always incantation, frequently witchery and nightmare. The history of many words in all the mythologies and religions, including with them our own, the Christian, is very instructive in this regard.

No blight has ever come to the mind comparable to this that has been wrought by mythology. It is the one arrest, set-back, that has held the spirit as enchanted and enslaved in the witch's castle. And no inconsiderable part of this has arisen from what has been called "verbal myth," misapprehension of words, and especially those of more ethereal, spiritual, or metaphorical import, and building up from them structures of mere and sensuous fancy, culminating generally in darkest superstition and a maddening intoxication. Personalization of that which is impersonal, conceiving natural objects or forces as persons, and arming them as spectres with unknown potencies for ill, also pragmatism and materialization, a crass literalism in dealing with the most vivid, animating pictures and

graphic symbolism in speech, have been the perpetual peril and fatal spell to the mind.

But, conversely to this which has been said in regard to the best, it may be affirmed that that which is worst contains elements that are very best, are of priceless value and unending help for us. The mythology shows transparent as we become free and instructed, read into it and through it; and we find features there of truest beauty and enriching worth. It is the home and repository of what was originally a genuine symbolism. These representations that lie at the basis of many of the myths were pictures, apt similitudes, drawn by poets who could see, read something of the cipher they discovered in nature, and report what they saw.

Even with barbaric and savage races there is not seldom as clear, penetrating perception, as apt and striking statement in uttering some syllable of the beauty and the mystery, as in the most gifted and cultured. The Finns have it, the Kirghis, and the Red Indians of America. Max Müller says that the great Finnish epic, the *Kalevala*, longer than the *Iliad* of Homer, and carried down as it was through untold generations by oral transmission alone, is "not less beautiful than the *Iliad*, and possesses merits not dissimilar." It is a great storehouse of the poetic conceptions, as well as the superstitions, the religion, and mythology of that remarkable people. The Esthonians in Lapland, Maoris in New Zealand, and rude races elsewhere, have pictures as bright, vivid, suggestive of the facts all about us in nature, and the overarching presence that shines amid all, as ever Greek, Hindu, or Hebrew conceived.

Mythology is thus not a dull, dead, dry, effete thing of the past, of a speculative interest only, entertaining or amusing to the curious who would see what wild freaks have been wrought by the fancy in ages ago: it is not a fossil. It is, or rather it contains, living substance, and carries incalculable value to all who would know man's present also, and what lies in the possibilities of the future. Illumined and made diaphanous by the methods of to-day, it becomes a clear, intelligible, and very impressive record of the mind's thought, scripture of its strength and its weakness. These concepts and images are significant and striking, often withal quick with vitalizing power.

We can see a rich symbolism in the myths of the classic and northern races, and in the legends, tales, etc., that have sprung from these myths, and been borne down to our own time. The nursery tales, many of them, are exceedingly interesting, when read in the light of this illumination. They show us something of the boundless fertility of the human mind in devising images whereby to hint its thought in the expressive language of figure, all the more engaging to us that the real and recognized meaning of many of the terms had long since been forgotten.

To the Greek, the sun under one type was an *Archer*. No power less than his could bend that bow, as is shown in the various tales. The arrows, swift, piercing, were infallible. They invariably slew the enemies of the god. The Python was laid at Apollo's feet, brought low by the unerring spear. These arrows, again, or the spear, are, in other stories, a sword,—the sword of Theseus,—which he alone could take up from beneath the great stone under which his father Aigeus had placed it, with the swift sandals; the good sword Gram of Sigurd, which Odin had buried to the hilt in the tree trunk of Volsung's hall, and which Sigmund alone could draw; the stout blade Durandal of Roland; the brand Excalibur of King Arthur, that he alone could unfix from the miraculous stone, and that must of course be thrown into the lake when the king had received

his mortal wound. They are also probably the arrow of Abaris, upon which he rode as upon the wings of light; the "Glaive of Light," in the Scottish tale; and enchanted sword of Beowulf in our old Anglo-Saxon poem, with which he slays the monster Grendel.

Perseus, as he enters the Gorgon's den, wears the helmet of Hades, or cap of invisibility; i.e., the covering darkness. This is the *Tarn-kappe*, or the *Nebel-kappe*, of such miraculous quality, in the Teutonic legends,—an apt expression to indicate the mantle of concealment that the night throws about the advancing hero. Clad in this, which not only shielded him, but armed, giving the strength, as the tale tells, of twelve men, Sigfried engaged and conquered Queen Brynhild, of Isenstein, as related in the *Nibelungen Lay*.

Perseus wears also the *golden sandals*, wings of light, that bear him on swiftly as a dream. These are the *talaria* depicted upon Hermes: they acquired the talismanic power of wish, and come down to us, after long journeyings,—found also in other mythologies,—as the Fortunatus' hat and Fortunatus' purse of modern time.

The *Daidalean Labyrinth* was the mazes of the starry heavens, in which the mind to this hour becomes bewildered and lost. With the Arabian, one figure under which he describes the sky is "the valley of diamonds." And, in the Hindu personalization, we have the sky, milky way, etc., represented under the image of the star-maiden, Tara-Bai. She is seen sitting on a gold and ivory throne. "She was tall and of a commanding aspect. Her black hair was bound by long strings of pearls, her dress was of fine-spun gold, and round her waist was clasped a zone of restless, throbbing, light-giving diamonds. Her neck and her arms were covered with a profusion of costly jewels; but brighter than all shone her beaming eyes, which looked full of gentle majesty."

In the golden fleece, the apples in the garden of the Hesperides, the palace and the gardens of King Alkinoos, the magic ring seen in the *cestus* of Aphrodite, the necklace of Harmonia, the horn of Amaltheia, etc., we have a significant symbolism, occult to most eyes, but plain and impressive to those who penetrate the realm of mythic representation. This ring has had a wonderful fortune, coming down in almost numberless forms in modern tales, folk-lore, etc., all carrying reminiscence of the original meaning as type of fruitfulness and abundance. It was the ring guarded by the dwarf Andvari in the Volsung tale, whose possession gave into the hands of the owner boundless treasures, the priceless dower and the destruction of so many into whose hands it came. It was the *lotos* of Hindu and Egyptian mythology, the horn of Oberon, Huon, etc., horn of plenty, Jemschid's glass, the cauldron of Ceridwen, the Round Table of Arthur, the San Greal, also (both forms of the same symbol); and, finally, the horse-shoe, nailed over so many doors, and the shoe thrown for luck after the departing mariner or the newly married couple.

Some of the most beautiful images are employed to represent the dawn, in almost all the mythologies. Even the Maoris have their poetic descriptions here. In the Norse, it is said that Freyr one day, mounted upon the seat of Odin, saw that a maiden, wondrously beautiful, had just opened her father's door, and this was her beauty which shone out over the snow. Freyr was smitten with uncontrollable love, and he must send his most faithful messenger to woo and win her. We have not yet attained any happier symbolism in describing the relation of this wondrous phenomenon to the ineffable unseen majesty,—"whose open palace-door, the Dawn."

The conception of the *Moirai*, or Fates,—same with the *Norus*, as given in the Norse,—carries a deep truth. How more strikingly could the presiding power that stands over all life, and apportions to each his lot and measure, be represented than by the distaff and the shears? Who that has ever looked upon Michelangelo's Fates has not felt impressed anew with sense of the momentous fact of this stern, inexorable destiny? The flax is being paid out; the thread is being spun; and Atropos, with her unerring shears, is here, before our eyes, severing perpetually.

We are all taught by object lessons: they are our horn-book to life's farthest end. On the ladder of similitude we climb; we see by an illustration; we are quickened, waked, inspired, by a radiant image. Hence, the value, priceless, imperishable, which we have hinted in all this of myth, tale, realistic representation under whatever form, whether by speech or art. Huxley says a parable or a proverb will sometimes penetrate where an argument, any didactic statement, will utterly fail. The great teachers have understood this secret in all the ages. The apologue and the tale, any expression under figure or symbol, have their undying worth and never-exhausted power.

The Zulus say that, on the day when tails were given out, the hyrax failed to go for his, since he did not like to be out in the rain, as the day happened to be rainy. He therefore sent, by one who was going, to have his brought to him. The consequence was he never got any tail. This illustrates, with quaint force, the truth put in our Old English proverb, "If you wish a thing done, go; if not, send." The Zulu knew how to state it so it should strike in and be remembered.

In the Arthurian legend, we have an enchanted tower described,—the mysterious prison in which Merlin was confined. "No such strong tower in the world," says Merlin, "as this wherein I am confined; and it is neither of wood, nor of iron, nor of stone, but of air, without anything else; and made by enchantment so strong that it can never be demolished while the world lasts. Neither can I go out nor can any one come in, save she who has enclosed me here, and who keeps me company when it pleaseth her: she cometh when she listeth, for her will is here." Arthur could not reach him, he could not reach Arthur henceforth any more; Sir Gawain, though he could hear him and hold some converse, could not find, could not see him. He is held in most impalpable, yet most stern and irresistible prison. How more happily could the captures and incarcerations we all sometimes know be described? Ere we be aware, we are locked in the enchanted castle, enclosed in "a bush of hawthorne," and no power on earth can take us out. Nay, in a sense, we are all there, from life's beginning to its end.

Other examples there are, many of them, in the myths and legends, which we cannot even instance here, alike significant, pregnant, suggestive. They tell much, and that in the most forcible way. It is by symbol that we have the vehicle—sole vehicle—for the highest and noblest thought. That which has enslaved shall liberate, enlarge, and exalt: what has enmeshed, bewitched, brought terror and nightmare to the spirit, shall yet inspire and transport it with untold vision and joy. Mythology, which has been the bane of the world, carrying blight, such as nothing else in history has, shall be seen to open, in the deep wealth it contains and also conceals, to the richest treasures that can possibly come to mind and thought.

With a force quite other, but certainly not less grave than the writer saw or meant, we can apply

the passage: "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead."

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

BEECHER AND EVOLUTION.

Henry Ward Beecher is not what is popularly called "a power in the world of thought." He is rather an echo in that world. Considered as interpreter, he is unreliable and hampered. But he wields influence in a narrow circle which it is impossible to discredit. His just finished sermons or pleas or fogisms on evolution meander between a bid for notoriety and an attempt to placate his own conscience. Through fear or oratorical fervor or some distortion of intelligence, Beecher habitually misrepresents himself. Given certain worldly prestige, he would to-day avow, as he long ago under properly favorable auspices might have done, that he stands intellectually outside of Christian lines. Actually, he is there; but, morally, he lags. In the anxiety to maintain the old and the new together, he endeavors to change both as little as fits a possible case. But it seems needless to observe that this supposes a lamentable confusion of thought and reason. What Mr. Beecher says of evolution, any man of less ability who has superficially examined the question could as pertinently say. Taken aside from its brilliant language, it contributes nothing to significant events. It is true his appeals awaken thought in hearers and readers who might not otherwise approach the subject in debate. Yet this thought would take quite another and more positive form, did the speaker possess purer intellectual vision and more courage of conviction. In fact, people do not believe in Henry Ward Beecher. They distrust his character so strongly that their suspicion besets them when they meet with his mental belongings. Perhaps this explains why his present position is regarded as a disguise, by means of which he designs to play both ways in a conflict between departing and arriving philosophies.

I do not, of course, sympathize with the too great sensitiveness of a dying theology; but I can well see for just how little Beecher's turnabout stands and should stand, and why it is so deprived of influence. Heber Newton, who occupies a similar position in respect to dogmatic progress in another direction, has a supreme clear-headedness which excites my respect. While I do not recognize his Episcopalianism gleaming through the new body of his thought, and while I do believe he should get out of the Church into freeing conditions, yet Newton impresses me as a man of earnest feeling and lucidity, which it is impossible to gather from Beecher's exposition. The stake with either man is not a heavy one. The movement into which they make some motion as though of assistance is going on with that inexorable power which isolated effort can neither much hinder nor help. The main suggestion of their trouble is of the chaotic condition of the Churches. Ministers nowadays rarely know what they believe in relation to formal Christianity. They make broad definitions here and narrow ones there,—as men are broad or narrow; but, in the end, they emerge like Beecher and Newton upon a platform which no exercise of direct reason can reconcile to the creeds of the Churches to which they are supposed to yield adherence. Perhaps Unitarianism furnishes more instances of this unsettling of allegiance than any single sect, though the confusion appears and is increasing in every other quarter as well as there. Beecher, however, in addition to the sin common to all half-seceders, has weightier offences of mental abasement to answer for, which deprive his teaching of its share of respect. Men like

Newton and not a few Unitarians are entirely coherent in their heretical thought itself as long as they are not called upon to reconcile it with their old-time oaths made over creeds which rarely enter into active discussion. But Beecher drops more largely and immediately into fault. In his handling of evolution, he displays instant traces of mischievous corruption, such as resides in undue anxiety over results and in willingness to stretch facts to unnatural conclusions. Thus he offends twofoldly. We are justified in supposing that new thought cannot be crucified in that way. What fits to truth is well. What does not fit to truth has no right to ask for truth's remodelment. Mr. Beecher, interested now in a play that looks like an attempted climax for an uncertain life, should regard more courageously the honorable bounds of his task.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

HENRY WARD BEECHER'S POSITION.

Mr. Beecher's series of discourses on Evolution and Religion, announced some weeks ago, and now concluded, or at least suspended for the season, has caused no sensation in orthodox circles, and, although it has attracted some attention, does not seem to have made any perceptible impression upon the public. Among careful thinkers familiar with the subject, Mr. Beecher's utterances are of course a matter of small interest or importance, except as they represent minds in which there is a constant conflict between the progressive tendencies of modern thought and the conservatism of traditional beliefs and old and popular methods of thinking. Mr. Beecher's recent sermons, which are without any original ideas or novel criticisms, merely repeat what he has uttered in previous discourses or presented in published writings. His thoughts respecting Evolution are marked by inconsistencies and contradictions too palpable not to be seen, partially, at least, by himself, although hidden often in the flowers of rhetoric, which divert attention from the subject they are designed to illustrate.

Yet we should consider that Mr. Beecher treats Evolution in the only way in which it can be made a subject of interest to the class of minds to whom his discourses appeal, who must accept the theory, if at all, with those very inconsistencies and absurdities which result from holding on to some of the erroneous notions of a theological system, while dropping some of its essential elements, and accepting a part of a scientific conception, while rejecting some of its most important implications, and striving to fuse into a new synthesis and to form into a new system the parts thus severed from the two unlike orders of thought to which they belong.

There can of course be no coalescence of these parts, so dissimilar and torn from their natural relations, and no assent by a logical and systematic thinker to any incongruous theory predicated upon their union; but the average mind is not logical, and its methods of thought are discursive and desultory rather than systematic. With the majority, who are more impressed by authority than by argument, assent to a proposition does not imply an understanding of its terms or a perception of its meaning; and inconsistencies in a theory, fatal to its acceptance by a logical thinker, to them may be no objection whatever. In times of unusual intellectual activity and progress, these inconsistencies are likely to be relatively greater; for the transition from the old to the new thought will be rapid, and will involve radical changes, outstripping the slower process of readjustment. People who have partially outgrown a written creed do not

always see either the difference between it and their new creed, or the inconsistencies in the latter; but, gradually, erroneous notions fade out of the mind, truths that once could not have been received or understood are accepted and assimilated, incongruities which were supposed to be intelligently believed, but were only assented to, disappear, and by a process which involves the acquiring of knowledge, the elimination of error, continual adjustments and readjustments of thought, the mind advances to larger and truer conceptions, acquiring at the same time greater capacity and power.

Mr. Beecher, who reflects and represents the religious thought and the friendly attitude toward science of large numbers, is, therefore, doing a needed work. In our opinion, he gives the people whom he addresses the best thought he has; and it is far above the average thought of the pulpit, in quality as well as in manner of presentation. He often contradicts his own utterances; and his offences against logic—if they were moral offences—would make him what some think he now is, one of the greatest sinners of the age. But he is a man of large emotional nature, of variable moods, with an active imagination; and from such a man we should not expect consistency of views nor accuracy and precision of statement. He sometimes speaks more under the influences of his early education and associations than under those of his later years. At other times, he is more in the present, when he responds to its spirit and aims to voice its thought. He is not a man of science nor a great thinker, but a theologian and a preacher, considering which fact, his acceptance of Evolution, and eloquent defence of the theory against the criticisms of his orthodox brethren in the pulpit, entitle him to our gratitude.

In the expression of his thoughts and feelings, Mr. Beecher is, if we mistake not, quite as frank as are the majority of the members of his profession; and he has often shown true courage in the pulpit. Many ministers who are less hampered by early theological teachings and inherited predilections, and even the majority of liberal lecturers, are less brave than he in defining their position and declaring their views on subjects concerning which those whom they represent, and upon whom they depend for support, are not agreed. While Mr. Beecher is being condemned by conservatives for too much radicalism, and by radicals for too much conservatism, he is liable to suffer injustice from both these classes of critics. In spite of his limitations and defects, he is, we believe, doing a work which, although not of a high order and in many respects open to criticism, is characterized by honesty of purpose and more than average courage, and is in the line of progress.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. F. E. ABBOT is announced to read a paper before the Concord School of Philosophy, on July 30, at 9.30 A.M., on the following subject: "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?"

MRS. E. POWELL BOND is the unanimous choice of the Florence Free Congregational Society for its speaker for the coming year; and she will probably be engaged by the executive committee to take charge of the Sunday-school, and to speak on one or two Sundays a month, the other Sundays to be supplied by outside talent. A more capable person could not be selected. Mrs. Bond is not only a

radical thinker and an earnest and effective speaker, but she has had large experience as a teacher, and possesses in an eminent degree the power of interesting and instructing the young. She has long been a favorite with the Florence Free Congregational Society, whose desk she has often occupied, and of whose Sunday-school some years ago she had charge.

We take the following from the *Boston Traveller*: "There is a church in Milton County, Ga., that is badly split up on the subject of cyclone pits. It seems that a goodly number of members of the church have dug cyclone pits, which is considered by a majority of the church as a flagrant violation of their doctrines and a temptation to God to wipe them off the face of the earth. As the pit-diggers were more fearful of cyclones than of the wrath of the majority, they have been turned out of the church. They immediately organized themselves into a church, under the name of Cyclone Primitives."

SAYS an exchange: "Mrs. Vinnie Graff and Mrs. M. C. H. Baker have been admitted as members of the vestry at St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, Chad's Ford, Delaware County. They are the first women to hold such office in the Episcopal Church of the United States." Quite a number of learned Bishops and Divinity Doctors have preached sermons and written essays of late, to show the dignified position of woman in the Church. They all alike make the unwarrantable assertion that every step of progress in woman's condition should be attributed to the Christian religion; and yet, now for the first time, according to the above item, the Episcopal Church confers on woman the dignity of a member of the vestry. This Church has had its choice for centuries between devout women, who were communicants in high standing, and "worldly-minded," "ungodly" men outside, and has always chosen the latter.

ACCORDING to the *Pall Mall Gazette* there is in London an annual holocaust of twenty thousand girls, between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, to men of wealth, rank, and position. This statement may be and probably is an exaggeration; and the late revelations of the *Gazette*, generally, are too sensational in style to be entitled to unqualified credence. But there ought to be manliness and public spirit enough in England to make the alleged doings reported by that paper a matter of the most thorough investigation; and wretches, however high their rank in society, who have been concerned in the business of procurement and the corruption and ruin of youth, should, even if they cannot be punished any other way, be held up to popular scorn and loathing as long as their names are remembered among men. The *Woman's Journal*, referring to the indignation in certain quarters in London at, not the vices, but the disclosures in regard to them, says that their attitude suggests the story of the debtor, the beggar, and the drunken soldier: "It was in the days before imprisonment for debt had been abolished in England. Rumors of a French invasion had thrown all classes of the population into excitement. An imprisoned debtor was talking through the bars with a very ragged beggar and a soldier who was more than half tipsy. 'If the French effect a landing, what will become of our liberty?' cried the imprisoned debtor. 'Yes, and of our property?' echoed the beggar. 'Oh, d—n our liberty and our property!' said the drunken soldier. 'What will become of our religion?' If Mr. Stead has been needlessly indelicate in his disclosures, he deserves criticism; but it comes from a curious source."

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

MENTAL HYGIENE.

BY F. B. TAYLOR.

It has not been long since the science of medicine was as purely curative as the recognized science of morals is to-day. But recently there has been a great awakening, at least among the scientific and thinking, to the importance of sanitary measures and hygienic rules. Decided advancement has been made in this regard, and some of the benefits of the new method have been realized; and we are now on the way to much greater improvements and benefits.

It cannot be supposed, however, that this partial reform in methods of insuring physical health has been easily accomplished, or that it came early in the history of medical science. It did not answer the first cry of anguish. It did not grow out of a supposition that perhaps pills and powders are not all that is needed to preserve the body in health and energy. But it slowly arose from the certainty that comes by contemplating a long series of failures, and from the frequent repetition of the same lesson. It has been forced upon the medical profession and the people—so far as it has been accepted by either—by the irresistible logic of premature graves, crowded hospitals, and never vacant sick-beds.

Is there less need of reform in our treatment of mental diseases? Not unless there are fewer evidences of failure in the present system. Let us look at that feature of the case. Do we suffer from no weaknesses and disorders of the mind except such as are accidental and inevitable in the cause of nature? Do we find as pure and warm love, as perfect sympathy and devotion, in the household as could be desired? Have communities and neighborhoods as little of jealousy and strife as a social idealist might imagine? Are men as free from prejudice and as compe-

tent to reason well as it is possible to make them? Have we only our normal proportion of hypocrites, liars, and traitors? Are all classes as able to supply their own necessities and manage their own affairs as they may hope to become?

But we need by no means confine ourselves to these mild maladies and slight defects, for evidences of the failure of former methods, to secure health and vigor of mind. There is too abundant proof of the prevalence of vilest, most loathsome, and deadly diseases, and of the most abject and helpless incapacity. We lock our doors and bar our windows; we put our plate and jewelry in safes; we deposit our money in banks; we light our streets as much for safety as convenience; we never venture into certain sections after dark. Yet we are robbed of everything portable, from a stick of wood or a fowl to our bank deposits and bond investments; our houses are burned over our heads; we are assassinated in our beds, knocked down on the streets, or drawn into some dark den and murdered for the clothes we wear; and we are surrounded always by a cloud of beggars. The cry for help is never out of our ears. Then we build prisons for the robbers and murderers and almshouses and asylums for the incompetent, and punish the former in a way to make them more brutal and provide for the latter in a manner that renders them more hopeless.

Surely, there may be found in such a condition of affairs grounds for a suspicion, at least, that the treatment of mind disorders, which has been in vogue for so long, may not be in all respects perfect. I think there is doubt enough in the case to warrant a careful diagnosis, and perhaps some search for a new method of treatment. There is hint enough in recent developments of hygienic science to suggest the direction of that search.

The mind of humanity is, indeed, fearfully diseased. But it does not need doctoring half as much as dieting. Men do not so much need to be reformed as preformed. We have given the reformatory plan a fair trial, extending over thousands of years; and it has failed to accomplish the ends which all desired and hoped for. So far as preformation has yet been tried, it has produced the most satisfactory results: witness the encomiums upon popular education.

Character is always preformed. It is the result of influences. I believe all will agree to this, although there is a difference of opinion as to some of the forces at work in the formation of human character. The atheist sees only the finger-marks of material nature upon the pottery of the mind, while the theist puts God at the wheel. But man is always the clay. He is formed. To be sure, there is a great deal of talk about self-made men, about defying the fates and hewing out a path for ourselves regardless of surroundings; and there are many instances where men have risen superior to circumstances by force of inherent individual power. But what is this inherent force but the strength of a character already formed by influences? A man can do nothing beyond what his character and surroundings permit. We cannot fix this truth too firmly in the popular mind. It is one of the very few that we do not hear often enough.

A man can do nothing beyond what his character and surroundings allow. Think where that leads, and see if it is not a good doctrine as well as a true. It means that we have no right to expect more of man, in mental and moral affairs, than he is able to perform,—as, with certain classes, we have always done. It means that we are to measure a man's moral responsibility by his moral muscle. It means that, whenever we see one who

through weakness of character is unable to master circumstances, we must aid him. It means, more than all, that we are to give serious, careful attention to every influence that can operate in the formation of character. It teaches the broadest charity, the warmest sympathy, the most efficient helpfulness, and the best system of training.

To develop this system of mental hygiene in all its details would require a treatise. I can only point to its possibility and importance, and hint at its method and scope.

Character, I have said, is the result of influences. The influences concerned in the formation of character are of two kinds: past influences, which have crystallized into tendencies; and present influences, or circumstances. Under the former head comes up for discussion the whole subject of heredity, a wide theme for both popular and scientific thought. It has already received some attention, but is far from being appreciated in its relations to health of either mind or body. The people, as a rule, have no idea that their conduct ought to be moulded with reference to the interests of humanity a hundred years hence. They have heard from the sentimental orator that, "as the waves upon the smooth lake's surface ever widen from the pebble to the shore, so the influence of a life may reach out even to the borders of time." They have been told that no force or motion ever dies, and that, "as somewhere in the atmosphere the vibrations of Adam's love-whispers and Abel's death groans still exist, so, in the subtler atmosphere of minds, every human act and thought vibrates throughout eternity." But they have regarded these as beautiful poetic conceptions, and nothing more. They have yet to learn that the facts of heredity are common-sense, every-day facts, to be regarded in the workshop, in the parlor, in the kitchen, and especially in nursery and school-room. They have yet to be made to feel that the duty to the third and fourth generations is as real a duty as that to friends and neighbors. Let it be preached. Let it be preached till all understand it, feel it, act upon it. The facts are few and simple: your children *will* inherit your mental features and complexion, your neighbor *will* be infected by your mental small-pox, and transmit it to his children. If the intellect or moral sensibilities have wasted or calloused, the same consumption will appear in posterity.

Present influences that may affect the health of the mind are found in the home, in school in society, in business, in government, in religion. These are some of the faces of the many-sided, mould in which the human mind is cast. We are to learn, first of all, that they *do* determine its form. This is the important thing that mental hygiene is to teach: that the mind grows up from germs and under influences that determine its character as definitely as climate settles the matter of vegetation, and is affected by external conditions that control its health, as locality, season, atmospheric conditions, do the health of the body. How few, judging from common conduct, really understand this! Most people seem to think their minds "just grown"; and most people, no doubt, are very near correct in this supposition. Half of our race have not yet risen above the constant struggle for the maintenance of a physical existence. They can scarcely be said to exist mentally. They have no chance to think of their minds. But there are also thousands of mental waifs and street Arabs whose bodies live in brown stone fronts, and are clothed in satin and velvets. There are thousands of mothers who forsake the souls of their children upon a nurse's doorstep as soon as they are born. The same excuse might

perhaps be presented for these mothers that is pleaded by the mothers of other foundlings,—“no means of caring for it.” These are the people who have used all their large M’s to spell “Money,” and so have to omit “Mind” and “Morals” from the form on which their children’s characters are to be printed.

In speaking about the relation of home to mental health, I need not stop to say that whatever parents do children will imitate,—that, if we are selfish or coarse or cross, our children will be the same. This we have heard often enough. I am referring to something clear back of this. The entire business of the home ought to be arranged with direct reference to the mental welfare of its inmates. Its location, the people to be admitted, hours of work, time for play, father’s time at home,—all should be determined mainly by this consideration, because it is the most important. Especially should the system of home government be based on well-defined rules of mental health. The switch-marks on a child’s body may soon fade out, but those on the mind are often carried through life. The soul is a very delicate being, and it may be terribly lacerated and scarred by what seems not very severe punishment.

Where parents so often err from ignorance, teachers may go wrong from indolence or carelessness, may choose the easiest method of instruction and discipline without reference to its permanent effects upon the characters of the children. Some of the best governed schools, so far as conformity to rule is concerned, are worst in moral and intellectual influence. Machine-made characters will not stand the wear of real life. Teachers succeed well on a low moral plane who would utterly fail in working on higher principles.

But not only in childhood and youth must the mind be taken care of and its healthy growth provided for. It is easier to rear a strong, healthy body than to keep it in health during active life; for then come the work, the excesses, and abuses which undermine the strongest constitution. This is equally true of the mind. It not infrequently happens that in a short time, after entering active life, the best of moral constitutions is broken down by bad social and business habits. Bartley Hubbard’s is a true modern instance. A man may depend upon his home for his mental and moral start in life; but he must look largely to his field, his shop, his store, his office, for the outcome. It is a universal law of nature that action and reaction are equal, and it is just as true of mind as of matter. The powder exerts as much force upon the cannon as upon the ball; the hammer receives as great a shock as it imparts to the iron; every act or thought presses back upon the mind with just as much force as that with which it is impelled. Every day of thoughtless, careless life takes so much from the thinking power. In every short-weight or slack-measure package, the merchant ties up a piece of his own moral character, and sells it for eight and a third cents a pound or a shilling a yard. The lawyer loses some of his manhood with every forced case. Every false account must be balanced from your own conscience. A large amount of the commercial conscience of the country seems to have been consumed in that way.

The part performed by religion in developing and shaping the mental and moral nature is important, because religion is the recognized and established science of morals. But we have always expected too much of it, a great deal more than it has ever promised or performed. It has been considered the business of the Church not only to cure people of moral diseases, but to furnish them new moral constitutions. We have required our

physician not only to successfully amputate the decaying limb, but to furnish a new and normal one of flesh and blood. A skilful doctor can do much for a sick man, and the Church has done no little for certain sick souls. But the Church can no more take the place of correct habits of thinking and acting than medicine can make up for dissipation. Yet there are thousands of people who, during the greater part of their lives, deliberately stultify and debauch their moral nature with the intention of calling upon the Church some day to be cured. Such a man might be patched up so that he would do for a heaven where he should have an eternity in which to outgrow his deformities, but he can never be made a decent citizen of the United States. If one is to be morally large and strong and healthy, he must breathe a pure moral atmosphere, feed upon wholesome moral nourishment, and engage in healthful, vigorous moral work. In fine, we are more responsible for the moral condition of others than of ourselves.

What we need is a new system of training as a basis of morals and economy. Men should be taught that excellence of character is the only passport to happiness. They should be taught that a character cannot be had for the asking at any time in life, but can only be enjoyed as the fruit of life itself. Our attention should be directed less to our individual condition and interests, and more to those of the race. Above all, we should be brought to realize our actual partnership in all human happiness and all human woe, and thereby to appreciate our interest in increasing the former and lessening the latter. We should learn that our freedom is always exactly measured by our strength of character, and that character is the complement of daily and hourly experiences.

Such a system, assiduously taught to all the people, made the basis of moral growth and the goal of perfection, would be essentially new, trite as some of its maxims may seem. But new conditions of life always produce new habits of thought; and I believe the rationalists of America are destined to produce a revolution in moral culture no less complete than that which our country represents in governmental affairs. There are signs of it everywhere. Busy hands are at work clearing away the rubbish of demolished superstitions, and selecting from the mass of new material that which is fit, for the temple of a new philosophy and religion in one. Already, foundations have been laid by the strong men of science, and a beautiful corner-stone made ready by the free thinkers in religion. Whoever can add to so noble a building one stone that shall endure and do honor in its place may think himself most happy.

For *The Index*.

THE ARTIST’S SEARCH FOR BEAUTY.

The artist, young Francesco, had a soul
 Athirst for beauty, in what form soe’er
 He found it. Born beneath Italian skies,
 Where countless charms of Nature ministered,
 And filled his senses keen with rare delight,
 He lived in sights and dreams of loveliness,—
 In azure skies and ocean’s changing hues,
 In lights and shades upon the mountain sides,
 In feathery palms and fragrant orange trees
 Most sweet at night-fall, and in thousand forms
 Of flowers fair, delighting every sense,
 Forget-me-nots and blue anemones,
 Rosemary, sweet-briar, yellow daffodils.
 In these, he found communion and delight.
 And, when he looked for some pursuit in life,
 No commonplace or mercenary one
 Would please him, but to make some form, some shape
 Of beauty, that might be a “joy for aye.”

Was his intent; and then to Florence he
 Wended his way, to study works of art.
 And there, within the Tuscan capital,
 Enriched with noblest, rarest work of man,
 What forms and shapes of loveliness he saw
 In grand cathedral, Brunelleschi’s Dome,
 And Angelo’s embodiments divine,
 Ghiberti’s wondrous “Gates of Paradise,”
 And Santa Croce, where, with reverent awe,
 He read the names of all the honored dead!
 Then ardent longing kindled all his soul
 To shrine some thought within a sculptured form,
 To fasten in Carrara block some shape
 Of haunting beauty, effluence divine
 Of all his life and thought, dream of his dreams,
 That should remain while generations passed,
 And shed a halo on Francesco’s name.
 Then deep in mythologic lore he plunged,
 And stored his mind with rarest poetry,
 And toiled for years with marble and with clay,
 Till, in the fresh meridian of his life,
 Renown and honor Florence gave to him.
 Then married he the gentle Angela,
 Fair girl, with eyes like Parma violets,
 And loved the tender beauty in her face.
 The happy months sped on, their home made bright
 With light of love, and love of all things fair.
 How quick the days passed by with Angela
 To cheer and stimulate Francesco’s toil!
 The shapeless stones before him came to life
 In forms of beauty. Yet before him still
 He saw a vision of diviner mould,—
 The figure of “Italia,” in whose face
 He meant to set the look of Angela
 Idealized, in which rare masterpiece
 He would embody all his love for her,
 For Italy, his country, and for art.
 A happy year was that, with heart at rest,
 With earnest toil, with pleasant twilight strolls
 On the broad Ponte, in the evenings cool,
 Or to see Giotto’s work against the sky,—
 The slender, airy, graceful Campanile;
 And, on the festa days, with happy throngs,
 To wander in the warm, transparent air.
 But, when the year had flown, Angela too
 Had left him, leaving but an infant frill,
 Ere yet his masterpiece was quite complete.
 It lacked expression. In its soulless face,
 No look of Angela, though features fair
 It had. And she was gone! Gone from his life!
 The wailing child, in old Teresa’s care,
 Soothed not his grief; and all things he had loved
 Were valueless. He wandered up and down
 The rooms now void, for lack of one so dear.
 His dreary studio, the marble form
 Unfinished, only fired his heated brain
 To madness. Weeks and months passed by,
 His chisel idle. Then, in wild carouse,
 He sought to drown remembrance of his grief.
 One night, he threw himself upon his bed,
 In fitful slumber. In the darkened room,
 A sudden radiance streamed of moonbeams pale;
 And, in its light, his eyes, half opened, saw
 Strange forms and shapes, and, listening, he heard
 Sweet melody and voices soft, and words:

“Come away! Come away!
 Leave this froward child of clay!
 Far from every care of earth,
 Thy freed soul shall find new birth.
 Leave him now! On his brow
 Press thy lips, but do not wake him.
 Now so nigh, one soft sigh,
 Then away, and aye forsake him.”

“Yet a little, little longer,
 I must linger, I must tarry,
 Else a weary, weary burden
 Back to heaven I shall carry.
 How to heaven can I go,
 When my heart is here below?”

Then Francesco saw a phantom
Of surpassing beauty rise,
All its earthly looks transfigured,
Yet with sad and tear-stained eyes.
Round about the broad, white brow,
Asphodels were hanging low.

Spake the vision: "Thou, Francesco,
Lovest beauty: in thy heart
Is the love of all things lovely;
Formed by nature or by art.
But one beauty thou dost miss,
And I came to tell thee this:
Underneath thy careless eyes,
Beauty sweet, unfolding, lies.
Dost thou see my eyelids yet,
Stained with saddest tears, are wet?
Beauty nobler yet thou lovest,
When unworthy life thou chooseth."
Then the shape, in air dissolving,
Faded from his sight away;
And the room returned to darkness
Till the dawning of the day.

Francesco woke in the gray light of morn,
The midnight vision filling all his mind
With thought of Angela, his spirit guest
Of beauty wondrous, save those sad-stained eyes.
Ah, heavenly visitant, could he but catch
That look unearthly while the phantom fair
Yet lingered with him, then forevermore
Those lineaments divine of Angela
And Italy in that one form would be
Imprisoned, semblance sweet of all he loved.
His chisel then he seized with eager haste,
To catch the evanescent image fair.
Again, in wholesome toil, the days passed by,
Each touch rewarding all the sculptor's care.
The wondrous beauty glowing in his soul
He wrought upon the statue's face; and yet
Its eyes, reproachful, sad, were bent on him
With just the look the midnight vision wore.
With finest touch and nicest care, he strove
To change this imperfection, yet in vain,
Until, at length discouraged, sick at heart,
By sad spell haunted, he a veil threw o'er
Its features, glad to hide them from his sight.
Turning away, he heard Teresa's voice
And saw the smiling infant on her arm.
The passing months had worked with subtle charm.
With dimpled hands outstretched, the little one
Asked for caressing; and Francesco saw
In its fair features, crowned with golden rings,
And in its violet eyes, sweet, tender looks
Of Angela; and now, at length, he knew
A beauty he had missed, and day by day
New charms unfolded. Now, the daily toil
Was crowned with frolic, and the sculptor felt
New ardor and incentive for his work.
Filled with deep shame for all his past neglect,
He strove, each day, to make the infant glad;
And, for such sweet possession, life itself
Must be ennobled. So the years rolled on,
Till one bright day Francesco from his toil
Paused for an instant, since the playful child,
In frolic mood, had torn the statue's veil;
And, gladdened by the beauty thus revealed,
His eyes the likeness of his mother wore,
The look the marble never had expressed.
With gentle touches, then, Francesco's hand
Guided the chisel, while with eager haste
The fleeting semblance sought he to imprint
Upon the statue fair, and soon its eyes
Beamed soft on him with hope and tenderness,
Vision of Angela and Italy,
Embodiment complete of all his thought.
And oft a happy presence, with soft eyes,
No more reproachful nor with sad tears stained,
Seemed, in communion sweet, to dwell with him.

ANNA OLCOTT COMBELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANOTHER SUNDAY IN LONDON.

Editors of The Index:—

At the Theistic Church, Swallow Street, Piccadilly, Rev. Charles Voysey preaches. He has done good work in disseminating liberal views about religion; and his lecture on the Bible, republished by the Free Religious Association, is a good antidote to Bibliolatry. At his church, a revised Prayer-book occupies the attention for a whole dreary hour of the service; and one misses the spice of hell, devil, and miracle, which gives a zest to the original and genuine formula. The sermon was a warning against atheism, than which "the old Orthodoxy even was better." Mr. Voysey seems to belong to the class who do great service in starting the liberal current, but in time become chiefly concerned lest it should carry ships past the fort designed as a final haven by these teachers. The flock may roam in new pastures, but not beyond the theological fence erected by the shepherds. But ships get an impetus from sailing, and flocks acquire a taste for ever new pastures. Progress may not be readily checked, when liberty to explore has been granted. The main sentiment of the service seemed to be "praise to God on high"; but, as the world revolves daily, some might be bewildered in searching for the locality.

It was "Hospital Sunday," when collections are everywhere made for "England's noblest charities." Another collection was suggested at the door to those who wished to contribute to pay off the debt of £500 on the Theistic Church, but I saw no one so disposed. At St. Paul's Cathedral, three priests in vestments were performing mysterious rites before an altar adorned with a gilt cross and large candles. Heathen temples in China and India came to mind, where equally impressive and unintelligible actions take place, all, doubtless, instructive and comforting to those who know and like them. The sympathy and brotherhood of all religions received another illustration. Buddhist, Brahmin, and Christian seemed members of one family, and why one should despise another for a difference in a twist of the elbow in their modes of adoration of Deity appeared absurd; nor was any superiority in the methods of Christian worship apparent. Standing yesterday at the tombs of Herschel and Darwin, side by side in Westminster Abbey, I heard the usher cry, "This way to the tombs of the kings!" I silently answered: "Here are the only kings worth notice,—rulers in realms of thought, whose authority was always beneficial and whose good influence is eternal. Hereditary tyrants, slaughterers of men, despoilers of the people, will be despised and then forgotten; but these names will live forever in the archives of the advancing kingdom of man." So the priests of the cathedral, directing the mind to God through vestment, chalice, and cross, will be displaced by those who, turning the telescope to the star and the microscope to the flower, reveal to man the wondrous work and methods of infinite force.

A visit to George Jacob Holyoake pleasantly and profitably occupied the afternoon. Emerging from the damp air and gas of the underground railway at South Kensington, in his house, next door, were found the sweetness and light of intellect. His rooms contain many treasures, among them pictures and autographs of noted men,—Garibaldi, Mazzini, Beecher, Spencer,—a bust of Voltaire made in his lifetime, costing one hundred and fifty guineas, swords and flags of historic interest. But it was the treasures of the mind that I sought. I said: "Mr. Holyoake, I have observed that, of all active free thinkers, you have succeeded best in retaining the respect and good will of Christians. Can you tell me the reason?"

For an hour, I listened eagerly to a flow of sensible, witty, practical comment on methods of liberal work, which I wish could have been preserved. In substance, some of his utterances were as follows: "I made it a point always to assume that my opponent in discussion was as sincere a man as myself. I never humiliated him. I tried so to treat him that he would like to come again, for I have found public discussion to be the best educator. If I raised a laugh at his ideas, I tried not to let it have any personal significance. Then I admit the good there is in things that I oppose, and try to state my antagonist's position fairly, sometimes making it more forcible than he himself has done. I do not concern my-

self much about questions relating to the existence of God or the authority of the Bible; but I look to see what false ideas about God I can expose, and what bad teachings of the Bible I can correct, giving credit for what is good in it, not caring whether Moses, Paul, or Peter was the spokesman. Then I work for the improvement of man's condition at the same time that I try to refute his mental errors. Many of the so-called infidels (a name I abhor, for it means faithless) are merely anti-theologians, and not secularists. By promoting popular benefits, you commend yourself and your ideas to society at large." Means of usefulness were discussed, and the opening of museums on Sunday was made the means of illustrating the right methods of secular work.

Mr. Holyoake is engaged in writing an autobiography, which will be rich in personal reminiscences of many noted men who have been co-workers with him in social and industrial reform. It is quite probable that Mr. Holyoake will be a member of the next Parliament. He is much more popular with members than Mr. Bradlaugh is, and the oath question is not likely to be raised.

By Mr. Holyoake's advice, I found my way at night to a queer little room on the bank of the Thames at Hammersmith, where Mr. William Morris, the popular poet, gave a lecture on "The Hopes of Civilization." He gave a history of industrial society, tracing the development of the laborer from the chattel slave up to serf and wage earner, and prophesied the transformation of society by the abolition of all class distinctions, the equality of workmen and the now so-called masters, and the securing of the whole proceeds of production to the workman, capital to have no share of the profits. This is the point in which socialism especially goes beyond co-operation. I procured tracts and papers, and perhaps shall some day understand the theories sufficiently to describe them. But I had the gratification of meeting Mr. Edwin D. Mead at this place; and his clear mind has doubtless grasped the ideas, and I trust will give *The Index* readers the benefit.

ROBERT C. ADAMS.

LONDON, June 14, 1885.

SILVER COINAGE.

Editors of The Index:—

It is said this clamor for a restoration of our ancient right of unlimited coinage comes of a desire to cheat somebody, and palm off "85 cents" for a dollar. To say that the coin which by the dictionary, and by the statute for a hundred years past, a dollar is, is not one hundred cents, or one hundred cents' worth, is a silly attack on the decimal notation; and, by the demonstration of my former paper, it is plain that, instead of being too cheap, silver is, if anything, too dear as a debt payer, if, indeed, amount of purchasing power (computed by what experts call the method "of geometric mean") is the test of honest payment; for a given quantity of silver is the market equivalent to-day of a greater aggregate of products than at any time for the past twenty-five years, I think I may safely say since history began. The wolf in the fable had just as much ground of complaint against the lamb for wickedly interfering with the lawful gratification of his wolfship's aesthetic and ethical craving for pure water, with this difference: it is not recorded of the lambs that their consciences were touched by the accusation, so that, with religious resignation, they marched up to the slaughter, lustily bleating the praises of a high standard of riparian rights based on lupine expectations.

In my former paper, I tried to show the nature of value—what constitutes it, and the necessary implications arising from that constitution—for the purpose of combating a chief error in the current thinking, which even professors do not scruple to employ to bolster up a bad cause. Passing from the examination of the statics to the dynamics of value, let us see if, by a study of the forces producing value-change and the laws of their operation, we may forecast the future.

Here, again, we are confronted by an inert mass of popular error, which, since professors will not try to correct, I must. That error is the notion that the value of a thing can be ascertained by reference to the amount of labor that went to its making, or at least that would be required for its reproduction. It is an error that bankrupt economic thinking as surely as the attempt to put it in practice would ruin

a trader. By that doctrine, a concern having a million dollars of embodied labor in its plant—machinery, unwrought material, and unsold product—could never fall by the pressure of a half or quarter million indebtedness. By that doctrine, what shall I say of my friend who got left last fall with maple flooring embodying \$3,000 of labor, and which he was fain to sell for \$2,000, but on the Rink boom realized in the winter \$5,000 for, and toward the last selling for three times cost price? Shall we say he swindled? His goods were not worth so much? It is all stuff: the market laughs such a doctrine to scorn. Every huckster understands that the amount of embodied labor in his garden truck and poultry, or even what they cost him, has nothing to do with their market value, is impossible of ascertainment any how, and, if it could be precisely known, would be information of no practical use to him, nor theoretical use either, unless he was going to become an editor, and flood the market with economic twaddle. Every business man knows, and every student of economics understands, that there are just two forces, and no third, whose interplay and tremulous equilibrium always and everywhere determine how much a thing is worth. Those two forces are supply and demand. All careful thinkers know that variation in value is the varying ratio of stress between those two forces, is the ever-fluctuating equilibrium between them. Increase or diminish supply with a fixed demand, and you will carry value from zero all the way up indefinitely toward infinity. Diminish or increase demand with a fixed supply, and you will get exactly the same result. Demand here does not mean mere longing and desire, but desire backed and measured by a definite amount of commodities offered in exchange. The value which the world's money has taken on is the equilibrium, through long years of adjustment, between two forces, one a demand for money, approximately fixed,—or rather growing at some normal rate,—and the other the quantity of precious metals in sight, also increasing at a rate approximately corresponding. Under free conditions, the quantity of money, and so its value, is determined by the quantity of mined metals, just as, under unlimited milling privileges, the quantity of flour, and so its price, is determined by the amount of visible wheat. Nothing can be plainer than the law that, if one-half of the precious metals is denied the right to become money at all,—demand not growing less,—money must rise in value. Add to this the fact that the present annual gold production is consumed in the arts, and it is plain that monometalism means lowering of prices for years to come, and so industrial strangulation.

If, from some caprice that potatoes were too bulky and coarse a food for our advanced civilization, its use, except as food for cattle, were suddenly interdicted, the stock on hand would go down in price and the competing foods would go up, especially wheat. Such an innovation by removing the pressure of demand from one product and transferring it to another might make and unmake dealers in those commodities according as they were "long" or "short" in them at the time of the removal; but the economical effect upon society at large would be only temporary, because the annual yield in those things constitutes substantially the entire stock, and a doubling of the value of any one would so stimulate its production as that the normal level of prices would be restored. Not so with gold. The annual production of that metal is a very small proportion of the stock, and the sources and methods of its production are so peculiar that they do not respond readily to the stimulus of increased demand. Even if a doubled value should induce a doubling of the annual output, a century would not suffice to restore the old level of prices.

Few will go farther than I in appreciation of the importance of keeping open and free all the channels of international intercourse, not only industrial and commercial, but social and intellectual as well; but that there should be a fixed relation between our dollar and the pound I deny. It is a matter of no sort of importance to any but exchange brokers, and trifling to them. The metals go, when they go at all, as bullion, in total disregard of the money name we may put upon its divisions. If we measured in silver alone and Europe in gold alone, I am unable to see how we are hurt or discommoded. A silver dollar "pays as it goes" precisely as a gold dollar does, and will always be in request the world over at the precise value of the dollar which it is. A bushel

of wheat and a pound of cotton will exchange for just as much silk and tea measured in one coin as the other. I have heard many mouth-filling words of warning and seen much solemn shaking of empty heads over the calamity of all our gold going out of the country, but never any definite description of what would come of our being "out of harmony with Europe." I forget: I have seen in a respectable paper that we would have to exchange our gold dollars for German silver at a loss of fifteen cents on each dollar!

It is a thousand times more important that our money should stand true, steady, and uniform as a valuator of products than that it should go kiting after the British pound. That is a very respectable money when held in check by competition with silver; but, with a monopoly of the money function, it is foisted up into a value against nature and against equity. The industries and productive enterprise have just expectations as well as creditors. "A perfect standard indeed!" "Perfect" is a strong word for mundane things. It is the best money metal in the world,—"perfect," if you please, in that regard,—but as a "standard" flagrantly unfit, much inferior to silver alone, and immeasurably inferior to them jointly. The function of a definition standard coin as a *valuator*, as compared to its function for manual delivery in payment, is every year as a thousand to one and more, as every business man's experience will attest. All competent writers consider uniformity of purchasing power from year to year as the paramount object of desire in the constitution of a money unit, overriding immeasurably all others. No one will have the hardihood to claim that for gold as against silver. The annual production of gold has in this century varied as 37 to 1 in a period of twenty-five years; while silver production is more steady, and its increase is amenable to the same laws that control products generally. I have already shown that silver is a truer and more uniform valuator to-day than gold by all the difference of its alleged "fall" in price. Nobody proposes to discard gold. Under monopolistic conditions, its behavior is intolerable. Allowed to "stand guard" at our present legal ratio of sixteen, it will be a security against the disastrous effect of an undue possible appreciation of silver. In the mean time, it is better it should be at a premium than silver at a discount.

E. D. STARK.

THE POSITIVIST CHURCH IN LIVERPOOL.

Editors of The Index:—

Auguste Comte founded his church on the lines, as he himself expressed it, of "Catholic organization without Catholic doctrine"; and, without the excuse of age, wealth, or power, his Church is already as dogmatic as that nightmare of civilization, the Romish Church. When Prof. Huxley wrote his famous address on "The Scientific Aspects of Positivism," he said that the only thing he could see to admire in M. Comte was "his arrogance, which is undoubtedly sublime"; and the followers of the arrogant Frenchman are not one whit behind their master, judging from their conduct in Liverpool.

Passing through a quiet street in this city last Sunday night, I saw a signboard in front of a little birch building, bearing the strange legend, "The Church of Humanity." Entering, I found a room with some fifty rush-bottomed chairs, an organ at the rear, hymn-books, sheets with the order of service printed, a collection box, a stove, a small acolyte in a black cassock which seemed uncomfortable, and about six mild-mannered-looking men and women. Above the heads of all, ranged round the room on brackets, were the heads of thirteen "saints" and M. Comte himself. The "saints" seemed to include anybody between Moses and Voltaire; but I failed to see the head of M. Comte's good old housekeeper among them, which omission was amply atoned for in the life-sized image, in terra cotta, of the "Virgin Mother of Man" with a babe in her arms, standing under a gorgeous golden canopy in the altar! The "Virgin Mother" stood on a pedestal covered with light blue cloth, on which stood two candles. On either side of her, a little in front, were two reading-desks gorgeously painted; while a third desk, a little higher, and meant for a pulpit, stood at one side. A polished mahogany rail between the desks completed the idea of an altar, and railed off the common people from the holy of holies.

By the time the service began there were nearly twenty people present; and the priests took their places, one in each desk. The small acolyte took his place within the altar-rail; and, as he passed the "Virgin Mother," he made a lowly obeisance as the Romanists do, though the chief priests seemed to omit that part of the ceremony. One of the priests was a pleasant-faced man, such as one meets every day; but the other, who was evidently the great man, was every inch a Jesuit, close shaven, with a tonsure, thin lips, keen eyes, a white tie, and a clerical coat. In every point was he fitted for his post, even to a rich brogue and a careful habit of speech, which sounded curiously when he spoke of the "my-raculous powers of mankind."

When the service began with a solemn tune on the organ, the priests stood up, as did the people; and the Jesuit read the service in the most perfect manner. He might have graduated from a Romish Church, as perhaps he did. But it seemed strange, indeed, to hear the new words set to the old tune, and hear this priestly-looking man intoning, "Not in ourselves, not in ourselves is our help, but in thee, O Humanity, . . . revealed in thy own great name by the word of thy servant, Auguste Comte"; and then, at a certain part of the service, he turns toward the image of the woman, and prays! all the people accompanying him, the prayer being just what some of us were brought up to utter, with the exception of Auguste Comte being substituted for Jesus Christ and Humanity for God Almighty. The change did not strike me as being a good one. In fact, the man who supplants Jesus Christ for M. Comte makes a mistake. The entire service was of uniform character; and the wording of the directions was exactly the same, as for instance, "Standing at the right side of the altar and facing the people, he shall say:—

"Thus saith Humanity:—

"I am the source of all purity, and the giver of all sanctity. I seek a pure heart, and there is the place of my rest," etc.

The climax was reached, however, when the Jesuit, the lay brother, and the small acolyte all knelt down at the feet of the "Virgin Mother of Man," and the Jesuit began to recite the Italian phrases which were in the service, with a translation. Never did I realize how slight is the difference between the dead, classic Latin and the sweet Italian of to-day, until I heard this Jesuit intone his phrases with the pious snivel so peculiar to complete sanctification, and the organ joined in the amen, while all the people united in singing, in that delightful manner suggestive of heaven (?), "A-a-a-men."

We sang some hymns. The lay brother with the ordinary face read a selection from "Wordsworth, a Positivist Saint." The Jesuit retired for a minute behind a saffron curtain, which formed a vestry. Then, on returning, he "preached."

He took no text, but he used all the old phrases of the Church. He talked of soul and spirit, of infinite and eternal, of the perfect Mother and perfect love, of "adoring contemplation which holds the fickle, wandering hearts of men to the holy, true things of eternity"; and he preached a thin, supercilious sort of morality, which seemed to have neither aim nor object except the good of a very remote posterity, and a Positivism of a distant time, yet was to bring little, if any, good to the living man, till it recalled some of the impossible commandments of an older creed, and the pertinent question of Boyle Roach, "What has posterity ever done for us, that we should be looking after posterity?" The sermon, taking it altogether, was an incomprehensible conglomeration of involuted platitudes; and the entire service was one long, wearisome parody on Romanism.

If I had to choose a despotism, I would prefer one with age to recommend it before this new-fangled but dogmatic young monster, which, judging from its present promise, would be more cruel and tyrannical than any of the old creeds that have cursed the earth. It is too late to force such a creed on the world. Science is too large a child to smother easily, and the Positivists are too late. After reading Comte and spending an evening with his faithful disciples, I can heartily indorse Prof. Huxley's statement that, to leave them, "it is as good as a shower-bath to turn . . . and refresh one's self with Mr. Spencer's profound thought, precise knowledge, and clear language."

PETER ANNET.

THE STATUE OF BRUNO AT ROME.

Editors of The Index:—

The following very interesting letter has been received, with a receipt for the subscriptions (\$187.73) which were forwarded by me on the 1st of June last.

It does not seem that \$600, the amount suggested by the committee to be raised in America, is at all unreasonable, in view of the facts presented.

Who now will add their names to the second instalment of contributions to the noble purpose of making Bruno immortal?

I will forward as before all moneys sent to me for the statue. Respectfully yours,

T. B. WAKEMAN,
Authorized Agent,

No. 93 Nassau Street, New York City.

July 10, 1885.

ROME, ITALY, June 20, 1885.

Honorable Sir,—I hope by the time I am writing this that you will have received my last letter in reply to yours of May 16, wherein I endeavored to give you the information you desired. But, in case you may not, I will repeat it here in a few words.

The monument to Bruno will be a statue in bronze, with a base and bas-reliefs, etc., and will cost about twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand francs.

We Italians hope to contribute thereto about twenty thousand francs. The work of the sculptor Ferrari will be *gratis*. We have also to hope that, when it is seen that the work is going on bravely, the Commune of Rome (the municipal government) will contribute a quarter of the amount above proposed for Italy. This is highly probable, if the ensuing elections result in sending to the capital an increased number of Liberals.

We are very much pleased that our "first number" has been so favorably received by you. We would send you more copies of it, so that you might distribute it among the free thinkers of America who are contributors to the fund, if we did not, in sending them, incur an expense greater, we fear, than the value of the brochure itself. We send you copies, however, for the two other members of the Committee of Honor in America, Hon. Elizur Wright and Col. R. G. Ingersoll. We have not sent to them before, as we received their names through Mr. Bradlaugh without their address.

I would not forget to thank you for the 938 francs (\$187.73) which you have sent, with the list of subscribers. We shall publish it in the journals at Rome, which we will forward to you. At the same time, I ought to say to you that we still hope for much more from the Americans. Why may they not more than twice double the sum they have already given? Excuse the presumption of this question for the sake of Bruno.

To your inquiry as to the contributions of the other countries of Europe, I can only say that, outside of France, England, Spain, and Russia, the other Europeans have responded very freely to our appeal.

From the countries above named, we have received some contributions, but, as yet, very little in comparison with that which we expect from them. As to Italy, we have every reason to be sure of our success. Our ideas have penetrated everywhere; but what a pity that here, too, the Liberals are not of the wealthy!

We learn that at Paris one of the streets leading to the Sorbonne has been named "Giordano Bruno," and that the Counsel Provisional (?) of Paris has voted 200 francs to our philosopher of Nola (Bruno). Accept my thanks for the honor done in printing my letter in your journals; and, if you wish for further information, you have only to write to us.

Wishing you to accept the sentiments of our highest consideration, we are, on the part of the committee,

Yours respectfully,

Dr. MARCELLO CAMPODONICO, Pres.

GIOVANNI AMICI, Sec'y.

"IS A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR RELIGION POSSIBLE?"

Editors of The Index:—

This subject has been very ably handled by some of our best speakers; but, as it is a question in whose answer all are interested, it seems to me fitting that all sides thereof should have a hearing. I have read with much interest Mr. W. D. Le Sueur's address be-

fore the Free Religious Association, hoping to find that the speaker was so far beyond the average thought as to be able to give a definite answer to the question, that would be in itself a demonstration. But, though an able discourse, it is evident, from his whole cast of thought, that the author has not reached that point; and his answer to the question is but another opinion, which leaves the question still unanswered.

What is termed *religion* is the beliefs and opinions of man regarding something (God) which they know nothing about. How, then, can there be a scientific basis for religion? When that something (God) is understood by all alike, when all ideas regarding the Creator start from the same perfect stand-point, as do all ideas in the understanding of mathematics, then shall we have a scientific basis for—what? Not religion. There will no longer be religion, but a demonstrable understanding of God and his creation, which is theology,—not what is termed theology to-day, but the old theology of Jesus' time; in other words, the science, not of man, but of God.

The word "theology" is now misapplied, and for that reason liberal thinkers are more or less prejudiced against it. While I understand the feeling, and regret the misapplication of the term as much as any one can, I shall not on that account relinquish the word, but do my best to rescue it from its present position, and place it where it belongs. Free religion means free opinions, and the Free Religious Association, if consistent with its title, is an association which encourages free expression of ideas and opinions regarding the Creator and man's relation to his Creator,—a most excellent society, and one which cannot fail to aid progression, because it encourages earnest thought and study. But that is one thing; and theology, or the science of Spirit, is quite another. Let it be plainly understood that by *theology* I do not mean what the Churches term theology to-day; for their theology is not theology, it is *religion*,—the beliefs and opinions of man regarding God, his creation, etc.

Because some one may call a pear an apple is no reason that I should. If one should call a dream the reality, and the reality a dream, is that a reason that we should also?

The old *theology* taught and practised by Jesus and his disciples and by Paul had a scientific basis, and consequently was demonstrable. The so-called theology of to-day has no scientific basis, and can have none, because it is in reality only man's opinions. When an opinion is found to be scientific, it is no longer an opinion: it is understanding or knowledge. Our object is, or ought to be, to elevate and make better our fellow-men; and I think the way to accomplish this is not to tell them what they ought, and what they ought not to do, but to give them a practical, demonstrable knowledge of God and man, the nature and origin of matter, etc.

The first step in this direction is to call things by their proper names; and, secondly, to define those names, so that we may all understand them and make a correct application of them. To-day, the term *religion* is understood to mean man's opinions regarding God and man, and regarding man's relation and obligation to God. These opinions have been found to be incapable of demonstration and without a scientific basis, and are therefore entitled to no more respect than a man's opinion regarding mathematics.

Old theology (the science of God, the understanding of Spirit and its creation), not modern theology, is worthy all respect and reverence. It is a demonstrable truth which brings man to the realization of God and his creation, and to the knowledge of the origin of matter and all materiality. It shows man what he is, and how he can attain unto that perfect manhood accounted by Jesus to be both possible and desirable.

The religions of the day have, indeed, the form of godliness, but have denied the power thereof. Old theology acknowledges the power, and not only teaches that evil is not goodness, but destroys the evil in us.

Not until the people cease to reason from a material stand-point, and begin to reason from an opposite direction, will they come out of the darkness and perplexity of man's opinions. When man comprehends his relation to God and worships *self* less, he will be able to comprehend and worship God. Not, however, with words and forms: they avail not with God. True worship of God is doing his will; and we can neither do his will, nor teach it, unless we know it.

And we cannot know it, unless we are his children; and we are not the children of Spirit, unless we have an understanding of spirit.

A teacher of any branch of learning must first understand that which he professes to teach. A teacher of theology must understand God and his creation, the relation which man holds to God, and the origin of matter, in order to be able to teach it to others. Without a scientific basis for his views, they are worth no more than those his pupils may have. Old theology was, in Jesus' time, and can now be, taught and demonstrated as clearly as can mathematics; and the popular idea that God is *unknowable* has done more than all else to keep the people in the darkness of ignorance respecting their Creator and themselves.

This darkness is what Jesus, in his time, termed "death," when he said, "Let the dead bury their dead." The "life in Christ" was the release from the bondage of ignorance, through the knowledge of the law of Spirit; and, if man has in the past attained that knowledge, there is no excuse for supposing he may not in the present time, else where or in what direction is the much boasted progress of man?

E. J. ARENS.

A CORRECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

Oblige me by correcting an unaccountable error in my communication published in *The Index* of the 9th inst. Instead of "Innocent XIII.," the name of the reigning pope, "Leo XIII.," was of course required. The blunder was possibly a *lapis calami* of my own, and is, in any case, of but little consequence, since every reader would correct it for himself.

Very truly yours,

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

PENN'S PARK, PA., July 10, 1885.

BOOK NOTICES.

A SYSTEM OF PSYCHOLOGY. By Daniel Greenleaf Thompson. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 613; Vol. II., pp. 589. Price 30 shillings.

An article from the pen of Mr. T. B. Wakeman, contributed to *The Index* some months ago (No. 35, Vol. V., New Series, Feb. 26, 1885), bestowed upon this work high praise, while subjecting to frank criticism some of its positions. In that article, the value of the work was not, in our opinion, overestimated; and, of those parts in which Mr. Thompson shows the most ingenuity and appears to the best advantage as a thinker, no adequate mention was made, rather from the limits of the article, we believe, than from any lack of appreciation on the part of its writer.

This work, which was written in the midst of the cares and duties of a practitioner of law in New York City, not only shows rare devotion to philosophic study and a noble enthusiasm to discover and to make known the truth on themes among the highest that can occupy the human mind, but proves the author to be a man of large intellectual grasp, of keen critical and analytical ability, and at the same time of large constructive power and capacity for generalization, of ample acquaintance with philosophy and literature, and with a knowledge of some of the sciences, physiology in particular, which we rarely find in an American who has not made them his special studies. He is thoroughly at home among the English philosophers, and draws largely from them; but there is not a little in his work which is original in thought, illustration, proof, or argument.

Among the chapters of the work that we have read with deep interest are those on "Some Theories of Intuition Knowledge" and "Necessary Truths." In the latter chapter, the author defends and illustrates the doctrine, first fully formulated by George Henry Lewes, that the distinction between truths implied by the words "necessary" and "contingent" is illusory; that all truths are equally necessary; that the fundamental meaning of the term "necessity," as applied to first truths which is not common to all truths, is that of a more intimate and indissoluble association, springing from the fact of their greater universality. The force of association is so great that it gives these truths in the individual mind a precedence over all other truths, from the fact that they are never contradicted. By reason of their universality, the necessity of these "necessary truths" is thrown out into greater

prominence; and it seems proper enough to retain the word "necessity" as a separate characteristic of this class of truths, although in fact the word expresses only an attribute common to all truths. The universality of the experience gives stronger associations, greater certainty, and a more prominent position to the truth in the individual mind. "Necessary" not less than "contingent" truths are learned by experience. Experience implies a non-ego capable of producing impressions upon, or making presentations to, an ego, and an ego capable of receiving presentations. "The experience philosophy holds that all knowledge is derived from sensations, representations, and associations of sensations, and associations of representations of them. . . . It posits sensation from without and reflection from within as the two ultimate constituents of cognition." "So far as I have been able to learn, those who defend the experiential origin of knowledge have always been willing to allow that a sensation implies mind as much as matter, and that without mind there could be no sensation any more than there could be without matter." "Therefore, if the *a priori* philosophers mean to say that all cognition involves an element from non-ego and an element from ego, having a source outside of and one within the mind, it is only by a wholly unwarrantable perversion of fact that any one can raise a substantial issue between them and the experientialists." "All the terms we possess, even the names of the most abstract and general qualities, are derived from and imply experience. Indeed, it has been remarked by philosophers of both schools that all words describing thoughts and feelings were originally used to designate physical phenomena. And, though they may have passed beyond the stage of sole relevancy to the external world, they do not emancipate themselves from a reference to and implication of experience."

The cognitions upon which the conviction of necessary truths are founded took their rise with the earliest intelligence. The mind has been unconsciously shaped by them through countless generations; and the earliest associations of the mind's experiences are now "consolidated in mind and frame," making them to appear so indissoluble that they seem to be, by reason of their universality and evidentness, fundamentally different from other truths. "That other truths, now generally received and known, may in process of time attain to the same universal recognition, so as to be in their explicated form (as they are already implicitly) in every man's mind, is not a hazardous prediction. Indeed, human nature may receive such modifications that cognitions, not now formed, but latent as germs in the mind, may spring forth, become a part of the mind, and lead to realms of knowledge of which we have not now the faintest glimmering."

We have given but the leading thought of one chapter of a work whose table of contents alone would take more space than can here be given to these volumes. To some readers, the chapters of the work to which our attention has been especially attracted will by no means be the most interesting. The parts which treat of the material conditions of states of consciousness (in which space and force are made complementary aspects of matter, both being realities and having their origin in sensations of resistance and non-resistance, the sensation of non-resistance or extension being as much a sensation as the sensation of resistance); of vegetable and animal life; of the genesis and development of states of consciousness, from the lowest sensations to the æsthetic and ethical emotions; of volitional development; of abnormal development as illustrated by dreams, hypnotism, double consciousness, etc.; of primary, secondary, and tertiary pleasures and pains; the *summum bonum*; the connection of mind and body, which the author treats as one of concomitance and correspondence,—are all profoundly instructive and interesting. One need not assent to all that Mr. Thompson advances, in order to appreciate his robust thought, his masterly reasoning, his clear, strong style, and truly philosophic spirit, in marked contrast to the qualities that are characteristic of most of the books on psychology that have been written in this country,—books made up chiefly of theological and metaphysical speculations, antiquated distinctions, and absurd classifications of mental powers, and written in utter ignorance of psychology as a science.

This work, although by an American, comes to us from a London publisher, because probably the au-

thor received no encouragement from any publishing house in this country. The number of readers here who will care to purchase so profound and elaborate a work, compared with the number with whom the demand is for superficial and pretentious works which solve all the problems of the universe in a few pages, must be small. In English reviews, we understand, it has received very high praise, as it has from a few of the first-class periodicals on this side of the water; but, as yet, Mr. Thompson, who is "a kinsman of a later generation" to the illustrious Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, to whose memory these valuable volumes are inscribed, has not received from his countrymen, whom he has honored abroad among thinkers, any adequate recognition of his services to the cause of science and philosophy.

We commend the work as an intellectual tonic to all who are tired of the mixture of metaphysical mysticism and literary dilettanteism which is so commonly inflicted upon audiences and readers in this country to-day in the name of philosophy. B. F. U.

THE WORKS OF THOMAS CARLYLE: *Sartor Resartus*; *Past and Present*; *The Diamond Necklace*; *Mirabeau*. New York: John B. Alden.

Mr. Alden proposes to publish a complete edition of the works of Carlyle, in thirteen volumes, at the nominal price of \$1.20 per volume, or postage prepaid \$1.44 per volume, and offers this specimen volume for a short time at \$1.00, as an inducement to possible subscribers to the set. Nothing in the way of good literature could be cheaper than this well-bound, clearly printed book, containing four of Carlyle's most highly prized and popular works, making a large-sized volume of over seven hundred and fifty pages, all for \$1.00. This is an opportunity never before offered, and which may never again occur, to the student of limited means to become the possessor of the works of one of the master minds of this century.

TWO PORTRAITS of marked interest, in the July *Century*, are the frontispiece picture of Frederic Mistral and the full-page portrait, after a daguerreotype, of Henry Clay. George Bancroft contributes a vivid sketch of Clay's personality; and Alphonse Daudet writes of his friend Mistral, the Provençal poet. Of timely importance is the Indo-Afghan paper, "The Gate of India," by W. L. Fawcett. It shows that the evident Russian trend toward the Khyber Pass is only one of a long succession of advances from the direction of Afghanistan upon the wealth of India, from before the time of Alexander the Great's conquest down to 1750, the year the founder of the Afghan empire invaded India. A description of "George Eliot's County" is by Miss Rose G. Kingsley, the daughter of Canon Kingsley. Two short stories accompany the instalments of Mr. Howells' "Rise of Silas Lapham" and Henry James' "Bostonians": they are Frank R. Stockton's continuation of his famous story, "The Lady or the Tiger?" under the title, "The Discourager of Hesitancy," and another illustrated story by Ivory Black (T. A. Janvier), entitled "Roberson's Medium." The war papers of the July number, profusely illustrated, comprise "McClellan's Change of Base," by Gen. D. H. Hill; "Rear-guard Fighting at Savage's Station," by Gen. W. B. Franklin; "The Seven Days' Fighting about Richmond," by Gen. James Longstreet; and points of minor interest in "Memoranda." The poems are nine in number, by well-known writers, none of exceptional merit. Oliver Wendell Holmes has an article in the "Open Letter" Department on International Copyright.

THE *Atlantic* for July is an excellent vacation number, being mainly devoted to story, song, and travel. The serials,—*"The New Portfolio,"* by O. W. Holmes; *"The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains,"* by Miss Murfree; and Mrs. Oliphant's "Country Gentleman,"—in the chapters given this month, continue to hold the reader's undiminished interest. The short story, "The Singular Case of Jeshurun Barker," is a fanciful psychological study by John Wilkinson. Whittier has a long poem, "The Two Elizabeths." Other poems are by Frank D. Sherman, Andrew Hedbrook, and Nora Perry. The out-door papers are "A Mexican Vacation Week," by Sylvester Baxter; "A Bit of Bird-life," by Olive Thorne Miller; "On Horseback," by Charles Dudley Warner; and "South-western Kansas seen with Eastern Eyes," by M. H. Leonard. Horace E. Scudder has an article on

"Childhood in Mediæval Art," E. E. Hale one on "Daniel De Foe and Thomas Sheppard," and W. L. Alden writes of "Garibaldi's Ideas."

THE *Revue de Belgique* for June opens with an account of those historic lyrics in which Victor Hugo doomed the Napoleons to eternal infamy. Then comes a summary of Herbert Spencer's principles of government, suggested by the translation of his new work, *The Individual against the State*, into French, under the title of *L'Individu contre l'Etat*. The essayist urges that the more closely the government confines itself to its legitimate function of protecting the citizens against each other, the more thoroughly will this fundamental condition of their welfare be secured, and the more easily will all other individual interests be taken care of by individual effort. Men who have security and liberty need nothing more from the State. There is also a description of Cairo, and an argument showing, by the testimony of Shakspeare's contemporaries, that he really wrote his plays.

AMONG the many interesting articles in the July *St. Nicholas*, we have space only to call attention to Edward Eggleston's description of "A School of Long Ago"; a graphic description in narrative form by Charles Barnard and John H. Gibbons of the American Navy, of life on board of a United States school-ship, is entitled "A School Afloat," and handsomely illustrated; "Washington's First Correspondence," by Rev. Henry A. Adams; "The Liberty Bell," a timely poem by E. S. Brooks. The story of "Clotilda of Burgundy" is told in the "Historic Girls" series, and Mozart is treated of in "From Bach to Wagner." Edmond Alton's "Among the Law-makers," and Lieutenant Schwatka's "Children of the Cold," are unabated in interest. The serial stories are by E. P. Roe, J. T. Trowbridge, and William M. Baker. The illustrations, as usual, are numerous and beautiful.

"WIDE AWAKE" for July has stories from Octave Thanet, Mrs. Frémont, Margaret Sidney, E. S. Brooks, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Lizzie W. Champney, and others; and poems by John Boyle O'Reilly, Joel Benton, M. E. B., E. L. Gould, Fannie L. Newbury, H. P. Richardson, Mary E. Wilkins, Margaret J. Preston, F. E. Saville, and Clara Doty Bates; and bright articles on instructive topics by Rose G. Kingsley, Yang Phou Lee, Prof. A. B. Palmer, Sarah W. Whitman, and Edward E. Hale. The illustrations, it is needless to say, are worthy of the first-class artists who contribute them.

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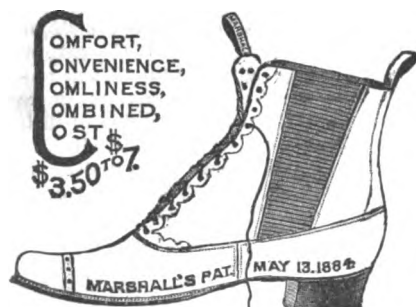
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

ABOUT eight thousand people were at the Camp of the Spiritualists at Onset Bay, last Sunday.

THE *London Globe* says that the Salvation Army at Cambridge exhibited on a recent Sunday a banner bearing the inscription, "Why give ten pence a pound for lamb, when you can get the Lamb of God for nothing?" The *Globe* adds, "Surely, it was for a lesser outrage than this that Foote was sent to prison."

THE June number of that admirably edited and printed German paper, *Rundschau*, contains some suggestions for restricting individual monopoly of land, which it may at some future day become necessary to put in practice, even in America. Already would the English reformer do well to consider the need of requiring that every owner of real estate which is neither inhabited nor cultivated, or which is in excess of a fixed ratio to number of occupants, should sell it to any one who offers the market value assessed by the State.

THE Mahdi, in an address to his soldiers lately published, said: "Oh, ye faithful, I assure you that, if you die in the morning fighting against the infidels, you will, even ere it is noon, be with the prophet in paradise. Silken robes of green will clothe you, and golden bracelets adorn you. You will repose by the banks of cool rivers, sipping refreshing drinks, while sixty ever youthful hours, bright as the moon, will smile upon you." Doubtless, such assurances make the "faithful" reckless of their lives in fighting the "infidels,"—a fact which, with the Mahdi and his supporters, is, no doubt, a very practical and convincing argument against agnosticism. The Mahdi says he will soon be in Cairo; and he declares that he will kill all the infidel, if they do not turn Mussulmans and pay taxes. The press is to be suppressed, with the exception of one paper, to be edited by himself.

THE monument to Giordano Bruno at Rome is to be dedicated Feb. 17, 1886, the two hundred eighty-sixth anniversary of the death at the stake of this martyr for free thought. The whole structure will be about ten feet high. In front will be a palm and a crown of laurel; beneath, the inscription, "To Giordano Bruno, and to the martyrs of the Inquisition." The other sides of the pedestal will represent Huss at the stake, Arnold di Brescia preaching liberty, and Bruno saying to his judges, "You, perhaps, are more afraid as you pronounce this doom than I in listening." There will also be medallions of Huss, Arnold, Servetus, Vanini, and other martyrs. The bronze statue represents the Awakener of Sleepy Souls, as he styled himself, speaking to the people from a book on which is written, "A great Deity made him the prophet, neither the last one nor yet an ordinary one, of the better age which is to come." The sculptor Ferrari gives his services gratuitously, but there is still need of money. Subscriptions may be sent to T. B. Wakeman, Esq., 93 Nassau Street, New York.

A WRITER in the *Athenæum* endeavors to show that it was the charred substance of the liver and not of the heart that was preserved, when Shelley's body was reduced to ashes, and says that the crowds that have, during the past sixty years, visited the lonely spot beneath the pyramid of Caius Cestius, to mourn over the poet's untimely fate, have been strangely deceived by the touching words engraved on the marble "*Cor Cordium*," since underneath is not the heart, but the liver, of their favorite poet. But the deception mentioned, supposing it real, is insignificant, compared with that involved in the supposition that the heart is any more sacred than the liver. The ancients thought that the heart was the seat of the affections; but, when we know that this notion is without foundation,—in fact, that dispositions and moods depend perhaps more upon the condition of the liver than upon that of the heart,—and that for the mourner of departed intellectual and moral worth neither have any significance which is not derived from primitive ignorance, what a waste of words to discuss whether it was the heart or the liver that escaped the action of fire in the cremation of Shelley's body! Such a discussion, certainly without practical value, can hardly add to the poetry and sentiment associated with the old classic custom of preserving the ashes of the dead.

A PARAGRAPH in a religious paper mentions that a brick, found in the Nile deposits years ago, which some thought must have been there many thousands of years, was ascertained, on full investigation, to belong to the age of the Cæsars. The paragraph concludes thus: "The brick passed away, and scientific atheistic lecturers never mention that brick nowadays." When scientific investigators discover a mistake in their observations or conclusions, they correct it at once, whether it makes for or against any theory. Nothing is more admirable than the candor with

which Darwin in his voluminous and valuable writings says on many pages, "I find I was in error," etc., and then proceeds to correct a mistake, discovered in many cases only by himself. Yet it has been common for the clergy to point to these confessions of error and mistake as evidences of the worthlessness of Darwin's observations as the basis of an induction and of the unreliableness of science, "falsely so called." In spite of mistakes made now and then in the study of prehistoric archæology, we are in possession of abundant proofs of the most unimpeachable character, showing the antiquity of the human race; but there are still many people who hold to the old theological theory of man's creation six thousand years ago, and regard as atheists all who question it. And, to such, an allusion to an error by scientific men, even though it was corrected by them, outweighs in importance the multitude of observations and evidences that no amount of criticism has been able to invalidate.

REV. HOWARD CROSBY, in a sermon at Dartmouth College, gives what the *Presbyterian* calls "a sharp thrust at the critics who are dismembering the Pentateuch, and assigning Deuteronomy to a period after the Babylonian captivity." "Imagine," he said, if you can, "the Messiah, in selecting the fittest words to meet Satan's assault, taking up a fragment of a forged book, a book which was a stupendous lie, framed by priestcraft." More charitable and reasonable would it be to suppose that Jesus was a religious enthusiast, who, although a reformer, shared many of the erroneous beliefs and traditions of his people, and quoted honestly what he believed to be words of inspired prophecy applicable to himself. Nothing ascribed to him gives any hint that he had subjected the popular claim as to the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch to careful scrutiny, that he had the learning necessary for the task, that he was sufficiently imbued with the scientific spirit or acquainted with the methods and canons of historical criticism to be either competent or inclined to make the Jewish writings the subject of a critical and exhaustive investigation. Or, if this view is not entirely acceptable, we might "imagine" that words were ascribed to Jesus that he never uttered, and acts related of him that had no other foundation than the superstitious fancy and devotion of those who, years after his death, wrote about him. The art of reporting speeches word for word, as they fell from the lips of the speaker, was unknown in that far-off age; and it was common for even accomplished historians to weave together in their narrative fact and fable, reality and romance, expecting them to be read without discrimination. Considering these facts, the judicial mind in this age will be slow to imagine anything of a reformer that implies he was a rascal or an impostor, simply because, in the half-legendary narrative of his doings and sayings, are found alleged acts and utterances which seem inconsistent with one another, or that appear as anomalous features of the life and character of the individual of whom they are recorded.

FACED BACKWARDS.

The New York *Independent* is one of the recognized leaders of liberal Orthodoxy. It has had a large influence in mitigating the rigid beliefs of old-fashioned Calvinism. When it is itself, we expect to see it taking the side of the party of progress in the theological discussions of the evangelical world, face forwards. But, occasionally, it surprises us by the reversed attitude. Now and then, it is guilty, even in its editorial columns, of the vice of theological *Bourbonism*. Perhaps, in the necessary division of labor in so large an establishment, it sometimes permits a tyro to try the editorial quill, who is fresh from some stationary theological seminary; or perhaps, in its wide liberality, its responsible editor sometimes turns a sympathizing eye to the feelings of that class of its readers who are still in the backwoods of Orthodoxy. Whatever the cause, we occasionally see this great journal of multitudinous pages and bewildering departments quite wheeled about, face backwards.

A marked illustration of the journalistic feature here referred to was given in a recent editorial article under the caption of "Jonah and the Whale." The *Independent* editor—or his *Bourbonistic* substitute for the time being—began with a story of a man who had been greatly troubled with doubts concerning the Bible, but had finally been able to rid himself of them all except his scepticism in regard to the story of the whale swallowing Jonah. The man confessed his lack of faith in this particular to "an elderly Christian lady, who was in the habit of believing the Bible, and believing it just as it reads." "You don't believe that?" said the woman. The man repeated that he had hitherto found the story too much for him. "Well," was her reply, "that gives me no trouble. If the Bible said that Jonah swallowed the whale, I would believe it." This story was quoted from a preacher whom the *Independent* editor remembered to have once heard. The preacher may well have been Mr. Moody. It sounds like one of his stories, and we recall that he once said the same thing to show the kind of faith he himself had in the infallibility of the Bible. The *Independent* begins its application of the story by expressing its "decided sympathy with the general attitude of this good woman's mind, whatever may be the true interpretation of the narrative of Jonah and the whale." And thence it goes on, in a column and a half article, to elaborate an argument which, if it means anything, means the old dogma that the Bible is literally infallible. This, certainly, is what the "elderly Christian lady" believed; and the story is pointless, unless it be used to illustrate an argument to the same end.

If the *Independent* writer were to seek to evade this conclusion by claiming that he only expressed sympathy with the "general attitude" of the good woman's mind, he would undermine the entire logical structure of his article. Her attitude, "general" as well as particular, was that of implicit acceptance of every statement in the Bible, simply because she found it there; and the *Independent* recognizes the logical force of its illustrative story by arguing against those fast and loose theories of Biblical interpretation which are the ear-marks of liberal Orthodoxy, and which result, when human reason is admitted as an arbiter in Biblical study. It says,—and the sentence represents the pith of its article,—"If one has a theory of inspiration which divorces God from the words of the Bible, then those words have lost their power with him as divine words, and he can play with them at his pleasure." What does this mean, if it does not

mean that the antiquated dogma of plenary inspiration and verbal infallibility is the true doctrine with which one should come to the study of the Bible? That this is the meaning is confirmed by this subsequent sentence: "If there is any one thing which we would emphasize more than another, that one thing is simple, childlike, trustful, unhesitating, loving, and complete faith in the Word of God." By the *Word of God* here, of course, only another name for the Bible is intended; and the mood of mind toward it so strongly commended is precisely that of the pious, believing woman of the story. Nothing whatever is said of bringing to the reading of the Bible that high and sacred prerogative of human intelligence,—reason. It is not to be read with the understanding: it is to be read "with the heart," and with the credulous, unhesitating, complete faith of a little child in listening to fairy stories. It is to be read with a faith which would accept the statements, not only that a whale swallowed Jonah, but that Jonah swallowed a whale, if only such statements are found within the pages of the book.

This, if we understand the English language, is the meaning of the article in question. Yet, if we were to say that this is what the *Independent* really believes when in its right mind and with its responsible editor at the helm, we should expect to be charged with libelling its views. If we have read its columns aright, the "general attitude" of its mind toward the Bible is that of the new school of criticism, represented by Prof. Robertson Smith and scholars of his way of thinking. We have supposed that it prided itself on being one of the fathers of the New Orthodoxy, that its sympathies were with the progressive professors of Andover, and that it would look with no favor upon any reactionary movement in the theology of the Congregational churches. We cannot now imagine that it holds the old theory that God dictated the very words of the Bible, and that the Bible is throughout and in every particular infallibly and verbally true. We would, therefore, like to know what the *Independent* itself really thinks of this special editorial article, which is somehow so strangely faced backwards? It would be interesting to have its opinion of what is "the true interpretation of the narrative of Jonah and the whale." Does it believe that narrative as it stands in the Bible? Does it have that simple, childlike, unhesitating, complete faith in the whole Bible and everything in it possessed by the "elderly Christian lady," who would accept the story of Jonah even if it read that Jonah swallowed the whale? If it could not follow her in the bland, childlike, trusting credulity of such a complete faith as that,—and we believe it could not,—what is the reason that it could not? Where, in fine, and on what grounds does it draw the line between its own belief concerning the Bible and that of the elderly female Christian who rebuked some doubting Thomas?

WM. J. POTTER.

HAS CHRISTIANITY BENEFITED WOMAN?

Commenting in the July number of the *North American Review*, Mrs. Harriet R. Shattuck says, "If the human race has been benefited by Christianity, and if woman is a part of the human race, then the only logical conclusion is that woman has been benefited by Christianity." The difficulty with Mrs. Shattuck's syllogism is that her major premise is yet to be substantiated.

When we consider the very small portion of the human race that have ever heard of the Christian religion, and the still smaller portion that accept

and believe it, it is nonsense to talk of its benefits to the whole human family.

"The Buddhist religion is the one most extensively accepted in the world, having, in round numbers, about 340,000,000 adherents. There are not more Roman Catholics in the world than people of all other religious classes. The total number of Roman Catholics is about 200,000,000 against about 80,000,000 of the Greek Church, 100,000,000 Protestants, and 6,500,000 of other Oriental churches than the Greek. Of the 1,400,000,000 people in the world, about 1,000,000,000 are not Christians, but, with the exception of the 6,000,000 Jews, are what are called heathens." This shows that we cannot speak of the benefits of the Christian religion to the races of mankind. And even in professedly Christian countries, the benefits of its principles are limited to a few favored classes.

Look at the mighty multitude in the slums of the cities in England and America, as ignorant, impoverished, and brutalized as humanity is anywhere on the face of the earth. Look at the weary, wizened children as well as men and women in our factories and workshops. Look at the hard battles awakened labor is everywhere fighting for itself to-day against Christian institutions and monopolies. The equality of the human family is the glittering generality taught alike in what we choose to call the Christian religion and republican government; but the idea is nowhere as yet believed or acted upon, and in neither case has the slightest practical application to the masses.

Every form of religion and government has thus far been based on the principle of caste and class, and the greatest blessings of advancing civilization have been monopolized by the few at the expense of the many; and women have invariably belonged to the ostracized classes. But, while many are awake to their degradation in the State, and are demanding new laws and amendments to the constitutions, their religious emotions so entirely obscure their judgment that they are wholly oblivious to their degradation in the Church that sedulously teaches their inferiority and subjection.

Imagine a black man in the old days of slavery, working in the rice swamps in the broiling sun, commenting thus in the *North American Review*: "If the human race has been benefited by a republican form of government, and if the black man is a part of the human race, then the only logical conclusion is that the black man has been benefited by a republican form of government."

True, for two centuries he was worked within an inch of his life, scantily fed and clothed, his back scarred with the lash, he was kept in hopeless ignorance of all his natural rights; and now, on the slightest provocation, he is imprisoned, tortured, and worked by the civil authorities in most of the Southern States. If the master has been benefited by republican government, he certainly has not: the black skin still draws down on him unrelenting persecution.

The blessings and benefits of each step in progress do not come to all classes. It takes centuries for the simplest principles of justice to be so applied as to mitigate the miseries of the masses. All religions and governments being alike the outgrowth of human experience, differing in different latitudes, no one of them can be said to have brought any special benefit to the human race as a whole, and much less to all classes under any one of them. The recent revelations now shaking London society to its foundation do not show that womanhood in that city has received any special benefit from Christianity. Nothing more horrible has ever blackened the pages of history than the reports we read of the annual sacrifice in London

of 20,000 girls to men who make the laws of the kingdom and hold high places in all the professions. Think of English law making a girl of thirteen responsible for her own protection! There is no greater mistake than to suppose that blessings contributed by human powers, like the rain and sunshine, come alike with refreshing influence to all.

The grand principles that Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed, Jesus, and Theodore Parker proclaimed have all had their influence, inspiring here and there the lives of the few refined and receptive, through a happy combination of circumstances, and these few indirectly moulding the lives of others. Thus, the little leaven working through the centuries has ever and anon shown us the goodness of which human nature is capable. In this way, no true word spoken, no noble deed done, has been without some influence through the ages; but, in each slowly passing generation, the few have invariably robbed the many of their rightful heritage.

A religion that teaches the inferiority and subjection of the mother of the race; that ostracizes her in the practical affairs of the Church, giving her no voice in its discipline or rulers; that makes man the head of the family, while the wife is the weaker vessel owing obedience,—such a religion cannot be said to benefit woman.

The law of life and growth is liberty, justice, equality; and whatever spirit robs woman of her natural rights,—to think, to know, to be all of which she is capable,—and relegates the whole sex to certain limits of man's choosing, cannot be the spirit of a true religion.

The Christian religion has done this eighteen hundred years, if we are to accept the facts of life, the teachings of the Bible, the action of the Church, and the popular sentiment of Christian communities.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

VICTOR HUGO AND THE THEATRE FRANÇAIS.

I have long felt that the most admirable thing in France is the Théâtre Français, and my opinion has been strikingly supported by what has taken place at the "House of Molière" during the past month. As soon as Victor Hugo died, the manager began to offer the public two of his best dramas. "Hernani" and "Ruy Blas" have appeared on this stage a number of times since the first of June, and on the 15th inst. occurred an extraordinary representation in honor of the poet's memory.

The evening's performance opened with the second act of "Le Roi s'amuse," with Got, Mounet-Sully, and Mlle. Bartet in the principal characters, and was followed by the first act of "Marion Delorme," interpreted by Delaunay, Mounet-Sully, and Mme. Barretta. After each of these plays, the other actors and actresses of the troop came before the curtain, one by one, and recited selections from Victor Hugo's vast literary legacy. The entertainment closed with a one-act allegory in verse, entitled "Apothéose," written for the occasion by a young poet and ardent admirer of "the master," M. Paul Delair.* One verse of this piece has created some comment. France, in the person of Mlle. Bartet, exclaims, referring to Victor Hugo and other spirits in heaven:—

"Quelques-uns près de lui, pas un seul au-dessus,
Avec Shakespeare, avec Homère, avec Jésus!"

The free thinkers are not satisfied with all of

* This clever little *pièce de circonstance* is published by Paul Ollendorff, 28 rue Richelieu.

Victor Hugo's companions; and, of course, the orthodox are shocked at this sacrilegious placing of a poet, and above all this poet, on a par with the Saviour. At the theatre the other night, this passage was warmly applauded.

It is not my intention here to consider critically all or any of these many interpretations, especially as I do not feel that I am competent to do so. It may be true, as an American dramatist who sat next to me said, that Edwin Booth renders the part of Triboulet, or rather Bertuccio, in a "Fool's Revenge," in a far more masterly manner than does Got in the piece that served Tom Taylor as his model. M. Francisque Sarcey, the celebrated dramatic critic, may also be right when he states in the *Temps* that the selections from Victor Hugo's works were badly made and badly read, and that M. Delair's "Apothéose" is "unfinished," "full of holes, and abounding in gross evidences of carelessness." And that large body of well-qualified judges in all countries who hold that Victor Hugo does not possess "the dramatic sense" may, too, be correct in their appreciation of his plays. To me, the interest and charm of this memorable occasion centred elsewhere. My mind was continually reverting to the past. I was occupied more with the remarkable history of "Le Roi s'amuse" and "Marion Delorme" than with the merits or demerits of the dramas or the actors. And, during the readings from Victor Hugo's works and the enactment of M. Delair's Apotheosis, I was astonished at the varied talent that could produce such different and yet such superior creations, and experienced only sentiments of pleasure at the deserved deification of such a genius.

During the representation of the second act of "Le Roi s'amuse," I was absorbed in recalling the abrupt and arbitrary manner in which Louis Philippe's government prohibited the playing of the piece almost at the moment when the curtain went down on the "first night"; in going over in my mind the author's indignant protest and bold arraignment of the July Monarchy in the preface to the drama; and in picturing to myself that great scene at the Bourse, where Victor Hugo pleaded his own cause before the Tribunal of Commerce and a vast crowd of enthusiastic auditors. These closing words of this his first—if I am not mistaken—public harangue were continually coming back to me: "This century has witnessed but one great man,—Napoleon,—and one great thing,—Liberty. We have no longer the great man: let us try to have the great thing." How Hugoist these lines are! And yet their author was then but thirty years old. And, when the curtain went down the other evening at the end of the act, I thought how, on the night of Nov. 22, 1832, in this same theatre, perhaps this same curtain fell not to rise again on "Le Roi s'amuse" for a whole half-century,—not until 1882.

Likewise, during the first act of "Marion Delorme," my mind was ever recurring to the preface, wherein Victor Hugo states how, during the Restoration, the censor would not let his drama appear on the stage, even for one evening. And, then, the poet, little imagining the fate that would attend "Le Roi s'amuse" a year later, goes out of his way to praise the more liberal régime introduced by Louis Philippe, and exclaims, "Now, art is free." I remembered, too, the wonderful rapidity with which this versified five-act drama was thrown off, for, begun on the first of June, 1829, it was finished on the 24th of the same month; and I recalled this paragraph from the obituary notice which appeared the other day in the *Temps*: "He [Victor Hugo] read it ["Marion Delorme"] aloud for the first time in that *hôtel* of

the Place Royale, which plays such a grand part in the history of Romanticism, before the most brilliant assemblage that a poet ever had; for among those present were Balzac, Delacroix, Musset, Alexandre Dumas, De Vigny, Sainte-Beuve, Villemain, Mérimée, Soulié, Soumet, and the Deverias." But the public was not allowed to share the pleasure of this *élite*. The author appealed in vain from the censor to the king. "I admire very much your talent," said Charles X., as he offered the poet a new pension of four thousand francs. "As for myself, there are but two poets,—yourself and Désaugiers." Victor Hugo refused the money; and, two years later, Charles X., an exile in England, must have perused with peculiar sensations the newspaper accounts of the first night of "Marion Delorme."

When Americans go to the Théâtre Français, they generally read the piece beforehand. I should suggest that, in the case of Victor Hugo's dramas, they devote their attention especially to the prefaces, where the history of the plays is given; for in these plays, as in almost everything that he wrote, the artistic yields to the political and social interest. I believe that future generations will admire and remember Victor Hugo, not so much for the poetry and art of his productions as for his having been a powerful, enthusiastic, and fearless leader of the progressive movements of the last half of the nineteenth century. It was in this spirit that I judged the performance at the Théâtre Français; and, in this same spirit, I feel sure that our descendants will judge the whole vast work of this "Titan of Literature."

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, JUNE, 1885.

A RUSE OF CREED-MONGERS.

Among all the scholarly criticisms of the revised Old Testament now so liberally dispensed as food for a semi-rational appetite, I have as yet met with but one allusion to what, it seems to me, ought to interest the public, both ecclesiastical and secular, more than any one, or even all, of the items of textual revision noted by reviewers of the new version. It is many years since I first asked myself *why* the English translators of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, early and late, have treated the synonymes *Christ* and *Messiah* otherwise in one compartment of the Bible than in the other; why they have rarely translated the words in the New Testament, yet always translated them in the Old Testament, in the authorized version of which the word "Christ" does not once appear, and the word "Messiah" occurs but twice. This small but notable vestige of apparent connivance on the part of the makers of our English Bible is adverted to by a contributor to the *New York Sun* in one of a series of articles on the revision, but with no attempt to probe its rational significance. I wonder if anybody has done this, even privately. It is no less a desideratum, if indeed all the ostensible teachers and students of what is called God's word, in closet, pulpit, Sunday-school, and theological institute, have never thought of it. To recognize the fact and what it signifies is all that is requisite to evince the predetermined policy of the English Bible-makers to follow the lead of Paul in subsidizing Judaism and the ancient Hebrew Scriptures in support of Christianity and of ecclesiastical dogmas, which, even in the sixteenth century, lacked the prestige of age.

The revisers of King James' version must have discovered the artifice of his commissioners. They cannot be supposed to have blinked the sinister purport of what the last committee of revision have styled "a literary inconsistency." But with

this they have temporized. What they have done relevant to its amendment is inadequate. By substituting the verbal adjective "anointed" for the transliterated epithet "Messiah" in the two only instances of its occurrence, they have rendered the translation of the Book of Daniel consistent with that of all the co-ordinate parts of the Old Testament, and this is creditable; but they have not obliterated the far greater and more glaring literary incongruity between the two canonical compartments of the whole Bible. Perhaps it was deemed advisable to assimilate the diction of the New Testament to that of the Old rather than the reverse, as the better of two methods of abating the said literary inconsistency which are exclusively practical. Then they should have counselled a re-revision of the New Testament, by omitting to do which they seem rather to have sanctioned the error of their predecessors than to have complemented their work.

The literary abnormality here specified is one which all lovers of good literature, unless overborne by religious prejudice, must wish to have abolished, as it can be but in one of two ways, either of which is feasible,—namely, abandon the policy of double-dealing with the two mystical *équivoques* named above, and either translate them as often as they occur in the New Testament just as they are translated in the Old Testament, or else transfer them untranslated in the Old Testament just as they are transliterated in the New Testament. This is what every right-minded thinker will adjudge to be expedient, as the only method compatible with literal perspicuity. And what objection to this proposal can be mooted by any truth-seeker or sincere Biblist, believing as the latter does that the book is divinely inspired and therefore uniquely one,—a revelation of truth, the two cardinal divisions of which are as congeneric as any two subdivisions of either? Only one objection is conceivable, and that possible only from an ecclesiastical point of view. It is this: it would endanger the creeds of Christendom, it would shake the temple of Paul's "mystery of godliness" to its very foundations.

Let the New Testament be translated after the manner of the Old Testament, and many an incident in the memoirs of Jesus now citable as a premise of Christian reasoning would become irrelevant to the dogma of his supernatural personality and function. The passage concerning an alleged deposition of suborned witnesses at his arraignment before Pontius Pilate would contain no cue of mystery. "We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, declaring himself to be anointed king,—*legonta heauton christon basilea einai*." But Jesus denied the charge, and requested the summons of his disciples, who would have testified that he had often adjured them to "tell no man that he was the anointed," in the Jewish acceptance of the term. And Pilate, penetrating the animus of his accusers, put the question to the accused, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" The reply was explicit: "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth." "Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, I find no fault in this man." There was no hint of a supernatural Christhood in that case, though the confession, or rather profession, of Jesus involved a trait of character and a phase of impersonal ambition which, to the blind zeal of his religious persecutors, were the head and front of his offending,—the sole incentive to his arraignment: albeit, nothing of this was in the indictment, which, as a pretext of bigotry, was only too plainly forged.

Per contra, let the mystical terms which stand for the right of coronation be transliterated in the Old Testament just as they are in the New Testament, and, lo! the first king of the Jews would figure as "the Christ of God," and Saul in the mouth of David would rival Jesus in the mouth of Peter. Then we should hear the second candidate for the regal function in old Jewry saying of the ruling king, "God forbid that I should do this thing to the Lord's Christ!" Then would the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah open with "Thus saith the Lord to his Christ, to Cyrus," with no contextual intimation of other than political and military functions; while, elsewhere in the same document, the prophet would designate a *Christhood* of another forte, but no less respectably human, saying of himself, "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because he hath Christized me to preach good tidings."

Luke tells us that the whole passage here indicated, which constitutes the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah, was rehearsed in public by Jesus in the beginning of his didactic profession, and self-appropriated as a graphic expression of his own character and humanitarian calling. The good tidings thus foretold, succinctly stated, are triune. They concern the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, whence proceeds by relative necessity the Deathless Maturity of Personality. The Church's Holy Trinity is no other than a misconceptive transfiguration of these sublime truths,—a monastic travesty of the gospel of Jesus, which is called *his* because he both preached and practised its rudiments more successfully, though not more faithfully, than the prophet into whose labors he entered and whose conceptions of moral truth he expanded. These two functionaries of human enlightenment are better exemplars of manliness than the average of historic sages. The doctrine of their consecutive inculcation is properly entitled the Gospel of Reason. So far were both from being religionists of any caste that neither found occasion to employ the word "religion." Both were rationalists of normal type; each was an arch-advocate of *RIGHTEOUSNESS* as the one thing needful to complement all minor conditions of happiness; and the man of Nazareth, whose amenities excelled the record of his manners, has been aptly styled "the model gentleman for all time."

For the conceit that Jesus was the Christ in the ecclesiastical sense of the title,—that is, the Saviour of the world in the rôle typified by the paschal lamb of Judaism,—thanks to the distempered brain of Paul. There is no evidence that anybody ever heard of it before its announcement by that converted persecutor of the surviving disciples of Jesus. We are told in the book of apostolic Acts that "the disciples [of Paul, not of Jesus] were called Christians first in Antioch," some dozen years after the crucifixion of Jesus. This certifies that Christianity is adventitious to the gospel of Jesus, with which it is nominally combined. But there is no affinity of one for the other. Though mixed as oil and water, they will not blend. But this dissidence the dazed victims of faith will never see in their vernacular light,—the light of unreason, which is darkness. The Church is bound to know Paul only as an apostle of Jesus and Jesus only as Paul's backer. So, for eighteen centuries, the clergy have been preaching Paul's religion in the name of Jesus, whose own truthful teachings have been thus far virtually nullified. And one of the means by which this ecclesiastical mischief has been wrought, or at least a great hindrance to its undoing, is the equivocal method of translating the Bible, as aforesaid. All revisers of the English version of either Testament who leave this part of their appropriate work unperformed

will come short of their duty as caterers for the religious wants of Virtue's would-be votaries, as I deem worthy to be designated all adult persons who voluntarily help support a creed which sets at naught all human righteousness as the means of salvation from evil, to this end preferring Paul's *faith*—in a stupendous fiction!

GEORGE STEARNS.

THE CONCORD LECTURES ON GOETHE.

I.

The series began Thursday evening, the 16th with Mr. Albee's essay, showing how desire for self-culture animated all Goethe's life and writings. This is the reason that his works are so incomplete. Thoreau's method was incommunicable. Goethe is ever trying to teach himself; and, therefore, he teaches us how to teach ourselves. Faithful to this practical aim, he kept on the hither side of things, avoiding the incomprehensible. His relations to women were ruled by this constant desire to learn, even at their expense. But those whom he wounded thus healed themselves ere long by marriage. In saying this, Mr. Albee failed to do justice to Frederica. No exception need, however, be taken to the statement that he was too much of a critic to succeed always as a poet, or that his prose gradually grew too didactic and his verse too symbolic.

On Friday morning, a large audience listened to Mrs. E. D. Cheney's beautiful description of the *Aye Womanly*, as it has been called by Mr. Dwight. This abstract ideal of womanhood is honored, at the end of *Faust*, in that mystic chorus which sums up this drama of all human life. Woman had long been represented as man's tempter. In *Faust*, she shows herself to be his savior. There is no contempt for women in Goethe's writings. He understands her better than any other poet. Lotte, in *Werther*, is a wonderful creation of genius, which won all hearts and made them nobler. Differentiation of sex increases with improvement of type in the animal world, but it is not so in the spiritual. Jesus, the Buddha, Raphael, seem womanly; and Zenobia, Joan of Arc, and Lucretia Mott appear manly. George Sand, George Eliot, Currer Bell, and Craddock were supposed to be really men by good judges. Mrs. Cheney's own experience in charity and reform did not enable her to draw a dividing line between the sexes. She would not say with George Sand that there is only one sex, but the difference is too subtle for analysis. In the *Elective Affinities*, Charlotte is more reasonable than Edward. Tasso is morbidly sensitive. The search after the type of woman best adapted to further man's development gives what unity of story there is to *Wilhelm Meister*. This influence of woman over man takes various forms in Goethe's works; but the only happy love he paints is that of the peasants, Hermann and Dorothea,—a statement which did scanty justice to the home life of Götz and Elizabeth. It is the fate of Gretchen that first calls Faust out of himself, and opens the way for his final salvation. The second part of this poem, which holds the riches of a hundred dramas, though it justifies Margaret Fuller's complaint of Goethe's lacking the artist's love of structure, shows us, not the love of man for woman, but only the marriage of German thought to Greek beauty, giving birth to the modern poet.

A lady in the audience commenced the discussion by asking a question, which no one answered; namely, "How does the womanly really differ from the manly?" Mr. Sanborn suggested that what the lecturer called the *Ever Womanly* might just as well be called the *Ever Manly*, according to her

own arguments. An analogy was sought for in the difference between mercy and justice. Miss Peabody quoted, in proof of their identity, the text, "Mercy and truth . . . have kissed each other." "They can't be exactly the same thing, if they do that," remarked Mr. Sanborn. Mr. Davidson said that the reverence for woman at the close of *Faust* was largely due to Goethe's study of the *Paradiso*, where Dante is drawn up through heaven after heaven by gazing at Beatrice. He also mentioned the curious fact that the last word of the second line of the mystic chorus "*Ereigniss*," "event," is supposed to have been originally dictated "*Erreichniss*," "attainment," and to have been misunderstood by the amanuensis.

On Friday evening, Mr. D. J. Snider traced the fundamental idea of *Faust* to its historic roots. First, we find a Faust of the Orient, in the Greek legends of Cyprian and Theophilus, sorcerers who sell themselves to Satan, repent of the bargain, and are saved by the omnipotent power of the Church. Theophilus begins by rebellion against monasticism; and the German nun, Hroswitha, who turned his story into Latin verse in the tenth century, is the first true precursor of Goethe. The earliest appearance of Faust, with his right name, however, is in the sixteenth century. Then rebellion showed itself in two forms,—that of the Protestants, like Luther, who remained Christian, and that of various unbelievers, who wandered outside of Christianity in their search for liberty. Among these extremists there really was a certain John Faust, who studied under Melancthon at Wittenberg, and who was popularly believed to have been carried off about 1550 by the devil, to whom he had sold himself. This story was published in 1587, and often afterward in various forms by the Lutherans, as an awful warning against thinking too boldly. This Faust of Protestantism is the victim of his own struggles to get free. It does not seem possible that he can be saved. The Church no longer can claim such power. It was out of these two Fausts that Goethe moulded a third one, who is saved. His denials and assaults on social order must be forgiven, for they are all caused by love of truth. This Faust of secularism has more in him of the modern man than any other character in literature. Especially American is his resolution to find hell or freedom.

Prof. Thomas Davidson said there is no connection of the Faust spirit with Protestantism. This was a thoroughly moral and religious movement. Faust represents an unbelief which is diametrically opposed to Protestantism, and is really to be traced to Averroism, a mediæval form of materialism derived from Moslemism, and containing a germ of modern Spiritualism in its fancy,—that, by thinking strongly, you can turn your thought into a real thing. His view may be reconciled with that of the essayist by remembering that long before the Reformation there were two movements against Romanism. That which rested on the Bible produced Wycliffe, Huss, and finally Luther. That which sought to emancipate reason from all authority found imperfect representatives in Abelard and the Averroists, but could not manifest itself fully before the sixteenth century. Then the same causes which made Luther possible opened the way for more daring unbelievers than had been seen for centuries, like John Faust, Paracelsus, and Gruet, who was beheaded, at Calvin's request, for denying the justice of persecution and the inspiration of Moses. It should also be noticed that Paracelsus shows the same form of unbelief which marks Goethe's *Faust*, and which was one of the best products of the sixteenth century; namely, a denial of the infallibility of

books, and an assertion of the superior authority of facts. Goethe's great drama opens with a passionate outburst of scorn for books, and of desire to know Nature as she is. The author's object is simply to attack that false appearance of knowledge which still blocks the way to truth, by insisting that the study of metaphysics, theology, and dead languages is more useful than that of science, and that committing text-books to memory is so pressing a necessity as to leave no place in our common schools for industrial education. Thus, Goethe's *Faust* still holds a place among our most advanced books.

Saturday morning saw both Dr. Hedge and Dr. Bartol mount the platform. The latter's subject was "Goethe and Schiller." These names, said Bartol, are not to be put in the same lecture on any ground of equality. Schiller gives us manna for to-day: Goethe's nectar makes us immortal. Goethe's gold brightens ever more and more: Schiller's lacquer fades away. Schiller moulds: Goethe makes. Schiller composes: Goethe crystallizes. Schiller is a planet, Goethe a self-luminous sun. It is true that Schiller was the better playwright, but Goethe's stage is the world. In short, Goethe has Schiller in tow. Here the brilliant lecturer went rather too far. We have a collection of poems which Schiller and Goethe wrote in concert, sometimes in alternate lines; and the best judges are still unable to tell which pen was at work in any particular spot. It is also to be remembered that Schiller far surpassed Goethe in sympathy with the oppressed. More just was the comparison of Goethe with Emerson. Emerson spins a thread: Goethe weaves a web. Emerson snatches a trumpet from the angels: Goethe greets us with an orchestral symphony. Both Emerson and Darwin were anticipated by Goethe. *Faust* is the world-tale, the crowning product of the nineteenth century.

Then Dr. Hedge unfolded the true meaning, recently discovered by Hermann Baumgard, of *Das Mährchen*, or, as we may call it in English, *The Fairy Tale*. Goethe wrote this just ninety years ago, in Germany's darkest hour, to prophesy that return to power which has now taken place. Two will-of-the-wisps, who represent the liberal ideas of French philosophy, cross the stream of current events, and feed the serpent, typifying German literature with gold that makes her self-luminous. Then they visit that old woman, the Church, and turn one of her pet dogmas into stone. To revive it, she seeks the ideal beauty, for whom the Genius of Germany feels a love under which he is pining away. To revive him, Science must appear as an old man with a lamp, which makes gold and annihilates brass, casts no shadow, but cannot enlighten what is totally dark. Together, they enter the underground temple of History. There sit four kings, one of gold, Wisdom, one of silver, Prestige, one of brass, Force, and one of mixed metals, the German empire in Goethe's day. This last power sinks to ruins. The other three, with the aid of Science and Religion and of the National Genius, at last wedded to the Ideal, rehabilitate Germany, despite the aimless opposition of that shadow of a giant, Superstition.

The Concord School of Philosophy has evidently emancipated itself from its original fondness for oracular utterances, not to be questioned and scarcely to be understood. The most marked defect last year—the proneness to indiscriminate adulation—has this year been avoided, with scarcely any exception. The presence of critical experts, like Snider, Davidson, and Prof. Hewett, of Cornell University, is the best assurance that a great work will be done for mental culture.

F. M. HOLLAND.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THERE are several hundred persons in Boston who think that they are the authors of, or that they have the clew to, new systems of philosophy or new methods of cure. Each believes that the others are wrong in the main, and that he is right. Dr. Arens, a "Christian scientist," who is endeavoring to make his philosophy known to the readers of *The Index*, does not claim to have discovered a new system or method; but he has gone back to "the old theology," which he interprets in the light of "the understanding and the spirit." He does not deal with opinions, he says, but with demonstrations. Our readers must judge whether he makes good his claim.

MR. W. C. GANNETT sends us a tract, one of the *Unity Series*, entitled "The Faiths of Evolution." It is the part of Mr. Potter's anniversary discourse printed some months ago in *The Index*, and more recently in a volume of sermons, in which the author states the leading articles of his religious belief. It is in good type and very cheap,—one hundred copies for sixty cents. We are pleased to note that the Unitarian publishers have had the good taste and sense to print our worthy colleague's name in this tract without the theological title, Reverend,—a title which the Unitarian editors and ministers have been most too generous in bestowing, as though they thereby justified or excused themselves in retaining and applying to one another such a title.

On the occasion of the transfer of the Niagara Park Association to the State of New York, Hon. Erastus Brooks, in his address, said: "Hereafter, neither the descendants of the tribes along the Niagara, as once on the visit of remonstrance of Red Jacket to this spot of the land of his ancestors, nor any of our own people, nor the people of any other tribe, nation, or kindred, will behold Niagara barred, blocked, or walled from human eyes; nor will any entrance fee be demanded to see the mighty waters beneath our feet, any more than the sun or stars in the heavens. The bow of promise seen so often here by day and by night, through the spray rising from the shores of Canada and the shores of the United States, is that spanning of the arch which, we trust, will hold the people of two great nations in the bonds of honorable and perpetual peace."

THE West Newton English and Classical School, advertised in *The Index* this week, offers to pupils all the advantages of a large school, with the stimulus of many competitors in class studies, and the advantage and comforts, with the personal attention and careful discipline, of a well-ordered home. Its methods of instruction are the most improved, regard being had for the physical, mental, and moral needs of the pupils, including individual peculiarities. It is a family and day school for both sexes, where students are prepared for Harvard, Yale, Vassar, and other colleges, or graduate into the active spheres of life. The school has been from its foundation entirely unsectarian, is conducted in a broad and catholic spirit, and aims "to give," as Prof. Allen, the Principal, says, "a symmetrical and harmonious development to the whole complex nature of the child,—body, heart, and will." The school, which is situated in West Newton, nine miles from Boston, is one we can confidently and cordially recommend to the attention of parents who desire to place their daughters in an educational institution of high character, under experienced teachers, and free from sectarian influences.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

IX.

THE MARTYR PERIOD.

The period in Roman history extending from the year 96 A.D. to the year 180 A.D. includes the reigns of the "five good emperors,"—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. These emperors exercised, in the main, a mild and beneficent sway over their subjects. Their government was paternal and humane, inspired as it was by the lofty ethical precepts of the Stoic philosophy. The empire was at the height of its power and magnificence. If we may not accept in full the eulogy of Gibbon, we must at least admit that at no previous era in the history of the race had the condition of the masses of the people been so favorable to their prosperity and happiness.

In Christian history, this was the period during which probably all of our canonical Gospels were written. The Christian dogmas were beginning to assume their final and authoritative form. The Catholic, or orthodox, Church was separating itself from Gnosticism, on the one hand, and from Ebionism on the other. Controversies about doctrine led to the appearance of the early patristic literature. Ecclesiasticism was growing; and in opposition to the doctrinal tendencies of the time appeared Montanism, that fanatical protest against early ecclesiasticism, which aimed to restore the primitive democratic equality of the earliest Christian communities, and advocated a return to the simple faith of the fathers. Strangely, as it would seem, this period was also coincident with the earlier Christian persecutions: it was the heroic era in the history of the Church.

The Earliest Martyrs.—Growing Influence of the Church at Rome.

The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in the year 70 A.D., was an event of great significance to primitive Christianity. Thereafter, the Church of the apostles, dis severed from Judaism and the Temple worship, assumed a position of much less relative importance than it had heretofore maintained among the followers of the new faith. As the Church at Jerusalem receded from its foremost position, the Church at Rome came to the front, increasing steadily in power and influence. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written probably in the last years of the first Christian century, already exhibits something of that spirit of paternal supervision and authority which was finally assumed by the bishop of Rome as the supreme pontiff.

Paul, not improbably, and Peter, according to a current though questionable tradition, had already suffered martyrdom at Rome during the reign of Nero. Their names were thus united in the popular mind, to strengthen the growing tendency to throw a halo of superiority and supremacy around the Roman Church. The blood of these earliest martyrs became in very truth the seed of the Roman hierarchy. Shocking as was the barbarity of Nero's persecution, however, it can hardly be said to have been consciously aimed at the Christian religion. So insignificant were the Christians as a sect, that the emperor could not have foreseen any danger to the empire from the extension of their faith. Their very insignificance, indeed, and their identification in the popular mind with the despised Jews, appear to have been the occasions of their martyrdom. To the later reign of Domitian has been assigned the martyrdom of Flavius Clemens,—a Roman of wealth and rank, who had embraced the new religion,—on the charge of atheism, though the history of this occurrence is involved in obscurity; and his execution may have been due to political or social rather than to religious causes, his religion serving merely as a pretext to cover the real designs of the emperor. The martyrdom of John, the evangelist, has been assigned by some to the reign of Domitian. The accounts of this event, however, are wholly legendary and unreliable.

The Reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius.

As the new religion became more prominent, its universalizing tendencies were emphasized in opposition to the prevailing ethnical systems; and its uncompromising hostility to the popular *cultus* caused it to be regarded with growing disfavor by the government. The reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, however, were generally favorable to its expansion; and these wise and humane emperors cannot be charged with any deliberate persecution of its followers. The few instances of prosecution for religious causes during these reigns, based upon charges of denying the gods, failure to offer sacrifices, and holding secret meetings, or "illicit assemblies," were conducted under laws of the empire already existing, and originally promulgated without reference to Christianity or any particular form of religious faith. These prosecutions were instigated by popular clamor, and were local and unimportant in their character.

Pliny, the governor of Bithynia, who regarded the new religion as "a culpable and extravagant superstition," was forced by accusations brought under the laws of the empire to arrest, condemn, and execute certain Christians who refused to renounce their faith. He was not incited to this course by any special edict or command of the emperor, nor did he in any way exceed the man-

dates of existing laws. The celebrated rescript of Trajan, issued on receipt of despatches from Pliny concerning the prosecution of the Christians, appears to have been intended to favor and protect the accused rather than to urge on their persecutors. It required that punishment should only be inflicted according to the due forms of law, and ordained that opportunity should be offered for recantation and conformity to the law, which, if accepted, would be a sufficient defence against the prosecution. Dean Milman, an able and candid Christian historian, testifies to the forbearance of Trajan and Hadrian as well as Pliny in their dealings with the Christians, declaring that "Trajan is absolved, at least by the almost general voice of antiquity, from the crime of persecuting the Christians," and asserting further that, "under a less candid governor than Pliny and an emperor less humane and dispassionate than Trajan, the exterminating sword of persecution would have been let loose, and a relentless and systematic edict for the suppression of Christianity would have hunted down its followers in every quarter of the empire."*

It is evident that the attacks on Christianity at this time originated with the ignorant and superstitious populace of certain localities, remote, usually, from the capital; and that, in so far as they received the sanction of the imperial government, they were instigated by no general desire to persecute or destroy. The Christians were still often confounded with the Jews, who, both in Palestine and in Mesopotamia, were manifesting signs of discontent and rebellion. A few years later, this rebellious spirit culminated in the insurrection of Bar-Cochba, in which many thousands of lives were sacrificed. This tended to inflame and augment the popular prejudice against both the Christian and the Jews.

The unyielding and fanatical temper of the Christians themselves undoubtedly helped to stimulate this spirit of persecution. Martyrdom was often counted as the greatest of blessings, and was regarded as a certain assurance of admission to the glories of the heavenly kingdom. In the correspondence of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, says Dean Milman, "there is throughout a wild eagerness for martyrdom. . . . He even deprecates the interference of his Christian friends in his behalf. He fears lest their ill-timed and, as he thinks, cruelly officious love might by some influence . . . deprive him of that glorious crown." The following passages from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans are illustrative of a spirit which prevailed very generally among the Christians of his time:—

I write to the churches, and I declare to all that willingly I die for God, if it be that you hinder me not. I beg of you do not become to me an unreasonable love. Let me be for the beasts, by whose means I am enabled to obtain God. I am God's wheat, and by the teeth of the beasts I am ground, that I may be found God's pure bread. Rather entreat kindly the beasts that they may be a grave for me, and leave nothing of my body. . . . Supplicate our Lord for me, that by these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. . . . May I have to rejoice of the beasts prepared for me! And I pray that they may be found ready for me; and I will kindly entreat them quickly to devour me, and not, as they have done to some, being afraid of them, to keep from touching me. . . . And, should they not be willing, I will force them. . . . Those who say "Martyr" to me scourge me. It is true that I desire to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy.

The Gnostic heretics of this period were denounced by their orthodox opponents, not only for their errors of opinion upon dogmatic questions, but also for holding that martyrdom was unnecessary

* Milman also says of an order of Hadrian reaffirming that of Trajan. The edict does credit to the humanity and wisdom of Hadrian.—*History of Christianity*, vol. II.

and non-essential to salvation. The reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, on the whole, were favorable to the growth of the new religion. The latter emperor both professed and practised in accordance with the humane maxim of Scipio, which asserted that he would rather save the life of a single citizen than cause the death of a thousand enemies. There is no reliable evidence of the persecution of the Christians during his reign; nor are there any notable instances of martyrdom, with the possible exception of Polycarp, the venerable bishop of Smyrna, whose execution, however, is usually referred to the reign of his successor. The general voice, even of Christian antiquity, is favorable to the justice and tolerance of Antoninus Pius.*

Marcus Aurelius and the Persecution of the Christians.

The attitude of the great emperor, Marcus Aurelius, toward the Christian Church, has been severely and, as we think, unjustly attacked by Christian apologists and historians of recent times. A man of the purest personal character and loftiest religious sentiments,—accepting the exalted ethical principles of the Stoic philosophy,—it is difficult to conceive that he could deliberately persecute the adherents of any form of religion on account of their belief. "Marcus Aurelius," says Dr. Hedge, "standing midway between the first appearance of Christianity and its civil enfranchisement, represents the high-water mark of Roman greatness, as he does the height of Imperial virtue in the annals of mankind. . . . Neither in St. Louis nor in English Alfred, to whom Merivale compares him, do I find the same piety, the moral sublimity, which I admire in the Roman sovereign."†

The character of Marcus Aurelius was moulded by a nature at once profoundly religious and intensely practical. Though a careful student of philosophy, holding his teachers in reverent regard, he never lost himself in the mazes of metaphysical speculation, or permitted his mind to fall into the profound pessimism of the Oriental mystics, with its resulting absorption from the affairs of practical life and despair of the future of humanity. His teaching was as universal and as practical as that of Paul. He professed, indeed, no belief in dogmas of a merely speculative character. His theology was, as nearly as possible, a sort of cosmic theism. "He saw clearly," says Renan, "that, where the Infinite is concerned, no formula is absolute. . . . He distinctly separated moral beauty from all theoretical theology. He allows duty to depend upon no metaphysical opinion of the First Cause."‡ Herein, Marcus Aurelius anticipated the rationalistic philosophies of Spinoza and Herbert Spencer. Very deeply religious, nevertheless, was his attitude toward that Unknowable Reality of which all phenomena are dependent manifestations. "All that thou arrangeest is suited to me, O Kosmos!" he says. "Nothing of that which comes from thee is premature or backward to me. I find my fruit in that which thy seasons bear, O Nature! From thee comes all. In thee is all: to thee all returns."§ It may be said of Marcus Aurelius, as Carlyle once affirmed of Margaret Fuller:—He accepted the universe. He designated himself as "a man ready to quit life without regret"; yet he found

in life more of good than of evil, and accepted whatever of care and trouble fell to his lot with manly resignation. "The character of Marcus," again says Dr. Hedge, "is revealed in his self-communings, which have come down to us, an imperishable volume,—the so-called *Meditations of the Emperor Antoninus*. Better preaching I have not found, nor thoughts more edifying, in any Christian writer of that time. A sombre spirit, but how sweet, how grand!"

There was about Marcus Aurelius nothing of the autocrat or tyrant. Though clothed with unlimited power, he used it all to promote and increase the liberties of his people. He recognized all men as possessing a common humanity with himself.* One day, he thus reproached himself: "Thou hast forgotten what holy relationship unites each man to the human race,—a relationship not of blood or of birth, but the participation of the same intelligence. Thou hast forgotten that the rational faculty of each one is a god, derived from the Supreme Being."

Matthew Arnold says that Marcus Aurelius "is, perhaps, the most beautiful figure in history," and adds: "The great record for the outward life of a man who has left such a record of his inward aspirations . . . is the clear consenting voice of all his contemporaries—high and low, friend and enemy, Pagan and Christian—in praise of his sincerity, justice, and goodness." Niebuhr declares him to be "certainly the noblest character of his time"; and Renan closes his lecture before the Royal Academy with the following memorable words: "The religion of Marcus Aurelius is the absolute religion,—that which results from the simple fact of a high moral conscience placed face to face with the universe. It is of no race, neither of any country. No revolution, no change, no discovery, will have power to affect it."

It is, nevertheless, unhappily the fact that Christians were condemned under the laws of the empire, and upon some the penalty of death was inflicted, during the reign of this exemplary ruler. Even so candid and careful an historian as Dean Milman attributes to Marcus Aurelius the promulgation of an edict which repealed the acts of toleration granted by his predecessors, and opened anew the flood-gates of oppression and persecution. From the testimony of Watson, Renan, and other unbiassed historians, it appears, however, that this edict was issued for the protection rather than the persecution of the Christians, aiming to renew the wise provisions of Trajan's rescript, which compelled a strict adherence to legal forms in the prosecution of alleged violators of the laws of the empire.

To this period is usually assigned the martyrdom of the venerable Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, whose calm dignity and patient endurance furnish so fine a picture in the annals of the martyrs. The *Martyrium* of Polycarp, however, can hardly be deemed with certainty a reliable historical record; though conservative historians have generally accepted it as a genuine document of the Smyrnian Church. Nor does it appear to be certain that the time of Polycarp's death is definitely assignable to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Certain chronological notes appended to the *Martyrium* by a later writer than its unknown author would fix the date in the year 155 A.D., or some six years previous to the accession of the great Stoic emperor. At all events, there is no evidence that the emperor was directly or indirectly influential in promoting this act of persecution, or that he even knew of the event

before its occurrence. "Polycarp," says Dean Milman, "closed the nameless train of Asiatic martyrs."

At Lyons and Vienne, however, on the borders of Gaul and Italy, a colony of Christian emigrants from Phrygia, in Asia Minor, in doctrine and customs akin to the Montanists, suffered, about the year 177, from an ebullition of popular fury, to which some of them fell victims. They were first assaulted with mob violence, beaten, stoned, dragged helpless about the streets, and finally compelled through fear to remain in confinement within their own houses. The order for their arrest, issued by the authorities, was in reality an act of mercy, inasmuch as it protected them for the time from the violence of the mob. Their leaders were accused before the magistrates of the most odious crimes,—of incest, concubinage, banquets upon human flesh, and the grossest offences against decency and morality. They were convicted on the testimony of their heathen slaves, and hurried to execution. It is a fact of strange significance that the institution of slavery, tolerated, if not justified, by the Christian Fathers, thus early in the history of the Church appeared as an avenging Nemesis in retribution for the fatal inconsistency which ignored the fundamental ethical and social doctrines of the new religion, or feared to carry them to their logical conclusions in practice.

Even the more moderate of the non-Christian populace appear, at the time, to have believed these charges against the Christians, and to have consented to the execution of the condemned. In accordance with the practice of the time, many were subjected to horrible tortures. Some perished in loathsome dungeons, others by the customary modes of execution. Among the victims were Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne; a recent convert named Maturus; one Attalus, a Phrygian; and Pothinus, the aged bishop of Lyons. The most remarkable of the martyrs, however, was Blandina, a female slave, who, after suffering the most horrible tortures unflinchingly, was thrice exposed to wild beasts in the public arena. At last, having been tossed by an infuriated bull, and terribly mutilated, she was despatched by the sword of an attendant gladiator. She bore all her sufferings with the most heroic endurance, steadfastly proclaiming, "I am a Christian, and no wickedness is practised among us."

It is the testimony of Watson* and other unbiassed and competent historians that the emperor was not aware of the proceedings at Lyons and Vienne until a considerable time after the commencement of the persecutions; and the only influence which he appears to have exerted subsequently was directed toward the protection of the accused from mob violence, by enforcing the provisions of the rescript of Trajan. The only instance of alleged persecution of the Christians at Rome is the condemnation and execution of Justin, the noted Christian apologist, with several of his companions. Justin had obtained unusual notoriety by his contests with Marcion and the Jew, Trypho, and had especially incurred the hostility of one Crescentius, a Cynic philosopher, with whom he had been involved in debate and controversy. By the machinations of Crescentius, he was accused before the tribunal of Rusticus, an imperial justice, tried, condemned, and executed. The emperor took no part in his prosecution, nor was there at any time any general persecution of the Church at Rome during this reign. On the contrary, the Christians were everywhere making their way to positions of trust and profit. They were enrolled among the impe-

*A writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says of this emperor, "Instead of stirring up the persecutions of the Christians, and gloating over the sufferings of their martyrs, he extended to them the strong hand of his protection through all the empire."—Art. "Antoninus Pius."

†"Christianity in Conflict with Hellenism," by Frederic Henry Hedge, D.D., in *Unitarian Review*.

‡*Marcus Aurelius*. By Ernest Renan.

§*Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. See also *Selections*, "Wisdom Series." (Roberts Brothers.)

*"I have formed an ideal of the State," he says, "in which there is the same law for all, and equal rights and equal liberty of speech for all,—an empire where nothing is honored so much as the freedom of the citizens."

**Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. By Paul Barron Watson.

rial legions, and it is even asserted that they had obtained a foothold in the imperial household.*

On the whole, the reign of Marcus Aurelius was, to a marked degree, favorable to the progress of civilization, and not inimical to the advancement of the nobler phases of the Christian faith. The emperor instituted numerous reforms in the government and regulation of the empire. He elevated the position of woman, and mitigated the severity of the institution of slavery, instituting regulations favorable to the manumission and protection of the servile classes. The public charities founded by Nerva and Trajan were protected and extended under his influence. Free schools were established for the children of the poor. The gratuitous distribution of food to the needy was continued, under an improved system. An institution was opened for the care and assistance of poor young girls. Renan, speaking of Marcus Aurelius, declares, "His fortune was immense, but all employed for good."

The testimony of the most trustworthy among the early Christian writers should be conclusive as against the orthodox defamers of Marcus Aurelius. Tertullian, himself a Montanist, as, probably, were Blandina and the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, testifies as follows: "You will see that the princes who have been severe toward us are those who have held to the honor of being our persecutors. On the contrary, all the princes who have respected divine and human laws include but one who persecuted the Christians. We can even name one of them who declared himself their protector,—the wise Marcus Aurelius. If he did not openly revoke the edicts against our brethren, he destroyed their power by the severe penalties against their accusers." We have also the unqualified statement of Origen, writing about the middle of the third century, that "the number of Christian martyrs was small and easy to be counted, God not permitting that all of this class of men should be exterminated." Watson, the most recent biographer of Marcus Aurelius, fixes the number of Christians who suffered death during his reign at about a hundred,† which is doubtless a liberal estimate.

(To be concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

MOODY, THE EVANGELIST, IN CHICAGO.

Editors of *The Index* :—

This famous evangelist does a good deal of comedy in the Chicago pulpit, and his visits are always welcome. He needs Mr. Sankey, however, to refine and elevate his performance. Without him, it becomes tiresome, while the tone of it is a trifle common and absurd. It gravitates toward the earth, and not upwards to the sky. To the credit of Mr. Moody, be it said that he himself does not see the comedy he is acting. To him, at least, it is all honestly real and true. He is the Rev. Mr. Jasper of the white race; and, like that simple-minded Christian, he believes "de sun do move." Believing it, he is brave enough to say so. He speaks his honest thought, like a man. He will not lift his faith one inch above the level of his Bible to meet the claims of science, nor drop it one inch below to gratify wealthy sinners. His innocent ignorance wins our admiration. To him, every sentence in the Bible is inspired; to him, it is, "Thus saith the Lord." He wants no "revised versions" nor new translations: it is enough for him that the Lord hath said it.

Mr. Moody preached on Easter Sunday at the Chicago Avenue Tabernacle, to an immense congregation. His text was the whole Bible; and he claimed infallibility for every word of it, the Old Testament

and the New. He said: "I have very little sympathy with the class of people who are rising up now and trying to make us disbelieve the Old Testament, because they say it does not speak with the same authority that the New Testament does. If you are going to throw out one of the Testaments, it will not be long before the whole will go." This may be very amusing to those "advanced" theologians who see in it only the dogmatic assertion of an unlearned enthusiast; but Mr. Moody fortifies his dogma with such logical strength that we see at once it is impossible to overthrow it without toppling over the whole Christian structure. He shows that the Christian religion is a fabric woven of Old Testament threads and New Testament threads in such intricate proportions that it must be impossible to separate them without destroying the fabric altogether. He shows that Christ himself was a believer in the Old Testament; and this argument, we think, is irresistible. He shows that Christ believed in the Old Testament miracles, which our "advanced" doctors of divinity refuse to believe.

Mr. Moody's argument is so very remarkable for the rude strength of it that it is well worth study. He says: "You will find people who will say, 'You don't believe the story of Noah and the flood!' I believe it as implicitly as I believe the Sermon on the Mount. 'As it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be in the coming of the Son of Man.'" The ingenious blending together of the story of the flood and Christ's use of it is well done. So again: "Men say, 'You don't believe that story of those people looking at that brazen serpent on a pole, and being healed!' I believe it. Christ believed it; and he connected it with his cross, for he said that, even as Moses lifted it up and the people were healed, so should every one that repented and believed have everlasting life." Again: "They say, 'You don't believe that story of the Israelites eating bread in the desert!' I believe it as much as I do the death of Christ, because he said, 'Your fathers ate manna in the desert.'" And again: "These men will say, 'You don't believe the story of Jonah and the whale!' Oh, yes! I believe that just as much as I believe the resurrection of Jesus Christ. If the story of Jonah and the whale is not true, the story of Christ's resurrection is not true, because he says, 'As Jonah was three days in the belly of the whale, so shall Christ be three days in the bowels of the earth.'" Lacking the imaginative poetry, there is a Biblical force in these illustrations that reminds us of John Bunyan. A short time ago, Dr. Barrows, a Presbyterian minister of some eminence, in a sermon at Central Music Hall, spoke jestingly of Jonah and the whale. He told the congregation that they need not believe that story. But Mr. Moody will not cheapen his Bible for the patronage of men who doubt the power of the Lord. What Christ believed he can believe. Rejecting with disdain the kindly aid of those apologists who are always coming to the relief of the Bible by suggestions that this or that story is not to be taken literally, but figuratively, he insists that Jonah was thrown overboard, and was swallowed by a whale. He throws proper contempt upon the "scientists who have discovered that a whale's throat is not larger than a man's fist, and say, 'A whale couldn't swallow a man.'" "I don't think," says Mr. Moody, "there would be any trouble in God making a fish large enough to swallow Jonah." From this argument, the learning of all the colleges retires baffled and dismayed. Because it would be "no trouble" for God to make a very large whale or a very small Jonah, therefore the story must be true. As mariners in a storm sometimes throw overboard one-half the cargo to save the other, so the Christian theologians, struggling in the storm of truth and reason now beating upon their system, try to save the New Testament by sacrificing the Old. Mr. Moody will not consent to this: it must all be saved or—lost. "If you break down one part of it," he says, "you break down the whole."

With great plainness of speech, Mr. Moody wagers the whole Bible against any single falsehood in it. False in one, false in all. He says: "The first book in the Bible teaches us about Abraham talking with God, and God talking with Abraham. If that did not take place, whoever wrote Genesis knew he was a liar. . . . You go into the Book of Exodus, and you find it telling of the Israelites going through the Red Sea. If that is not true, then whoever wrote the Book of Exodus was lying." Mr. Moody thinks that the mod-

ern preachers are becoming altogether too squeamish about the "supernatural." Why, he says, "everything about Jesus in the New Testament is supernatural. We find Gabriel dropping into the town of Nazareth, and telling that virgin that she was to be the mother of that child. That was supernatural, wasn't it?" The easy familiarity with which Mr. Moody describes those wonderful things really deprives them of half their mystery. The message of Gabriel to Mary does not seem so very miraculous, when we learn that the archangel just "dropped in" to mention it to "that virgin." And so the story of the shepherds and the wise men, and all the other wonders that attended the birth of Christ. Shall the story of Jonah be rejected, and these believed? "The resurrection which we are celebrating to-day," says Mr. Moody, "wasn't that supernatural? . . . Look at his coming out of that sepulchre, wasn't that supernatural?" It is not easy to escape from Mr. Moody's logic. Why should one miracle be believed and not another, especially when the only evidence of the truth of either is a statement in the same book? If Christ could raise himself from the dead, why not Lazarus? "He could have raised everybody in the graveyard just as easily as he raised Lazarus, but he did not wish to do it." He merely desired to bring to life "his friend Lazarus," as Mr. Moody calls him. For fear that the other dead men might consider themselves invited, he mentioned Lazarus by name, "because," says Mr. Moody, "if he had not done so, the whole cemetery would have come out." This, of course, would have been very inconvenient, especially to those families where widows had married again.

A morbid faith like Mr. Moody's is injurious, not only to the owner of it, but also to society, which becomes its victim. Such a faith deteriorates not only the mental stamina of a man, but also his moral usefulness. In a general way, it is of no consequence to society whether a man believes or disbelieves the assertions of history; but his beliefs or doubts concerning the assertions of theology may be of great importance to his fellow-men. When a man's belief becomes a part of his religion, the liberty of all other men is placed in jeopardy. It is of no public concern whether a man believes or doubts the story of William Tell, society cares not whether we believe or disbelieve that Horatius kept the bridge, it is of no concern to others whether we believe that Caesar's death was due to his own ambition or to the ambition of the men who slew him; but it is of serious importance whether we believe or disbelieve the story of Jonah and the whale. When a man's religion teaches him that certain beliefs are pleasing to his gods, while certain doubts offend them, he volunteers at once to be the champion and avenger of his deities. To this condition Mr. Moody's faith has brought him, and he deliberately utters the following sentiment without having sufficient moral capacity to perceive its enormity:—

"I believe that unbelief is as black a sin in the sight of God as stealing."

Stealing is punished as a felony throughout all the civilized world; and, if Mr. Moody's theology is true, unbelief should be punished in the same way, for, whatever is a crime in the sight of God, must be a crime in the sight of man. Here is where a man's religious belief becomes of importance to society, for every true believer desires to see God vindicated; and, if he believes that unbelief is as black a crime as stealing, he must desire to see it punished. Out of a belief like Mr. Moody's have come the intolerance, cruelty, and persecutions of hundreds of years. It is a bad belief, immoral and dangerous. In the Middle Ages, stealing was a felony the penalty of which was death; and the men who administered it, being of Mr. Moody's opinion that unbelief was as black a crime as stealing, they logically made unbelief a capital felony, also. He, too, would punish men for unbelief, if he had the power to make the laws. Secular belief injures nobody, but religious belief is liable to grow into wickedness and oppression. Mr. Moody would make an excellent Grand Inquisitor, for his exactions are heavy. Here is what he required of his congregation. He said, "I want you to believe in the whole Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, every line." Not to believe every line was, he thought, as black a crime as stealing.

Mr. Moody's faith has so narrowed his mental vision that he does not see that he himself is guilty of unbelief in the eyes of nearly all the rest of the

* Matthew Arnold asserts that "Marcus Aurelius incurs no moral reproach by having authorized the punishment of the Christians; he does not thereby become in the least what we mean by a persecutor."—*Essay on Marcus Aurelius*.

† *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. By Paul Barron Watson.

world. Even among Christians, he is in a pitiful minority. All who are not Jews are Gentiles, says the Hebrew. All who are not Mohammedans are infidels, says the Mussulman. All who are not Catholics are heretics, says the papist. Here are three of the great religions of the world, to neither of which does Mr. Moody belong. To all of them he is heretic, Gentle, infidel; and yet he believes that unbelief is a crime. Let him unwind the foolish faith that cramps his intellect, and his soul will soon expand with charity and toleration. Let him understand that belief and unbelief depend upon evidence; and, as neither of them are under the control of human will, so neither can be a crime. If unbelief were "a crime in the sight of God," he would soon furnish the evidence that would make unbelief impossible.

M. M. T.

TARIFF vs. FREE TRADE.

Editors of *The Index*.—

My commentator answers vaguely, evidently trying to fit his book-learned answer to facts not generally discussed in books. He does as well as could be expected. He seems to admit that, in the particular case stated, free trade would ruin unprotected workingmen, but insists that "such ruinous competition could not be general," "that losses in one direction would be accompanied by gains in another."

True, the losses of a robber's victims are accompanied by gains to himself; but such gains do not justify his vocation. They might even be accompanied by the gains of those who make and replace the stolen goods, but such gains could not justify a public policy of robbery.

But there is no escape in the dust cloud of *any pretended gains*. For, if losses can with gain to a trader be inflicted on workingmen in one line, in the manner pointed out in my first article, and admitted by my commentator, corresponding losses may be inflicted on workingmen in every other line in like conditions. That first case was sufficient to put in a nutshell the pith of one branch of the tariff discussion, to show the expediency of a tariff in the conditions named. It cleared away some heaps of irrelevant and confusing rubbish; but, by its very terms, it was *general*,—applicable at once to any line, and all lines in similar conditions. All as well as each are operated at the same time, and are affected in the same manner. Under *special* conditions that operate themselves as a protection, workingmen might escape the ruin pointed out: otherwise, they could not.

My critic now needs to go back and deal with that original case in some more effective way, if he can. If he must rest where he now stands on *that*, his whole case is gone. "Free" trade under the conditions named is absurd for the victimized workingmen, whatever it may be for those traders holding a virtual monopoly and having power to fix prices and the terms of bargains.

It is simplicity itself. It has piled up immense gains for its contrivers and operators: it has simply exhausted and pauperized every land and every people subjected to the trade conditions that are its central, energizing force,—conditions that in effect compel one man to sell a whole hide and permits him to take back the tail for pay! From such calculated destruction, such intended virtual slavery for workingmen, "protection" can in some good degree protect.

The main issue needs nothing more to be said. As to the side issues, one word. My critic starts a practical difficulty. What are we to receive from England for our cotton and grain, if we choose to turn our own work into our own cotton and woollen goods, our own hardware and pottery, and not receive these goods from England?

To devise ways and means by which England can pay for what she must have of our cotton and grain may be important to Englishmen and the advocates of their scheme of trade, but it is not our business. In the trade-war which she relentlessly wages on all sides, and in which she has so long been victorious, she needs no help from other people. We secure by our protective laws the interests of our governing classes, our working people; and England can secure the interests of her moneyed and governing classes, if she thinks that is most expedient for her.

We are little concerned with the mercantile theory or any theory separated from practical facts, and no one probably believes that "money is the only wealth."

But it is important to a people seeking, first of all, a high position for their workingmen compared to that of workingmen in other parts of the world that relatively high wages for them should be maintained. To accomplish this object and end, a relatively large amount of money in actual circulation is a convenient, if not an essential, means. Partly to practically secure this means to that desired end, we regulate trade by tariff, to secure, if possible, a balance of trade in our favor rather than against us; and so that, by an accession of money from abroad when that balance is in our favor, and by not being compelled to send money out of the country to settle that balance when it is against us, workingmen may enjoy what Alexander Hamilton called "the benefits of a full compared with the evils of a scanty circulation."

We do not forget that, if prices here for products were relatively lower than prices abroad, products and not money would go in payment of an adverse balance. And so no money would leave the country. But we are seeking cheapness by machinery, by inventions, by the general cultivation and elevation of men, by means that ennoble, not by means that degrade workingmen; and so by tariffs we resist this temporary cheapness, in order at last to reach a permanent and more secure cheapness,—the cheapness of organization and co-operation of free men, the cheapness of modern railroad freight transportation, not the cheapness of transportation by the slaves who built the Pyramids.

JOSEPH SHELDON.

THE SILVER COINAGE.

Editors of *The Index*.—

The act of 1873 was a double immorality. First, it was surreptitious and not respondent to any popular demand, and was yet an act that profoundly affected the interests of every person in America. It was a clear case of manipulated legislation in the interest of a powerful class,—powerful not in numbers, but powerful in its influence over Congress. Had it been in response to a clear popular vote, it would still have been a piece of immoral legislation, in that it took away from millions of public and private debtors a valuable option in the mode of payment, which, as it turns out so far, is worth fifteen per cent. of the entire face of the obligations (and no one knows how much more it will be worth), and conferring it upon creditors. The act of 1878 and the joint resolution of the same year, reaffirming the legality and absolute honesty for all purposes of our standard dollar, and partially restoring its use to us, was legislation upon full discussion in response to popular demand and over a Presidential veto. Yet our professors treat the act of 1873 as a sacred thing, build upon it, and imply that it is desecrating the very holy of holies to call it in question, while they whistle the act of 1878 down the wind as a "silver craze."

One is glad to relieve the monotony of denial and refutation in criticism by finding one economic truth in the professor's statements. Wages do not fall simultaneously with a fall in prices of products. Sentiment and sympathy and habit are strong factors in resisting downward tendency in wages. Falling prices first involve proprietors in loss and failure, then come discharge of hands and half-time employment, and still afterward comes the painful and wasteful process of cutting down wages. At such crises, wages never go down fully to correspond with fall in products, so that those who can hold on to their places are really advantaged economically by what brings ruin to thousands of their fellows. The professor is therefore quite right in saying wages do not rise promptly as prices rise. First, idle hands are employed; and even then will not wages go up so fast as products. The great benefit of advancing prices is it gives employment for willing hands. It is not high wages or low wages, but steady employment, that gives national wealth and all forms of social well-being. So that the one truth of our professor, by suppression of its correlative and corrective truth and by exaggeration of its importance, is made to serve as an ally of economic error.

Prof. Sumner could hardly pack into a short space more error of fact and fallacy of implication than he puts into his closing paragraph. It is not true, as there implied, that capitalists relunct to become creditors. I affirm the exact contrary. They were never so anxious within the memory of man to become creditors as to-day. For proof, I refer to current

prices and rate of interest. It shows an excess of confidence in money, but a great "want of confidence" in all other values. Capital in abundance to loan at low rate of interest, but shunning the productive industries, means expected appreciation in purchasing power of money.

The professor perpetrates an error similar to that in the ante-inaugural silver letter of our President, when he pictures the calamity of falling prices simultaneously with a lowering of the value of money, and the consequent withdrawal of gold from circulation. Everybody knows that gold cannot go out of circulation except on rising prices, and rising prices show the money supply to be at about the international level. Lowering of prices and lowering of value of money simultaneously are simply clotted nonsense, come from what source the statement may.

The objection of bulk and cumbersomeness I can hardly treat with patience and sobriety. They seem to me so transparent sham and flapping. Ocean transportation of gold, silver, bonds, and jewelry, is a percentage upon its value, without reference to weight or bulk. For domestic use, except for small payments, as everybody knows, money is "handled" by paper. Mr. Dorsheimer, of New York, would be happy with silver certificates, if the dollar they stood for were only a little more bulky and cumbersome,—480 instead of 412 1-2. The *Tribune* is more bitter, if possible, at silver certificates than at the coin. Our "advanced civilization," as represented by security mongers and their allies, I am sure would take kindly enough to silver dollars with silver enough in them to enable them to harvest the abnormal dollar-value already achieved by limitation of coinage. Mr. Sherman, trimming to Pacific coast sentiment, favors hoarding silver bullion and issuing paper payable in it at a gold valuation! That is gold coquetting with silver, and every seductive word a false pretence! Instead of sharing with gold the money sovereignty which determines the value of the money unit, our ex-secretary would make silver a scullion drudging in the dungeon at such wages as gold should dictate. The politician artfully treats it as a banker's question; to wit, how the government may be possessed of sufficient assets readily convertible to redeem its paper. That is as the little finger to the loin. It is not a question of administering the treasury department. It is, What shall be the legal import and the effective value of the dollar? Shall it mean one bushel of wheat or four, one day's wages or four? And, if the latter, what and to whom accruing is to be the compensating benefit that justifies the social distress incident to every step on that painful road?

Standard coin, in vaults public and private, and bullion *freely coinable* at a fixed weight, everybody knows is serving its proper money function. The ballast out of sight in the hold is as necessary to a successful voyage as the flaunting sail. Where coin floats its proper amount of paper circulation, it is serving in the highest and most economic degree its full money function. The fear of losing the fifteen cents fiat it is that causes all this clamor against "useless accumulation," "won't circulate," etc. It is the fear that our standard dollar will lose the character of a token coinage, and become in fact and the general practice what it is in law and in equity,—to wit, a definer, a regulator, and measure of value,—that is the real objection. For myself, I am very sorry to have been convinced by Mr. Warner's argument that the present rate of coinage can never make it other than a token coin, and that our increase of population would prevent a coinage of fifty million a year from eliminating the fiat from it within the present generation, unless such a *policy*, settled and proclaimed by the country, and pointing to a future constitution of our money, induced financiers to discount the future, and so restore the 16 to 1 ratio of the metals.

It is a clamorous bigotry and a weak begging of the question in issue to assert that "gold is the world's standard anyhow, and we must come to it." The world is not quite so unanimous as that yet. The British single standard has never been represented by any philosophic historian or any philanthropic economist as an economic success or a social amelioration up to 1850. From that time, Australia and California, with universal double standard outside the empire, broke the ruinous effect of that policy, and gave it a new lease of life. A general single standard is an experiment absolutely without precedent against the adjustment of thousands of years, and—thank God!—not yet achieved in the legislation of this country.

though we are tasting a little of its practical effects. Without any history or any memory, it would be of no consequence whether a dollar meant a quart of meal, a year's wages, or a coach and four. With all things adjusted to a new scale of prices, it would be indifferent to creditor and debtor, employer or employed, rich or poor, where prices are: high or low, it is all one. The process of appreciation it is that hurts and chokes out enterprise. It is an inevitable but compensated hardship when it comes simply as a recovery of what was lost by fiction and paper inflation,—a return to a metallic basis. It is cruel and sinister, it is spoliation, when effected by change in long-established definitions or legislative limitation.

I forbear further criticism. Only a profound conviction that a single standard is an economic blunder, is the colossal crime of the century, could have constrained me so to tax the reader's patience.

E. D. STARK.

LIFE THE CAUSE OF ALL ACTION.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Having defined the term "religion" in what I consider to be its strict and correct sense, to me the question of a scientific basis for it no longer exists. If religion has or can have a scientific basis, the question so common and now considered so legitimate—namely, "What is your religious belief?"—would be as ridiculous as the question, "What is your mathematical belief?"

Anything having a scientific basis admits of no beliefs, but is a something which must be comprehended. Religion is composed of ideas or opinions conceived by man; and, as men's opinions differ, we have various religions.

I do not wish to be understood as affirming that there is no truth in religion. Just as it is possible for a person to produce harmony on any musical instrument without understanding the science thereof, or for one to be what is called a natural mathematician without a scientific understanding of the principle, so it is possible for a person to have a correct opinion regarding God and man; but whatever there may be of truth in religion will be found accountable to science, and capable of being taught as provable knowledge. It will, in fact, be found to be *theology*, and not religion. Theology and religion should not be confounded. The former means demonstrable knowledge, and the latter is man's opinions. A theologian should be one who understands the science of God, as a mathematician is one who understands the science of mathematics. Those who are termed theologians, however, are simply those who profess and teach a religion. A theological seminary should be an institution where theology—science of God—is taught; but, instead, it is an institution where religions—opinions of man—are taught.

The term Christianity should only be applied to the exercise or demonstration of the Christ principle—knowledge of the Creator—which Jesus taught and fulfilled, whereas it is applied to the adoption of and adherence to a religion or form of belief in and worship of God. The term Christian should only be applied to such as understand and demonstrate the Christ principle, and one who adopts and adheres to a religion should simply be termed a religious person. By *old theology*, I refer, not to that which is to-day termed theology, but to the primitive knowledge of the Creator and the creation, which was restored in its harmony and power to the world by Jesus in the beginning of what is called the "Christian era."

When man's opinions are called theology,—the science of God,—and when the adoption of and adherence to these opinions is considered as a means or condition of salvation, man is really worshipping the creature rather than the Creator. He is worshipping an opinion rather than a truth; and, therefore, his "kingdom of God" is identical with what Jesus would have called the "kingdom of man." Equally true is it that what is to-day called wisdom is what Jesus termed foolishness with God. Still, many good people are vainly trying, through this same wisdom, to search out spiritual truths, or the mysteries of the Creator and creation.

The first step toward a comprehension of old theology is the realization that *life*, not *matter*, is the cause of all action. This statement is contrary to man's philosophy; but it is a true statement, and cannot be gainsaid. All have life, and are interested in that life. Man's existence, all things, depend on life. Therefore, life is universal; and *life*, the cause of

all action, is the scientific basis from which to work out the problem of life. This conclusion—i.e., that life is the cause of all action—is not arrived at through the evidence of sight, but through the evidence of the understanding; and through this evidence alone can we discern spiritual truths. Life produces all changes in matter, matter being but the innocent instrument through which the life acts.

If this thought appear strange to those unfamiliar with it, they must remember that "truth is stranger than fiction." Let us suppose, for illustration, that a person is killed by a railroad accident. The life of man made the cars, laid the track, put the water into the boiler, kindled the fire, and opened the valve that set the engine in motion. Life did not make the track strong enough, or else caused some obstruction to be placed in the way, hence the accident. The person who was killed was brought into or near the cars by his life,—the body has no independent action,—therefore life was the cause of the accident.

Brains have no action or intelligence independent of the life, and are simply an instrument for the life to act through. Wherever matter has been supposed to cause action, as in chemical actions and in what are termed natural actions,* in every case, life, not matter, is the cause. Strange as these statements may appear to some, they are no more strange than the idea that the earth revolved was to those who believed it to be stationary. They based their evidence on the material senses; and, had the material senses been an unchangeable basis, their belief would have become a knowledge. It was not, however, a reliable basis; and, through man's spiritual perception (an opposite source), he gained a knowledge of the earth and sun which we can neither see ourselves nor make evident to the material senses of another, but which we can comprehend through the spiritual senses, and can teach others.

We have reasoned mostly through the senses of seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, etc.; and they, being fallible, have led us deeper into materiality. It is useless to hope, through such a course, to discover spiritual things. The course of reasoning must be reversed to attain that issue. My aim in succeeding articles on this subject shall be to prove that old theology has a scientific basis, and that each may build for himself thereon.

E. J. ARENS.

In the August number of the *Atlantic*, "The New Portfolio," by Oliver Wendell Holmes, is continued. Mrs. Oliphant's story is on the eve of its dénouement, and Miss Murfree's "Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains" comes to a pathetic end. "On Horseback," by Charles Dudley Warner, is continued in an amusing strain. Three of the solid articles of the number are "The Port Royal of Mère Angelique," by Maria E. MacKaye; "Should a College Educate?" by E. R. Sill; and a critical article, by Harriet Waters Preston, on Miss Ingelow and Mrs. Walford. Dr. Holmes' "Two Anniversary Poems" are a striking feature of the *Atlantic* for August. There is some more excellent poetry by Edith Thomas, Andrew Hedbrook, and Kathleen Wright. Philander Deming has a characteristic tale to tell, Wong Chin Foo relates "The Story of San Tszon," a legend of Buddhism, and there is a pleasant little conceit about Shakspeare. Reviews of Ormsby's *Don Quixote*, "Stepniak's" book on Russia, Pater's *Marius*, the *Epicurean*, Hutton's and Walford's books on London, an unusually lively Contributors' Club, and minor criticism, finish a number which is up to the *Atlantic's* usual standard. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE *North American Review* for August has articles by Dr. John B. Hamilton, Dr. John H. Rauch, Dr. John C. Peters, Dr. H. C. Wood, and Dr. Charles A. Seale on the question "Can Cholera be Averted?" A very readable article from the pen of Dr. Felix L. Oswald is entitled "The Animal Soul." M. J. Savage has a paper on "A Profane View of the Sanctum." The other articles are: "Temperance Reform Statistics," by Prof. W. J. Beecher; "The Price of Gas," by Charles Hull Botsford; "The Spoliation of the Public Lands," by George W. Julian; and "Comments."

THE fiftieth anniversary of the "Garrison mob" of Oct. 21, 1835, will render timely two papers in the *August Century*, by the sons of William Lloyd Gar-

* See *Old Theology*, chapter i.

ison, descriptive of their father's origin and early life. T. W. Higginson will contribute a short prefatory article on the anti-slavery agitators, and a finely engraved portrait of Garrison will be the frontispiece.

A MAGNIFICENT full-page portrait of John McCullough, the actor, portraits of several of the St. Louis editors, and a number of handsome pictures, including one of the Soldiers' Home at Dayton, Ohio, appear in the Cincinnati *Graphic* of July 18.

"BABYLAND'S" illustrated story title-page for July tells of thirteen mischievous things accomplished in just five minutes by one of the inhabitants thereof.

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

IN Lima, which has a population of about 100,000, there are 126 Catholic churches and 12 monasteries and convents. People attend mass in the morning, and go to bull-fights, cock-fights, and similar entertainments in the afternoon. It is more or less so all over Peru.

KARL BLIND, writing in the *Westliche Post*, says that there is ample documentary evidence that Victor Hugo's ancestors were German artisans, and that the name "Victor" given to the poet was really only a Franco-Latin substitute for the name of Hugo's father, Sigisbert, which means "brilliant with victory."

PROF. PARKER, of the University of Pennsylvania, who examined the brain of Doran who was executed for the murder of his jailer, declares that its conformation tallied exactly with that of the "criminal brain" of the books. Its weight was but forty-three and one-fourth ounces, or nearly seven ounces below the normal weight; and it was "more like the brain of a monkey than that of a Webster." Unfortunate creatures of the class to which this criminal belonged should be restrained, and prevented, if possible, from perpetuating their bad qualities; but how far can they be held morally responsible for their criminal deeds? Will or can a man with a "criminal brain" be a conscientious, just, and merciful man? Education may improve him, but can hardly change the main characteristics of his nature and disposition.

THE power of the priesthood is being continually curtailed in Italy. Civil marriage is taking the place of what the clergy call the "sacrament." No priest can perform the religious rites of marriage until the civil marriage has been performed by a magistrate, in the presence of witnesses. It is a criminal offence for an ecclesiastic to dictate or influence the making of a will. With parents, it is optional whether children shall be baptized by the priest and registered in the parish books. The civil register is always open to them to record every birth, regardless of religious rites. "The

former priestly power," writes a correspondent of the *New York Evangelist*, "over the important items of 'birth, marriage, and death,'—which has always been construed by the people as the power of life and death,—is no longer, as formerly, in the hands of the clericals. Every day is it less and less in their power to curse with their word and influence, even in remote parishes, the individual who may fall under their displeasure."

PRESIDENT MCCOSH, in his address at Woodstock, Conn., on the 4th, said: "There is a deep and growing dissatisfaction with the mode in which honorary degrees are conferred at commencements and on other occasions. They are bestowed on no principle that I can discover. The avowed principle on which they are commonly bestowed is to secure friends to the college, in ministers of religion, in teachers, in wealthy or influential men. But this end is not always secured. The public are shrewd enough to see through the whole thing, and despise the action and the actors. Trustees should see the sneer that gathers on the face of intelligent people, when they hear or read of a degree bestowed on some person who has done nothing to deserve it. A decent, respectable minister gets a D.D., and it is supposed that he is thereby pre-engaged to the college, to which he will send all the boys in his congregation. But he is surrounded by a half dozen ministers who feel that they are quite as good as he is; and, having been overlooked, they are tempted to send their boys elsewhere."

THE *London Sunday School Chronicle*, referring to the unveiling of Darwin's statue at the British Museum, says: "Now, we have come to see that, whatever acceptance may be given to the idea of the 'Origin of Species,' it is but a method of explaining divine operations, and that Darwin's theory can be harmoniously fitted into the old faith." How Darwin's theory "can be fitted into the old faith," which teaches the fall of man from a high position, given him when he came from the hand of his Maker, it is difficult to see. Perhaps some future revision of those passages of Scripture which relate to man's fall will clear up this difficulty. But what kind of a divine revelation is that which reveals truth only when it has been discovered by the unassisted human reason, and established in defiance of the supposed teachings of this revelation and of the opposition of its expounders? A book revelation, whose authority is used to suppress scientific truth and social and political reform when they are in their infancy and in need of aid, and which is discovered to be in harmony with them only when they have become popular after years of labor and sacrifice on the part of those denounced as "infidels," is a revelation belief in which, as such, cannot be outgrown any too soon.

AT a reception given Hon. Henry B. Stanton, on June 27, in New York, by the Press Club, the guest was introduced by the President of the Club as a "Nestor of the press, undimmed in intellect, and crowned with the love and esteem of all who know him." "Glance over his past," continued

the President. "He was born four years before Abraham Lincoln. When he began to write for newspapers, Lincoln was employed at \$6 a month to manage a ferry across the Ohio, at the mouth of Anderson's Creek. Stephen A. Douglas was a boy twelve years old, living with his widowed mother on a sterile Vermont farm. Fred Douglass was a pickaninny on a Maryland plantation. Horace Greeley had not yet entered a country printing-office. Thurlow Weed was editing a country newspaper. Charles Dickens was a boy thirteen years old, employed in an attorney's office. Thackeray was a boy of fourteen attending school in London. William Cullen Bryant had just come to this city. James Gordon Bennett was trying to establish a commercial school here. Henry J. Raymond and Charles A. Dana were wearing check aprons at district schools. Erastus Brooks was attending a grocery in Boston. James Watson Webb was an adjutant in the regular army. Manton Marble, George W. Childs, and William Henry Hurlbert were enwrapped in the cocoon of futurity. A. K. McClure was just learning to walk. Joseph R. Hawley had just been born in a country town in North Carolina. John W. Forney was a boy nine years old, running around unshod. And scores of other newspaper men who have won fame and fortune were not even literary larvae."

SOCIALIST leaders who urge workingmen to resort to violence to secure concessions from their employers do harm to the cause of labor, and are the worst enemies of democratic institutions. Lawless violence makes an arbitrary use of legal force, which often appears at the time heartless and cruel, a necessity. What would result, if, at any time, dissatisfied men could at pleasure defy law, destroy property, and dictate terms to the established authorities? There can be no industrial prosperity, no popular reform, no extension of freedom, no progress, without security of life and property, which is necessarily imperilled or weakened by every act of lawless violence that goes unpunished. The self-constituted leaders of workingmen who urge them to acts such as were committed recently in Cleveland direct their influence against the very conditions of society that are the most important to popular freedom, education, and advancement. Intelligent workingmen, looking beyond the moment, instead of restricting their own liberties and opportunities by encouraging mob law and riotous demonstrations, will turn to education, agitation, and the ballot for reforms which some in their ignorance and short-sightedness imagine they can secure by coming together, arming themselves with clubs, and making raids upon private property. There is nothing that gives greater satisfaction to those who have no sympathy with the masses, and who rejoice whenever anything occurs to which they can point in seeming confirmation of their theory that the working class must be "kept under with a strong hand," than the very acts of lawlessness which these poor sons of toil, in their simplicity, think will redress their grievances and right their wrongs.

THE PERPLEXING PROBLEM.

A short time since, it was reported that a tidily dressed and respectably appearing young woman in New York City broke a pane of glass in a shop-window, and took out some articles of merchandise, in broad daylight, and in full view of a policeman who was standing near. On being arrested, she was not found to be insane, as was first supposed, but confessed that she did the act deliberately for the purpose of being sent to prison, where, at least for a time, she might have respite from her battle with hunger. She was alone in the world, unable to get work or bread, and would not sink to the one resource of shame open to a young woman for gaining a livelihood. A few weeks earlier, while the inclement winter was still lingering, an American family in the same city was accidentally discovered in a starving condition. The husband and father, on whose labor the family depended for subsistence, had been sick for months. The children were all small, and one or two had died from insufficient nourishment. One article of furniture after another had been sold or pawned to procure medicines and delicacies for the sick man, and bread for the rest. They were too self-respecting to beg, too proud to let their neighbors, none of whom were intimate friends, know of their condition; and the tragedy was well-nigh complete in the slow starvation of the self-forgetful wife, when a neighboring woman, whose sympathizing suspicions had been aroused, entered the house, and saw, with little need of words to tell it, the whole sad story.

After such cases of destitution and suffering become known, it is, of course, easy to say that they need not be; that the lone woman could have found help through the Associated Charities, or some one of the many benevolent agencies connected with the churches of the city, and need not have resorted to larceny for the sake of shelter and food; and that there are numerous charitable organizations in New York which would have been alert to offer all the aid needed in so unquestionably worthy a case as that of the starving family. But benevolent organizations, it is apologetically claimed, cannot be expected to know by instinct the wants of people that are kept secret; and society cannot be held responsible for the sufferings of people who are too proud to seek help or to let their destitution be known. The starving family was overwhelmed with donations of all sorts, from benevolent societies and individuals, as soon as the newspapers reported the case; and the poor woman who preferred crime to shame, a prison before beggary, will doubtless find ample sympathy and assistance now that the story of her single-handed struggle with poverty has been made public.

Yet such cases as these lead a large class of persons of benevolent disposition to look somewhat deeper into this problem of poverty and social order, which is the perplexing problem of the day. Many such persons are led to ask whether cases like these ought to be found at all in modern society, and especially in society which calls itself Christian,—whether the conditions of human society ought to be such that a self-respecting, capable woman, willing to work, seeking work, should be compelled to choose between beggary and crime, and a self-reliant, honest, industrious family should be brought to the alternative of beggary or starvation? Can those social conditions be just and righteous conditions where superfluous wealth piles itself up on one side, and honest industry is left to starve on the other, or is only saved from starving by the charity which is doled out from the mansions of luxury? Or, if these are right or even necessitated conditions of human society,

then is the obligation wholly on the side of the struggling, self-respecting poor to let their wants be known, and not at all on the other side to learn the poor's needs? Is it not rather a true instinct that causes the honest poor to shrink from publishing their wants, and thus taking their position with beggars, and that prevents them from even learning what and where are the charitable societies which would gladly help them? And is there not, on the other hand, a just obligation resting on those who have the means and the power, so to live that, without any prying or impertinent curiosity, they would know something of the struggles and needs of their poorer neighbors, and could discern how to help without hurt to the proper pride of self-respect? And may not the methods of organized benevolent societies, too, be adjusted more in accordance with the demands of this principle of the highest individual benevolence? A neighbor's rights to a certain privacy are to be honorably respected. Yet, if all one's duty to one's neighbor were done, could the latter ever come secretly into a condition of starvation? Duty to one's neighbor has, indeed, something to say about "searching out the cause that one knows not." But this "searching" may be in the official manner of the policeman or in the prying spirit of meddling gossip, or it may be with that true neighborliness that invites confidences and detects by sympathy. What is needed is such a structural order of society that it would be impossible for an honest man or woman, or an upright, industrious family, to be so alone in the world that the terrible pressure of the alternative between crime or beggary, on the one hand, and starvation, on the other, could ever come to them.

That earnest men and women are beginning seriously to ponder this problem, and, though the problem is an old one, are bringing to it new zeal and fresh thought, is one of the best signs of the times.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CONCORD LECTURES ON GOETHE.

II.

Half is better than the whole, says a Greek proverb; and it is almost too much for me to try to report seven of the twelve lectures given in Concord last week.

Goethe's greatest work, *Faust*, occupied three more sessions. Mr. D. J. Snider gave a masterly "History of the Poem," soon to appear as part of his new book. He showed how inevitably Goethe's whole life was occupied with writing it. The problem of the need of denial and protest met him early, but it was not until old age that he reached the solution. *Wilhelm Meister* answers the same question by showing the function of error in human discipline. The Satanic spirit of negation of Truth called upon him in his youth to do it justice; but sixty years must elapse before he could exorcise it out of himself and out of the world, by shutting it up in print. The lecturer felt, therefore, obliged to differ from those eminent German critics who think that *Faust* was never so complete as in 1790, when only the First Part was published, and with the omission, not only of all the scenes between the dialogue of Faust and Wagner and that of Mephistopheles with the student, but also of the "Walpurgisnacht" and of that "prose scene" in which pity for Margaret makes Faust, for the time, master over the tempter. Those who call this *Faust* of 1790 a unity and that of 1831, with its two parts, only a fragment of a fragment, suppose that Goethe's original purpose was to have his hero perish like Götz and Werther, and win no salvation.

This latter view was defended by Prof. Davidson,

who says that the conception of the poem passes through three distinct stages. The second of these introduces the purpose of saving Faust, and found its earliest expression in 1797. The damnation of Faust, at the close of Part First, seems, for the time, to satisfy the author's ideas of justice. Goethe's endings are usually weak, and that finally given to the poem is too operative. It also teaches bad morality. No one ought to be drawn up into heaven. We want to climb there. "If I'm to be drawn up, I shall not go."

This was said at one of the two sessions in which Prof. Harris gave a minute analysis of the whole poem. Faust's attitude in the beginning toward nature was correctly described as that of a pantheistic adorer, not a scientific observer. The well-known confession of faith in the garden scene was admirably explained by comparing it with Emerson's "Brahma." It is characteristic of a seducer to believe in a God who is indifferent to moral distinctions, and who could have exclaimed,—

"And one to me are shame and fame."

Much less probable is the statement that the magic glass in which Faust, according to the best engravings illustrating the poem, sees the undraped form of Margaret was the mirror of fashion, and displayed only a milliner-constructed beauty. This called out a vigorous protest from Mr. Snider against the common fault of critics in passing off their own pet theories as those of the author they profess to expound. This last speaker also pointed out the importance of the prose scene, near the end of the First Part, where Faust is carried, by his pity for the ruined Margaret, into a generosity so noble that Mephistopheles ceases to be a tempter to evil, and becomes the instrument with which Faust finally makes himself worthy of salvation.

The minute analysis of the Second Part by Prof. Harris was particularly interesting in comparing the flames into which rush the wild masqueraders, who represent Pan and his attendant fauns, satyrs, nymphs, gnomes, and giants at the carnival, to the French Revolution burning up the wicked despotism established by Louis XIV. The account of the reappearance, a little later, of the student to whom Mephistopheles has exposed the uselessness of the university studies, failed to mention the plain satire, generally acknowledged by commentators on Fichte, who was too revolutionary to please Goethe.

It must be added that all these critics were too ready to represent Faust as denying any possibility of knowledge, whereas his main antagonist is simply to books.

In treating of "Goethe's Relation to English Literature," Mr. Sanborn said that scarcely a trace of influence from England was to be found in Goethe's works, and that he paid much more attention in early life to French than English authors. This last statement may be true, but it is certainly true that French literature at that time was thoroughly permeated by English thought. Buckle shows that France interpreted Newton, Locke, and the Deists to the rest of Europe. During the discussion that followed, Prof. Harris said that Goethe's study of *The Vicar of Wakefield* led him into putting episodes into his novels. According to Prof. White, of Cornell, Goethe had been deeply influenced, while a student at Strasburg, by English authors, especially Ossian, whom he translated, and Shakspeare, with whom he kept in close relations ever after. His *Werther* shows knowledge of Richardson. Prof. Hewitt, also of Cornell, mentioned that Goethe's acquaintance with Oriental literature was due to Sir William Jones and other English pundits. Mr. Snider quoted Goethe's saying in

his *History of his Botanical Studies* that he owed more to three men than to any others,—Spinoza, Shakspeare, and Linnæus. In his Titanic youth, he imitated Shakspeare. Later in life, he sought to compliment him, though always owning his superiority. The prominent theme in *Wilhelm Meister* is "Hamlet," and the characters of the two heroes are very similar. Sterne, too, was much read by Goethe, who translated from him many axioms. It may here be mentioned that the lecturer had spoken of Goethe's fondness for Byron, of his antagonism to Newton, and of his influence over Carlyle and Emerson. No full view was given during the session, however, of his immense benefit to both England and America in encouraging individualism. The omission to show how far he is to be blamed for the prevalence of loose ideas about marriage in this country is less to be regretted than the withholding of the tribute of honor fairly due to him for his great services in giving science a permanent place in literature.

Among the ladies who lectured was Mrs. Caroline K. Sherman, of Chicago. Her subject was "Child-life as portrayed in Goethe's Works"; and she maintained that it is no idle accessory, but always has a destined bearing on the whole. The hero of *Wilhelm Meister* learns human nature by studying his son. He is led to value property and to comprehend social life for the sake of Felix. The portraits of this boy and his playmate, Mignon, by Mrs. Sherman, were particularly charming. She also spoke of the glorious Euphorion, and that son of Götz von Berlichingen who is more at home in the kitchen than in the stable, and who is so proud of having learned a description of the castle by heart that he does not care to be told that it really is his own father who is its lord. Such good boys cannot be made so interesting as bad ones, like Felix, whose naughtiness is the occasion of winning Natalia for his father. Mrs. Cheney thought that good children might be made very interesting by artistically bringing them into collision with circumstances. Prof. Davidson spoke out for the boy who preferred his mother's society to the ostler's. He acknowledged that Mrs. Sherman had stated exactly Goethe's opinions in all their value and in all their shortcomings. His views of education have a worth that has not yet been rightly recognized, especially as regards the necessity of right social surroundings. But it must be plainly understood that he does not take the highest ground, either in his life or in his works. Emerson was perfectly right in saying, "He is incapable of a self-sur-render to the moral sentiment." The greatest thing is not to develop our nature as it is, but to rise above it. Goethe sometimes insists upon this, but not in the spirit of martyrdom. He never gives up what he is enjoying until he is getting tired of it. He does preach renunciation. If you would know what a man isn't, consider what he preaches oftenest. Neither Faust nor Wilhelm really renounces much. Faust's altruism is put off to the end of his life. Goethe is a great dissolving power, but his works do not breathe the highest morality.

Goethe's life and opinions were presented with masterly clearness and accuracy by the Cornell professors. Mr. H. S. White told how he developed himself at Frankfort, Leipzig, Strasburg, and Wetzlar, prior to his journey in 1775, at the age of twenty-six, to Weimar, where he passed most of his subsequent life. Among the most important traits of the young Goethe's character, thus depicted, was his faith in what Tennyson calls "the higher Pantheism." The Lisbon earthquake of 1755 shook his belief in a personal Deity, as it did Voltaire's;

but Goethe never passed beyond the bounds of what would now be called a liberal faith. His convictions, especially in early life, were unsettled. But, even then, we find him protesting against the dogma of endless misery; and his own creed was Toleration always.

Those fifty-seven years which were spent mostly at Weimar, and which gave the world *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *Hermann and Dorothea*, *Tasso*, *Egmont*, *Iphigenia*, the matchless ballads, and the momentous scientific discoveries, were made to pass before the audience in all their grandeur and beauty, as Prof. Hewitt told what he had seen in the Saxon Athens. As this lecture is to appear in *Harper's Magazine*, with illustrations, I need only mention that one of its finest passages is the description of the house of Goethe, and of the fidelity with which its treasures testify to his fondness for both art and science. It is pleasant to know that the hoard of manuscripts, which has so long been stored up there, is already open to scholars. Among the discoveries are said to be Goethe's Diary, from 1777 to 1832, and also a draft, hitherto unknown, of *Götz von Berlichingen*. Prof. Davidson remarked that his own visit to Weimar had made him feel how thoroughly German Goethe was, especially when at his best. His attempt to introduce the southern calmness into his later works made them too cold.

I need only add that some justice was done during this part of the course to that noble friend of freedom, Schiller.

F. M. HOLLAND.

EVOLUTION AND MR. BEECHER.

For eight or nine Sundays in succession, Mr. Beecher has been preaching the evolution heresy. A great intellect, worn indeed, but still strong, attempts again the impossible feat of reconciling truth and error, science and theology. As the Christian churches are not able to suppress the new theory, he advises them to adopt it, and revive their perishing creed. He has seen civilized branches grafted on to wild and worthless trees, while out of the process has come a wholesome and a bountiful crop. He thinks that philosophy may be grafted on to theology with like success, but the experiment will fail. It always has failed, because there is no affinity between the constituent parts. There has never been any religious carpentry that could dovetail together truth and falsehood, for it is the law of the universe that they shall never harmonize. A truth, although but recently discovered, has been the truth from the foundation of the world; and a lie, no matter how venerable and religious it may be, can never become the truth, nor serve as an ethical substitute for it. The Christian theory and the evolution theory can never blend into one harmonious doctrine, nor work together under the same law. Mr. Beecher's failure is a proof of that. Out of all the Scriptures, he could not bring a text as evidence that the inspired writers knew anything about the law of evolution; nor could he find a text in sympathy with that law. Baffled, he retreats upon miracles, and takes as the text of his last sermon on the great science of creation one of the most unscientific statements in the Bible:—

And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth! And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go. (John xi., 43, 44.)

As this text contradicts, not only the science of evolution, but every other science also, it was of little value to the sermon; and Mr. Beecher made only a figurative and rhetorical use of it in an

eloquent peroration. The Christian Church is Lazarus, dead, and bound with grave-clothes. Evolution is a new Christ calling upon the Church to come forth out of the grave of ignorance. "And," says the great preacher, "out of antiquity, out of ecclesiastical rules, out of every form of entombment and of bandages, methinks I hear that voice calling out of heaven to-day: Loose men! Take off the bandages, and let them go." The defect in all this eloquence is that it seems to lack sincerity: it appears to be theatrical, a part of the entertainment contracted for and paid for by the Plymouth congregation. At the beginning of the service, Mr. Beecher makes an ostentatious attempt to unwind the bandages; but he is very careful to wind them tightly again at the end of it. He closed the services by administering the "sacrament of communion."

In the wantonness of intellectual power, in cynical sport, Mr. Beecher preaches atheistic science, and then administers the "sacraments." The only explanation of this inconsistent conduct is that he revels in the fun of it, as the French priests in Voltaire's time used to ridicule the mass while chanting it. Only strong moral convictions can restrain this levity, especially when it earns great wages. Mr. Beecher exhorted the young men of the congregation to read atheistic and scientific works, but not to give up faith in the religion which had produced the noble lives of fathers and mothers dear to them. There are two faults in this advice: it is contradictory and equivocal. What religion was it that produced those noble lives? The very religion that Mr. Beecher was then repudiating. If not, what did he mean? Why did he not instruct those young men that the noble lives of their fathers and mothers were produced, not by erroneous beliefs, but in spite of them. Noble lives have been produced in all the sects and in all the Churches, even where the faiths have been antagonistic and contradictory to each other. Among all the creeds that exist now or that ever have existed in this world, noble lives have been developed, but not because of the errors those creeds contained. Would Mr. Beecher advise the Roman Catholic youth to read atheistic books, to accept the philosophy of Spencer and the theories of Darwin, and at the same time cling to the old faith of their fathers? Is there any merit in cherishing religious mistakes because our fathers and our mothers believed them? If so, is it not equally pious to ride in stage coaches because they did, and thresh wheat with a flail? If such a sentiment as that is to prevail, when will progress begin?

Mr. Beecher's preaching is a sort of intellectual gymnastics, daring and mysterious. Like the Japanese juggler who keeps a dozen daggers whirling in the air together, and catches every one of them by the handle as it falls, and never by the blade, so he entertains his congregation with a dozen dangerous doctrines all spinning around at the same time. With unbounded assurance, he says that they are all harmless, if the performer will handle them right. In one breath, he asserts that "the atonement, founded on a fable of Adam's fall, will give place to more glorious development of the outcome of God's nature"; and, in the next, he says that "it is only the truth as it is in Jesus that gives to a man's whole nature—physical, social, moral, and spiritual—the food it needs." To keep those two principles whirling in the air together without one hitting the other, and without hurting the conjurer, is a wonderful feat. Is not "the fable of Adam's fall," and the doctrine of the atonement founded upon it, a part of "the truth as it is in Jesus"?

While invoking the aid of science to purify and

reconstruct religion, Mr. Beecher condescends to employ the arts of those little preachers who pretend that they possess a superior article of truth which they have been specially ordained to distribute among the nations. Mr. Beecher knows that, in science, truths are not graded as to quality. All truths are equal there. Neither moral science nor physical science makes any discrimination in favor of the truth as it is in Jesus, nor against the truth as it is in Plato, Mohammed, Goethe, Emerson, or Darwin. Truths are unsectarian, and they all work together in harmony on the same eternal plan. For ages, it has been the assumption of the creeds that their dogmas must not be subjected to the same tests by which the truth of all other statements and opinions may be ascertained. They pretend to have some "divine" truths which are beyond the test of rational experiment and investigation. These truths must be permitted to contradict logic, because they are superior to it. These doctrines may be false in fact, yet their "spiritual" quality redeems their errors, and converts them into "the truth as it is in Jesus."

Mr. Beecher keeps on hand a strong reserve of "spiritual" truths, the shadows of dead scriptures slain in the fight with science. These are to save his religion when the substance of it shall have perished utterly. In plaintive eloquence, he inquires: "Is evolution going to overturn all those great spiritual truths on which character has hitherto been founded? Is it going to turn us over to the unkindly justice of a material world? Is it to crucify afresh a loving Saviour, and leave us without hope and without God?" This plea is vain: it has been heard a thousand times before. Whenever some great scientific truth has burst upon the world, and compelled the recognition of mankind, it has been required to explain its purpose in appearing, and especially whether or not its intention was to "crucify afresh a loving Saviour." Mr. Beecher's plea is easily translated. It means this: Although the statement in the text involves a physical impossibility, and is therefore morally and scientifically untrue,—although Lazarus was not raised from the dead in fact,—yet the story of his resurrection contains a "spiritual" truth on which character has hitherto been founded, and on which character may be founded again. This distinction cannot be admitted. No doctrine, statement, or opinion that is false in fact or ethically unsound can ever be developed into a spiritual truth; and, although character may be founded upon it, as Mr. Beecher says, yet that character would be better and more useful, if the foundation were true. If the evolution theory is true, it can only harmonize with so much of Christianity as is true; and it has no power to give the rest of it a dispensation to stay.

M. M. TRUMBULL.

CHRISTIANITY AND LEGISLATION.

IV.

The Reformation was as much a legal as a doctrinal change. Its first aim was simony, and its second celibacy; and it lent a reverent ear to the Jewish law. The character of current Christianity was so much altered by it that the relations of religion to jurisprudence became, for a time, far more intimate. The practical moral principles of the early Christians were brotherhood in Christ and self-surrender, but they were not in a position to embody these in law. When they did become powerful, these principles had altered into salvation through the Church; and this proved to be barren of any valuable legal results. In the Reformation, men turned from the Church back to the Bible. There was a great gain in independence and purity, but the pressure of the

Mosaic law was found to be too severe. Everywhere, the attempt practically to enforce it was abandoned,—not to return to the old theories, but to move slowly forward by practical, utilitarian routes. It was not that there was anything novel in the idea of a law founded on religion. The family altar had been the centre of the Roman law and of the earlier barbarous systems. The feudal law took its model and its highest sanction from the Catholic Church. The union of Church and State seemed as much a matter of course then as their separation does to us to-day. But, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the faith in holy writ, it proved to be impracticable to go back to the Mosaic rules.

In New England, this was very striking. With ample opportunity and zeal, the pilgrims tried to make society over on the basis of Christian law. They were no fools. They were a picked set of men, of extraordinary fitness for such an undertaking; and they threw their whole souls with tremendous earnestness into the attempt. For four years, the entire government of Massachusetts Bay was left to a group of elders; and, for many years, the political organization was by churches, the parish and the town being synonymous. The suffrage was given only to church members; and the General Court appealed to the elders for legal advice, left minor offences to the churches to punish, and gave them supervision over the minor courts. The court combined the functions of legislative and common law, admiralty, equity, and ecclesiastical and royal courts for some years. It has sometimes been supposed that the attempt to make the Bible a part of the law of this Commonwealth was a well-meant but empty tribute to its sacred authority; but evil-doers, in the early days of the Bay Colony, found it a very unpleasant fact.

In the first half-score of years (1630-1641), the legislature relied so entirely on the common law, supplemented by the Mosaic rules, that it made no important addition to our statutes. The power which they claimed from the Bible was so broad that they did not need to extend it. I will mention some of those representative cases, which I find on the records, of men who were punished in a way that would not now seem tolerable. Thus, people were punished for undutifulness to husbands, for insolent carriage to magistrates, for going into other men's houses on Sunday, and for not going to the ordinances. The prohibition against cards and dice was not aimed at gambling, but at tempting Providence by appeals to the sacred lot. Some of the other offences which I find punished go beyond even Mosaic strictness, though based upon its provisions. Not improving one's time, dancing, playing, lying, living unquietly with one's wife, meddling with physic, courting a maid without her friends' consent, breaking the rule of hospitality, and keeping company with bad men without reproving them, and kissing a woman in the street,—all were treated as criminal. One man was banished on the somewhat vague charge that he was not fit to live with us, and another admonished that the court was weary of his novel disposition. Some of their proceedings must have been annoyingly inquisitive: sending to a man's house, for instance, to make sure that he was bringing up his children in the fear of God; and stopping him on Sunday, to make certain that he was going to church.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that we were living under a lawless religious despotism. These offences would most of them have been punished in England, either in the common law or ecclesiastical courts, at that time; for the idea of confining the interference of the State to well-

defined offences, which are injurious to others, had not been arrived at then.

The attempts to regulate private affairs were constant. Our thrifty forefathers were much exercised over feminine extravagance, and it took them a long while to find out the limit of masculine ability. The wearing of laces was a terrible thing; and their souls were stirred over short sleeves, and cuffs and ruffs, and knots of ribbon and slashed and embroidery. They forbade keeping Christmas or selling cakes, except for solemn occasions of weddings and funerals. They would have no drinking of healths and no smoking of tobacco.

If human nature was too strong for them, they did not acknowledge it without long struggle. Their efforts to stop business competition ought to touch the heart of a socialist. For the first three years, Plymouth was organized upon a co-operative plan; and nothing but the threatened extinction of the colony brought healthier methods. Long after, laws were current regulating the price of provisions and clothing, laws fixing the charges of inn-keepers and millers, laws settling wages and determining profits, laws paying bonuses to favored trades and even furnishing capital, laws fixing the rate of interest, and hindering speculation, and even laws forbidding trading altogether, and authorizing towns to readjust the terms of any unreasonable contract. Some of these were speedily repealed, and others became inoperative; but the colonists were loath to give up the religious idea.

In the body of liberties of 1641, which was, in many ways, a manly defence of freedom, and was for half a century in force, they provided that, in case of the defect of law in any particular case, it should be decided by the word of God; and this, unfortunately, opened the way to all kinds of persecution. Under it, it was said that death was the punishment for any one who should pick up sticks on the Lord's Day. The express provisions of the law were severe enough; for they punished idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, perjury, burglary, arson, and striking a parent with death, and authorized the use of torture. But even this was exceeded by the code proposed to the General Court by the Rev. Mr. Cotton, probably commissioned to prepare one for their consideration, who wished to enforce not only these, but the provision of the Mosaic codes, putting to death the revilers of chief magistrate and dividing as spoils the women taken in battle. Although these last savage provisions were not enforced, so far as I can find, they were part of the fundamental law of the colony; and, even a century later, bounty was paid for an Indian woman's scalp. In this first half-century there was a continual stream of mischievous religious legislation, until the horrors of the witchcraft trials aroused a younger and cooler generation to a perception of the wrong; and they put a stop to it, and went back to the common law, which, with all its imperfections, still embodied pretty fairly their sound common sense.

They had established a substantially democratic form of government in 1634; and a judicial organization soon followed, although it was a quarter of a century before the suffrage was extended to non-communicants. But the religious regulations slowly faded, although a Justices' Court arrested the Rev. Mr. Breck for heresy, in 1735, and the legislature supported their right to do so; and, in 1773, James Bell escaped from the usual punishment for manslaughter by pleading benefit of clergy; and even at this day there are some absurd remnants, like our laws against Saturday evening amusements. It should be said

HENRY W. HOLLAND.

1. . . . eating, as they went out, all . . .
2. . . . the night, shall be offended . . .
3. . . . the Scripture, I will smite the . . .
4. . . . sheep shall be scattered . . .
5. . . . Peter, and if all . . .
6. . . . the cock shall crow twice . . .
7. deny

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

B. F. U.

BY B. F. U.

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vanced wing of their own body, with which they have little in common beyond the idea of intellectual freedom. But between orthodox Christianity and radical Unitarianism the distance is great, the differences many, and the grounds for fellowship and sympathy few."

THE latest literary enterprise of John B. Alden, the New York publisher, comes to us in a pamphlet of one hundred and sixty pages entitled *Alden's Cyclopadia of Universal Literature*. This is part first, and includes short sketches and specimens of the style of twenty-seven writers whose names begin with the letter A. The price is fifteen cents in this pamphlet form, and sixty cents for a bound volume of four hundred and eighty pages. Other volumes will follow as rapidly as possible at the same rates. Volume one will be ready some time in August.

LOWELL, in his rhymes descriptive of an anti-slavery bazaar at Faneuil Hall and of the celebrities assembled there, thus portrayed Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, whose long and useful life has just closed:—

"There was Maria Chapman, too,
With her swift eyes of clear steel blue,
The coiled-up mainspring of the fair,
Originating everywhere
The expansive force, without a sound,
That whirls a hundred wheels around;
Herself, meanwhile, as calm and still
As the bare crown of Prospect Hill;
A noble woman, brave and apt,
Cumæa's sibyl not more rapt,
Who might, with those fair tresses shorn,
The Maid of Orleans' casque have worn;
Herself the Joan of our Arc,
For every shaft a shining mark."

GEN. GRANT, in his seventh annual message, mentioned five questions of vital importance demanding legislation at that very session of Congress: namely, the States be required to give each child the opportunity to acquire a good common school education; no sectarianism in the schools, education compulsory, and after 1890 no new voters who cannot read and write; Church and State to be forever separate, and church property to be taxed; the extinction of polygamy, and stopping the importation of women for improper purposes; legislation for speedy resumption of specie payments. In an interesting speech at the reunion of the army of the Tennessee at Des Moines, Ia., a few months before, he dwelt upon the question of education, saying, "Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions"; and, in a subsequent letter, he defined his position as entertaining no hostility to free education going as high as State or nation felt able to provide, but insisting upon giving all common school privileges before public means are appropriated to the higher education of a few. Certainly, these were wise utterances.

MR. GEORGE ILES concluded a recent lecture in the free thought hall, Montreal, on George Jacob Holyoake, thus:—

Mr. Holyoake is now enjoying the Indian summer of his life with the respect and confidence of a circle of friends in England only inferior in variety of conviction and social standing to those who gather around Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. His consideration, sympathy, and unfailing good nature make him beloved of his friends. Yet his kindness did not come to him all at once: the original capital of it, of course, Nature gave; but he has diligently improved it by constant self-control. When a young man, he describes himself as resentful, wilful, and imperious: every year since then has brought with it advances in the highest of the arts,—that of self-improvement as applied to character. When, fifteen years ago, blindness befell him for a time, he met the calamity with fortitude, and, like another Milton, dictated pages he could not see. His friends, who

included Darwin, Lewes, Stopford Brooke, Spencer, and Tyndall, contributed for an annuity, in recognition of his effective and disinterested public services. Mr. Holyoake is engaged upon his autobiography, which I have reason to believe will rank among the most interesting books of our time. As thinker, speaker, writer, reformer, our hero merits our respect, more still as a man; for

"Man is his own star, and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man
Commands all light, all influence, all fate.
Nothing to him falls early or too late.
Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
Our faithful shadows that walk with us still."

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Christian Register* declares that there is nothing in the teachings of Jesus "to give us ground for belief that he is necessary to humanity as a mediator between God and man, being himself a man." "Believing this, how can we come to our Father God, feeling our need and his love, and ask him to answer our petitions 'for Christ's sake'?" "Can any one fail to see the inconsistency of this form of words at the close of our prayers among those who hold the views of the Unitarian Church as set forth in the 'statement' from which we have quoted? And yet this form is still used in some of our churches. Furthermore, we not only pray to be heard and answered for Christ's sake, but we actually pray to Christ. At the close of our church service, pastor and people rise up and pray for 'grace, mercy, and peace from God, the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ,' thus using an old orthodox formula which recognizes Christ as 'one and the same with God,'—God and Christ as one person, equally the object of our worship, to whom we are to address ourselves in prayer." A Unitarian brother replies that the benediction is "not a prayer," but "the expression of a wish," and therefore allowable, and that he shall continue to use the old formula. The *Presbyterian* notices this discussion, and remarks, "A wish which is uttered for others and addressed to some power or being higher than ourselves has in it all the elements of prayer." Another Unitarian brother says in the *Register* that, in his opinion, the questions, "May we ascribe personality to God?" and "Is it right to pray to him?" "are answered by the authority of Christ." For, since God is repeatedly declared by Christ to be our Father, how can we think of him otherwise than as a person?" And in regard to prayer: "Away with metaphysical subtleties then! Enough to know that the Son of God says, 'Ask, and ye shall receive.'"

In an address to the graduating class of the Lucy Cobb Institute at Athens, Ga., Major J. C. Whitner made a plea for the education of woman, in which he said:—

Come with me, young friends, back through the corridors of the centuries,—back, back to that mysterious epoch when, after consultation around creation's council-table, the triune God determined to create man in his own image. You and I will be content with the "face meanings" of the Bible, and not look through the telescope reversed so as to throw this era so dimly distant as to require man's impotent and impudent ratiocination from existing conditions to unauthorized conclusions, which necessarily prescribe limitations to even Jehovah's plans, methods, and periods of procedure.

The orator proceeded to show that "man leads and woman follows, man plans and woman executes, man commands and woman obeys, and thus we have a God-made clerk." "Train a girl in the office," he says, "and she does as has been dictated, and is happiest when not expected to go farther. Train a boy there; and, if healthy, though he be not in his teens, he will in six months, true to the nature given him, not only try to control other clerks, but even to boss the boss himself. He is right. All honor to the lad.

Now let him, then, go ahead, and let his sister follow behind him." The author of this piece of "impotent and impudent ratiocination" seems not to be lacking in confidence; but it is the confidence of ignorance, not of knowledge. He is being deservedly laughed at by the women whom he, in his conceit, thought he was instructing and delighting with irresistible eloquence. "Now, let him, then, go" and reflect on the absurdities of his harangue, revise his theology, enlarge his observation, overcome his conceit, get some ideas, and be careful not to become again a laughing-stock for the girls who, he imagines, do "as has been dictated, and are happiest when not expected to go farther."

For The Index.

ARBOR DAY, 1886.

Unto the future day,
Unto the fairer skies,
May the rich tribute rise
And with the free winds play!

We do not plant for ill—
Nay, nor for plaudits sweet!
On hither shores we meet
To shape the new born will.

The hope we further here,
Oh nature, guide from wrong,
Through seasons strange and strong
Rocked in the distant sphere!

Dim forests now unseen,
Far shadows cast before:
Towards what fruitful shore
Doth man in mystery lean?

This day of wisely care
Is not by spade and pick
Turned as a juggler's trick
To lay a folly bare.

Deep with the forest-child
We trust our manhood's dream,
And earth with soil and stream
Will keep it undefiled.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

For The Index.

WHEN?

Will the day be bright,
Or will it be night,
When my eyes must close in death?
Will the sun look down,
Or the storm-cloud frown,
As I draw my last breath?

Will the dawn be nigh,
Or the sunset sky
Grow red, as I pass away?
Will the wintry gloom
Or the summer's bloom
Bring me that fateful day?

Will some star on high
Light my sightless eye,
And the moon her secret keep,
As the chilling breath
Of the monarch Death
Gives me deep and endless sleep?

Will some friend be near,
Who with pitying tear
Shall view my pallid face,
And my faults forget,
And with fond regret
Give me a last embrace?

Oh, the few score years
Of life's hopes and fears!
O Time fleeing quickly past!
What is wealth and power
In that solemn hour,
When man feels it is his last!

W. McD.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

IX.

THE MARTYR PERIOD.

Stoicism a Preparation for Christianity.

Reviewing the period of the Stoic emperors from the stand-point of comparative religion, we cannot doubt that the public recognition and general diffusion of the principles of Stoicism were strongly influential in preparing the way for the progress of Christianity. Reichele asserts of the post-Aristotelian period, in the development of philosophy, that "it supplied the scientific mould into which Christianity, in the early years of its growth, was cast, and bearing the shape of which it has come down to us.* While, on its dogmatic side, the influence of Platonism, and especially of the Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria, is predominant, on its social and ethical side, Stoicism was scarcely less influential. Both Stoicism and Neo-Platonism were products of the intermingling of Greek with Semitic thought, the latter even predominating in the direction and development of Stoicism. Zeller affirms that "the Stoic philosophy contains no feature of importance which we can pronounce with certainty to be taken from the popular faith. Even the true worship of God, according to their view, consists only in the mental effort to know God, and in a moral and pious life."† And again: "Even at Athens there were teachers, not a few, whose foreign extraction indicates the age of Hellenism. Next to the later Neo-Platonic school, this remark is of none more true than of the Stoic. With this fact we may always connect the world-citizenship of this

* Oswald J. Reichele, B.O.L. and M.A., vicar of Sparsholt, Berks.

† The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 343. By Dr. E. Zeller, professor at Heidelberg.

school.* A recent writer in the *Nineteenth Century* has well stated the relation of Stoicism to Christianity, and of both to the pre-existing faiths. "The new tone of Greek ethical thought displayed in the rise of Stoicism," he says, "must have been due, according to our national-psychological stand-point, to some cross-fertilization by the ideas of a different race; and Sir Alexander Grant† has shown that all the eminent Stoics were of Semitic origin. The similarity which has struck most observers between Stoicism and Christianity receives its explanation from our present stand-point, when we remember that both were cross-fertilizations of Hellenism by Semitism. The difference, too, may be due to the fact that, in one case, the less intense Semites were the missionaries, while Christianity was propagated by the fiery zeal of the Jews. The spread of Stoicism among the Romans cannot but have had some influence in preparing the way for Christianity."‡

The Persecutions of Diocletian and Decius.

The emperors, from the reign of Marcus Aurelius to that of Decius (249–251 A.D.), if not friendly to Christianity, were at least indifferent to it. Elagabalus (218 A.D.), who assumed the manners and state of an Oriental despot, conceived the idea of a universal eclectic *cultus*, which should fuse the Jewish and Samaritan with the Pagan and Christian religions, with the sun as the supreme object of adoration, and the emperor as his earthly incarnation and representative,—a conception similar to that of Kuhn-Aten, the fourth Amen-hotep of Egypt. Alexander Severus (222–249 A.D.) carried his eclecticism so far that he enlarged the temples of Isis and Osiris, and enshrined in the palace as his household deities Orpheus, Abraham, Jesus, and Apollonius of Tyana. He awarded a piece of ground, the ownership of which was in dispute, to the Christians, for the alleged reason that it was better for it to be devoted to the worship of God in any form than to any profane or secular occupation.§

During the reigns of Decius and Diocletian, a more general opposition was stirred up against Christianity than at any previous period. An attempt was made throughout the empire to suppress the churches, and prevent the further spread of the faith. Actual violence, however, appears to have been offered only to the bishops and leading ecclesiastics, while the humbler converts were seldom molested. Numbers of the clergy doubtless suffered imprisonment and death, exactly how many it is now impossible to determine. The occasion of these more general persecutions is doubtless to be discovered in the increasing claims of the new religion to exclusive recognition and universal supremacy,—claims which threatened to override, not only the ancient religion of the empire, but also its secular authority. Even Dean Milman refers it in part also to the relaxation of morals in the Christian communities, and the growth of the spirit of ecclesiastical domination, with its accompanying dissensions and jealousies.

Extent of the Persecutions.—Exaggeration of Later Historians.

In reviewing the subject of the persecution and martyrdom of the Christians under the empire

* The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 35.

† Aristotle's Ethics (third edition), I., p. 307.

‡ "The God of Israel," by Joseph Jacobs, *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1879.

§ The story of the alleged martyrdom of Vivia Perpetua and Felicitas in Northern Africa, during the reign of Septimius Severus, though usually accepted as historical, bears suggestions of its apocryphal character. The exact place of their martyrdom is uncertain; the testimony of the *Acta Martyrum* is of doubtful authenticity; the very minutiae of the recital suggest doubt of its reality; while the names "Eternal Life" (*Vivia Perpetua*) and "Happiness" (*Felicitas*) suggest an allegorical rather than an historical interpretation of the narrative.

from the stand-point of an impartial investigator of the historical evidence, the conclusion is unavoidable that the extent and enormity of these acts of the Pagan emperors have been greatly exaggerated by Christian historians and apologists. Admitting that there is a substantial foundation for the charges of oppression, violence, and infliction of the penalty of death in many instances, these enormities sink into insignificance compared with those perpetrated by Christian authority in later times. Gibbon estimates the total number of the martyrs at about two thousand, and asserts that "the number of Protestants who were executed by the Spaniards during a single reign and in a single province far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries of the Roman Empire." Niebuhr, whose candor and impartiality can hardly be doubted, confirms the opinion of Dodwell and other historians that the persecution of Galerius and Diocletian, generally affirmed to be the most general and disastrous of all, was a mere shadow compared with the persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva. According to Grotius, the number of Dutch martyrs was at least one hundred thousand. Motley says of these persecutions: "The barbarities committed amid the sack and ruin of those blazing and starving cities are almost beyond belief. Unborn infants were torn from the bodies of their living mothers, . . . and whole populations were burned and hacked to pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty in its wanton ingenuity could devise." The Spanish Inquisition, during the eighteen years of Torquemada, punished, according to the lowest estimate, one hundred and five thousand persons, of whom eight thousand eight hundred were burnt alive.

The persecution of the Jews of Spain and Russia by the Christians furnish examples of barbarity and wholesale slaughter, before which even the crimes of Nero pale into obscurity and insignificance. In Andalusia, two thousand Jews were executed, and seventeen thousand otherwise punished, in a single year. In our own day, the annals of Jewish persecution in Russia and Bulgaria compare in infamy with the recitals of the worst atrocities of the early Christian ages. Recollecting the treatment of the Indian and the negro in our own country, American Christians ought in all decency to refrain from slandering the memories of the dead Roman emperors. The Pagan massacre, in which an entire village of non-combatants—disabled old men, women, and little children—were put to the sword and fire,—an act to this day neither rebuked nor disavowed by the government,—closes our mouths forever from the indiscriminate censure and condemnation of Diocletian, Decius, and Marcus Aurelius.

General Causes of the Persecutions.

Bearing in mind the generally conceded policy of toleration toward alien religions which characterized the government of the Roman Empire, it is of great interest and importance to account for the apparent violation of this policy in the treatment of the Christians. The true explanation of the proven facts of the martyr period appears to lie largely in the character of the new religion itself, and in a general and not unnatural misconception of some of its noteworthy customs, ideas, and dogmas on the part of the populace and those in authority. All the other religions which, with the growth of the empire, came in contact with the popular faith and attracted the attention of the government, were ethnic and limited in their sway, and did not aim at universal dominion. Hence, they were mutually tolerant within their respective

spheres. Rome, as the capital of the empire, recognized and to some extent assimilated them. Judaism alone of the older faiths was intolerant, exclusive, and repelled recognition and assimilation. Christianity was never an ethnic religion: it aimed from the first at universal dominion. From its very nature, it could admit of no compromise with the idolatrous Paganism of the nations. It resolutely refused to be combined with other faiths, or assimilated into the eclectic *cultus* of the capital. It resented the tolerance and indifference of Rome with an intolerant demand for exclusive recognition.

Erecting no altars and offering no sacrifices, denying the very existence of the gods of Rome, meeting in secrecy, contrary to the laws of the empire, admitting none save those who had been united with them by the ordinance of baptism to participation in their worship, the Christians came to be regarded naturally and not without reason as inimical to the popular religion, and as a source of danger to the security of the State. Exaggerated reports concerning the character of their baptismal ceremony and their "love-feasts" not unnaturally gave rise to popular suspicions of the general prevalence of immorality in the Christian communities. The New Testament Epistles and patristic writings contain abundant evidence that these suspicions were not wholly unwarranted. Paul's doctrine of a new life outside the sanctions of the law was doubtless as grievously misinterpreted in many instances as were the ethical precepts of Epicurus. This fact is conceded by able Christian writers. Prof. Lindsay, of Glasgow University, says: "In the Epistles of Paul, we find evidence that many of the Gentile Christians were even disposed to think of the new life of Christianity as one entirely outside the realm of ordinary moral law. This lawless or immoral tendency was strongly checked in the Christian Church, and only gained headway in the sects outside of it; but traces of the tendency are not infrequent."

In rightly estimating the circumstances of the period under consideration, however, we should not forget that there was no authoritative Church at this time,—no generally recognized *consensus* of Christian belief and practice,—but only as yet a number of distinct and unrelated communities, differing in customs and in doctrine, but all claiming the Christian name. Although the influence and authority of the Church at Rome were beginning to be recognized by a considerable portion of these communities, and the orthodox faith was endeavoring to clarify itself from the heresies of the sects, it yet lacked the power to enforce its authority; and, so far as the general public could see or understand, all the churches claiming the name of Christian had an equal right to it. Some of the Gnostic sects were openly given to immoral practices. A system akin to Plato's proposed custom of "complex marriage" prevailed in certain communities claiming the Christian name; and we even have authentic testimony to the fact that a bishop held a view of the obligations of Christian hospitality which involved a practical recognition of this odious system.* Facts of this kind, though only occasionally coming to the surface, would naturally prejudice the people and their rulers against the entire body of Christian believers.

We have already alluded to the popular misconception of the doctrine of the approaching destruction of the world by fire, in connection with the conflagration at Rome, which served as the excuse for the persecutions of Nero. In a like manner, a misunderstanding of the Christian sacrament of the eucharist, conceived symbolically or

actually as the body and blood of Christ, doubtless gave rise to the rumor that children were sacrificed and eaten at the secret evening repasts. It is noteworthy that a similar slanderous accusation has often been the occasion of Christian persecution of the Jews; and this belief still prevails among the ignorant people in Russia, Bulgaria, and the East.*

The Montanists: Their Beliefs and Practices.

Many of the later martyrs were affiliated with the peculiar sect known as Montanists, from one Montanus, their founder, a native of Phrygia. This sect originated about the middle of the second century. Its doctrines were, in some respects, a survival—in others, an exaggeration and distortion—of the early Christian belief. The Montanists were, as nearly as possible, the exact counterparts of the Gnostics, against whose peculiar doctrines they uttered their severest protest. They believed in the continuance of the miraculous gifts said to have been possessed by Jesus and the apostles, in prophecy by supernatural inspiration, in ecstasy and "speaking with tongues," in prolonged fasting and other ascetic observances. In opposition to the growing power of the presbyters and bishops, they taught the doctrine, naturally drawn from the principles of Pharisaic Judaism, of a universal priesthood, in whose ranks they even included women. They saw in the ecstatic phenomena of hysteria the manifestations of a supernatural power. In some respects, the Montanists were prototypes of the modern Quakers, believing their "mediums" or prophets to be the immediate recipients of divine inspiration. They retained the primitive Christian anticipation of the early destruction of the world, and the return of Christ in glory to reign over a regenerated earth. In praying, "Thy kingdom come," they therefore prayed literally, as did Jesus and his disciples, for the end of the world. They exercised fanatical severity in discipline, requiring unmarried women to go veiled, forbidding any to wear ornaments or any save the plainest and simplest clothing. They regarded marriage as merely a concession to the sensual nature of man, and forbade second marriages as adultery. They taught the impossibility of a second repentance, and the eternal punishment of the unregenerate. Tertullian, one of their chief representatives, held that there were seven mortal sins, which, if committed after baptism, were unpardonable, and doomed the sinner to eternal perdition.

These fanatical people, with their hysterical visions and ecstasies, their secret assemblies and social exclusiveness, their rigid asceticism and irrational millennialism, were regarded by the populace very much as witches and professors of the "black art" were looked upon during the prevalence of the witchcraft delusion in Europe and America. The educated public sentiment of the time abhorred the professors of magic and sorcery; and, while not sufficiently comprehending the method of science to regard alleged supernatural phenomena as the result of fraud, delusion, or abnormal physical and nervous conditions, they assigned to them a significance and an origin wholly evil, and regarded their practitioners as worthy of condign punishment.

The Christian persecutions, therefore, were a natural consequence of ignorance, credulity, and superstition on both sides. While the Christians often suffered from unjust accusations, and, in

the persons of their leaders, probably represented a higher standard of morality than that which generally prevailed in corresponding social circles in Pagan society, on the other hand, individuals, and even entire congregations, were open to just charges of immorality and gross superstition. It is hardly to be wondered at that indignation, justly aroused against a few, should often expend itself upon those who were blameless. The new doctrine, but little understood, was sometimes condemned, in the persons of its most worthy defenders, for evils which appeared in the lives of some of its professors, even as free thought and rational religion in our own day often suffer unmerited odium, owing to the unworthy lives of some of their advocates.

Development of Christian Doctrine: Incarnation and Atonement.

During this period, two leading doctrines of the Christian faith took form, and finally became recognized as fundamental to the Christian system. These were the doctrines of the divine incarnation and atonement for sin by an expiatory sacrifice, involving the shedding of blood. The latter, prefigured in the ancient Hebrew faith, was no less also a doctrine of the popular Pagan religion. Personal mutilation, the sacrifice of animals, and even at times of human beings, characterized a certain phase in the development of nearly all the early religions of the world; and, accompanying these rites, we find the belief in their placating or atoning efficacy. One of these rites, often celebrated at this period, was the *taurobolium*, or *criobolium*, a kind of baptism in the blood of a sacrificed bull or ram. In the performance of this rite, the worshipper stood naked beneath a perforated platform, and was drenched from head to foot in the blood of the slaughtered animal. This horrible experience was thought to be a certain ransom from all sin, and a pledge of happiness in the life to come. As the worshipper, reeking with the deluge of blood, passed out through the crowd, the people pressed around him to win some share, even by a touch of the atoning blood, in his salvation from the consequences of sin. The doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ appropriately took form during the sanguinary period of the martyrs; and Origen even attributes a saving efficacy to the blood of the persecuted followers of the Nazarene, of a like character to that claimed for the blood of Christ.

The doctrine of the incarnation was never a Jewish belief, and was absorbed by Christianity directly from heathenism. "We have, then," says Prof. Allen, "in the mind of Paganism at this epoch, the two characteristic religious ideas of the age—incarnation and expiatory sacrifice—distinctly conceived and plainly developed. . . . The important thing to notice of them is that they are the ideas of that age. They are not peculiar to Christianity: it would be truer to say that, in origin and essence, they are rather Pagan than Christian. That they had a powerful effect in shaping the Christian belief there can be no doubt. At least, they predisposed the mind of the Roman world to accept that belief so broadly and so easily as it did."*

Justin Martyr was one of the earliest of the Christian Fathers to place especial emphasis upon the doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ. He also recognized the likeness of the Christian ceremony of the eucharist to certain heathen rites. In his First Apology, he says: "Of the food called by us Eucharist, no one is allowed to partake but him who believes the truth of our doc-

*"The Christianity which the emperors aimed at repressing was," says Matthew Arnold, "in their conception of it, something philosophically contemptible, politically subversive, and morally abominable. As men, they sincerely regarded it much as well-conditioned people among us regard Mormonism; as rulers, they regarded it much as liberal statesmen with us regard the Jesuits."—*Essay on Marcus Aurelius*.

* *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iii. By Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff.

* *Christian History*, vol. i. "The Mind of Paganism."

trines, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the forgiveness of sins and to regeneration, and who so lives as Christ has directed. For we do not receive them as ordinary food or ordinary drink; but as, by the word of God, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, was made flesh, . . . so also the food which was blessed by the prayer of the Word which proceeded from him . . . is, we are taught, both the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. . . . The same thing in the mysteries of Mithra, also, the evil demons initiated and caused to be done; for bread and a cup of water are placed in the mystic rites for one who is to be initiated, with the addition of certain words, as you know or may learn." In his dialogue with the Jew, Trypho, he adduces many alleged symbols of the blood of Christ from the Hebrew writings and ceremonials, arguing particularly from the expression, "washing his robe in the blood of the grape," which he connects with Jesus' Oriental and symbolical statement, "This is my blood," that Jesus could have had no human parentage, but was in fact the son of that God who made the grape and the vine.

The Christianity of this period, as well as the apostolic age, was deeply tainted with irrational superstitions. Justin Martyr was a firm believer in the active influence of demons in human affairs. Athenagoras, whom Dr. Jackson alleges to have been "the superior of all in his own age, in literary merit and broad philosophical culture," and who wrote "the best defence of the Christians of his age,"* alludes, as to an uncontradicted fact, to "the angels who have fallen from heaven and haunt the air and the earth, and are no longer able to rise to heavenly things, and the souls of giants who are the demons who wander about the world." Elsewhere, in the tone of the Persian dualism, he speaks of "the Prince of Matter, who exercises a control and management contrary to the good that is in God."

From the demonism and puerile superstition of the Christian Fathers, mingled though it is with powerful arguments for monotheism and against idolatry, and with injunctions for a higher purity of thought and life, we and the rational world will henceforth turn to the lofty ethics, the pure spirituality, the refined culture and noble life of Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic emperor, as to a well of refreshment after passing through a parched and barren desert. Surely, the closer we approach to the source of that religion under the influence of which we have been reared and nurtured, the more clearly do we perceive it to be no unique or infallible system of thought and belief, but rather of like texture and character with all the other religions of the world. It is divine as they are divine,—as the world and all things therein are divine,—and no otherwise. It is human as they are human, fallible as they are fallible. It arose by a natural process of evolution out of pre-existing systems, to complete the overthrow of the prevailing though effete polytheistic *cultus*, and to supplement the narrowness and partialism of the decaying ethnic religions by the principles of universalism and human brotherhood. In the presence of its errors and its superstitions, and equally of the good that is in it, our conceit of Christian infallibility drops away, from very shame. We can doubt no longer that in every land and every faith may be traced, together with much human imperfection, the working of the Power Eternal that brings beauty from ashes, order from chaos, a nobler humanity from the conflicts of the ages, and in the future will evolve from the turmoil and contradictions of our present social order a new and yet diviner manhood.

* *Christian Literature Primers.*

In looking back, finally, over the period now under discussion, we cannot doubt that the sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs were powerfully instrumental in promoting and establishing the new religion. This, however, is a phenomenon not peculiar to any single form of faith. So has it always been since the world began. That cause, that opinion, for which people willingly give their lives, is ever on the road to triumph.

"The head that once was bowed to earth
Up in the heavens now towers,
And the martyr of a former day
Becomes the saint of ours.
While he who now, denounced and scorned,
Speaks boldly for the right,
Shall in the glorious future shine
A prophet, crowned with light.

"The Man rejected and despised
Is worshipped and adored,
The felon scorned and crucified
Becomes a glorious God;
And, bright with gold, that blood-stained cross,
The emblem once of shame,
Raised high above all other signs,
Exalts his blessed name.
And thus the truth,—the hated truth,—
Each day still mightier grown,
Doth move the nations by its power,
And make the world its own."

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. CONWAY UPON ENGLAND.

Editors of The Index:—

To misrepresent English social life is a characteristic of many American writers, the last of whom is Mr. Conway through Theodore Stanton in *The Index* of June 11. Had not Mr. Conway resided among us, been greatly respected by us, and been followed by the Gladstonian party, I could account for his recent asperity; but, considering the whole of his following in England are Liberals and Radicals, sworn supporters of Mr. Gladstone, I cannot conceive why he should thus asperse his friends through their cause by announcing the new electorate is "illiterate and groggy, and the leader of the cause an unconscious humbug."

First, to those who are apt to listen to international bandying and to believe that the new electorate is both illiterate and groggy, I refer to Charles Dickens, whose works are the biographical focus through which may be viewed the whole of our national character and existence. What Dickens saw and wrote about the matter, Mr. Gladstone also sees; namely, the more their responsibility is increased, the more dignified and self-respectful they become. Adam Bede may not elect diplomatists and the *elite*; but Adam Bede will elect men of principle whose conduct is guided like his own, through religion and patriotism.

If a groggy element has ever been imparted into the English electorate, it was by Lord Beaconsfield, when he gave the franchise to the cities and the boroughs without including the peasantry. If drunkenness is rife anywhere in England, it is in the cities, where men have enjoyed the vote for many years, and who have not as yet upset the Constitution. Statistics prove that the convictions for drunkenness in the country are quite nominal in comparison to what they are in the cities; and yet the peasant, mostly the parent of the townsman, was disqualified to have a vote. That disqualification, thanks to Mr. Gladstone, has been removed. By its removal, a powerful conservative break is likely to be added to the Constitution. If the English peasant is not sober, industrious, and conservative, he decidedly, like Esau, has sold his birthright. The denial of his rights by Lord Salisbury may influence him in the coming elections to vote for the Gladstonian party; but I question whether his old friends, the clergy and the aristocracy, who are ever near him, will not persuade him to vote conservative. Under these our actual circumstances, and instead of an appeal to the country being fraught with perils we have never dreamed of, we anticipate our future House of Commons will have sent to it men who have not the misfortune to be born peers, or sons of peers, but who have the felicity to be endowed with governing powers like Chatham and Burke, and whose wisdom in like man-

ner will pilot the empire into safe harbors far away from ignominy and ruin. Instead of England becoming a jelly-fish democracy through Mr. Gladstone's recent extension of the franchise, it will become England alive at last to her true interests, the interests of the people, and not of an aristocratic minority whose existence until now has been based upon war and the denial of man's natural rights. Because an anomaly, a sham, a fraud, is about to be annihilated, I do not think we need put ourselves in Mr. Conway's sackcloth and ashes. Because the horizon is clearing, because man's responsibility is widened and his individuality developed, which means a nation strengthened and buttressed tenfold, I do not think we should view the future of England in Mr. Conway's inverse order. Because Mr. Conway chooses to say Mr. Gladstone is too old to govern, I do not think the world forgets how, in his old age, he has passed two of the wisest and most powerful measures ever passed by an Englishman,—the Irish Land Act and the Extension of the Franchise. Moreover, it is not general that an unconscious humbug holds his own, especially over the English, as Mr. Gladstone has done for more than half a century. It is not general for an unconscious humbug to bestow benefits upon his race. It is not general for an unconscious humbug to refrain from taking his state pension, especially if he is poor. Neither is it general for an unconscious humbug to be free from vanity, to refuse a peerage, to have a proud monarch and a haughty Cecil entreating him to forfeit the liberties of the House of Commons, which he would have done, had he guaranteed to offer no opposition to their George Bute-like policy, which lost us America.

WILLIAM LAW.

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BOOK NOTICES.

THE COMING CREED OF THE WORLD. Is there not a Faith more Sublime and Blissful than Christianity? A Voice crying in the Wilderness. By Frederick Gerhard. Philadelphia: W. H. Thomas, 404 Arch Street. 1884. pp. 526. Price \$2.00.

Mr. Gerhard's creed, which he thinks is "the coming creed of the world," is belief in one God, the author and ruler of all things, and in religion as the feeling of dependence upon this Being, the sense of duty and obedience to and love of him, and, which is next in importance, love of man. Everything that occurs in the universe is according to law. Reason is the highest gift of God to man. The revelations in nature and in the human conscience are the only divine revelations. Man is immortal, and will improve after death, until he "has reached perfection, and has joined the Great Spirit of the world, and has become one with it." The author claims that Christianity is an inconsistent and pernicious system,—although Jesus was a teacher of truth,—and that the Christian clergy are the foes of human progress. Considerable space is given to a statement of the errors of the Bible, absurdities of the Christian theology, and the crimes and cruelties of Christian persecutors.

The theory of evolution, as taught by Darwin and others, is mere conjecture, or hardly more. Atheism, agnosticism, materialism, and pantheism are all wrong as to philosophy and bad in tendency. Voltaire is referred to as an atheist, as one who, "during his whole life, was not able to recognize God," yet, "when the end approached, threw himself upon God's great fatherly care, and breathed his last upon it, in the belief in him, the eternal God."

Of modern Spiritualism, our author is doubtful; but in somnambulism dreams, presentiments, etc., he finds abundant proofs of the mind's independence of the body and of the immortality, not of the soul, but of the *spirit*. "The activity of the soul is dependent on the sensual organs; and, as these organs die with the body, the soul also must lose its activity with them, and cannot be immortal. It is different with the spirit, which does not depend upon the organs of the body; for a man may be deprived of the use of his senses, yet he will be able to *think*,—that is to say, be spiritually active." The last chapter is devoted to marriage and parentage, children and their education, rights and duties, and morality in general. It contains many good though commonplace thoughts. The author is opposed to prohibitory laws; for, he says, "facts do not prove that immoderate drinking is the cause of crime." He is opposed to Sunday laws,

to capital punishment, and "what is called the emancipation of woman," who, he thinks, should be "the fixed point in the continual motion of the world."

The work, although marked by evident sincerity and earnestness, cannot fairly be regarded as any new addition to religious criticism or to religious thought. It is mainly a repetition of what has been said and resaid, published and republished, thousands of times. All that is of any value in the volume in regard to natural religion is far better stated in the first part of Paine's *Age of Reason*. The author has but scant acquaintance with the best Biblical criticism of the past quarter of a century, or with the methods of our greatest thinkers in dealing with the religious books and beliefs of the past and the religious problems of the present. While the work is commonplace in thought and style, the many theories, opinions, and criticisms, wise or otherwise, brought together under the title of *The Coming Creed of the World*, form an ensemble that is decidedly unique.

B. F. U.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DISENCHANTMENT. By Edgar Everson Saltus. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 223. Price \$1.25.

The author of this volume has gleaned from ancient and modern literature numerous passages expressing discontent and affirming the worthlessness of life, due either to melancholy moods, to which genius is peculiarly subject, or to a soured nature and a pessimistic disposition, such as may arise from repeated failures and disappointments in life, vanity, and inappreciation,—imagined or real,—or excesses, such as not only impair the vitality, but taint and distort the mind, or to a philosophy of asceticism or indulgence, each of which leads to the other, and both in the long run to the same results. The second chapter is devoted to the life and philosophy of Schopenhauer, the "high priest of pessimism." "His grandmother," we are told, "lost her reason at the death of her husband,—a circumstance as unusual then as in more recent years; his two uncles passed their melancholy lives on the frontiers of insanity; and his father enjoyed a reputation for eccentricity which his end fully justified." It is not strange that the son, with all his intellectual keenness, was eccentric in conduct and thought. The world will be slow to accept his view that life is an evil *per se*, that chaos is better, and that the extinction of the race preferably by asceticism or absolute chastity, is of all things the most desirable.

And that part of Hartmann's philosophy set forth by Mr. Saltus, that the interest of the Unconscious is opposed to man's; that it is to the advantage of the former that man should live; and that, in furtherance of its aims, it has surrounded man with such illusions as are capable of making him believe life is worth living, when in fact it is not; and that the extinction of life will be brought about, if not sooner by a gigantic suicide, in accordance with a common resolution executed simultaneously by all the inhabitants of earth, at least by the continual weakening of passion with the development of consciousness, and the consequent decline and decay of humanity. Another pessimistic supposition credited to Renan is that, with the advance of science, some one may yet discover a force capable of blowing this globe into fragments, and which, if successfully used, would put an end to the race. Mr. Saltus thinks "the world is not yet ripe for a supreme quietus, and, in the mean time, the worth of life may still be questioned." He is of the opinion that, speaking broadly, "life may be said to be always valuable to the obtuse, often valueless to the sensitive; while to him who commiserates with all mankind, and sympathizes with everything that is, life never appears otherwise than as an immense and terrible affliction." Is this concluding sentence sustained by what is known of the lives of the best men and women, the most affectionate, benevolent, philanthropic, whose work and pleasure have consisted largely in alleviating distress and promoting the well-being of others?

B. F. U.

THE JOURNALS OF MAJOR-GEN. C. G. GORDON, C.B., AT KARTOUM. Printed from the Original Manuscripts. Introduction and Notes by A. Egmont Hake, author of *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, etc. With Portraits, Two Maps, and Thirty Illustrations after Sketches by Gen. Gordon. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 479. Price \$2.00.

These interesting journals afford abundant evidence that Gen. Gordon possessed many of the qual-

ities of a hero. His courage, his unselfish spirit, his honesty and sincerity of purpose are beyond question. At Kartoum, he was not greatly concerned about his own personal safety. He thought of the fate of the helpless people who surrounded him. To the cause in which he was enlisted, he was thoroughly devoted. With his sensitive conscience, he felt constrained to act according to his ideas of right and duty, even though he disregarded in some respects the policy of the government that sent him on his mission. He had the power of impressing himself profoundly upon men of different races, languages, and religions, and of making them yield voluntary obedience to his will. But these journals, which clearly reveal the varying phases of his personal feelings, prove that he was impulsive and petulant; that his judgment was defective, as shown, indeed, in the miscalculated venture upon which he staked his life; that he was egotistic, passionate, and erratic,—which explains in part at least his success in winning the confidence of a semi-civilized people,—and at times a levity and a trifling disposition as exhibited in his wearisome small talk quite inconsistent with the character of the ideal hero. His journals show an intense self-consciousness manifested in constant self-criticism or self-condemnation. He was at times full of suspicions, and even imagined that Gladstone, who could feel only devout admiration for such a man, actually desired his death. He was subject to religious hallucinations; and they influenced his actions, impaired his judgment, and contributed to the disasters in the Soudan. The English government should never, in any way, have been identified with Gen. Gordon's enterprises; nor should the operations in Egypt have been made dependent upon his romantic movements, which led unhappily to the sacrifice of many brave men whose valor and endurance cannot redeem from disaster and disgrace the ill-starred expedition which resulted in Gordon's death and the failure of his schemes.

B. F. U.

THE Catholic World for July is a very readable number. In "A New England Pilgrimage," Edith W. Cook tells of her experiences among the mountains of Northern New Hampshire. Monsignor Seton, D.D., has an article on "The Origin of Historical Societies." A bright paper entitled "American Boarding House Sketches" is from the posthumous writings of the late Lady Blanche Murphy. John Ball, in temperance article entitled "A Revelation of the Census," says: "Since *Helpers' Impending Crisis*, no unprofessional writer has shown a greater power of massing facts and hurling them with Grant-like force on the enemy than Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson. They first repel, then attract, then astound the reader; for, the first repugnance to statistics overcome, the story they tell amazes by its revelations, and arouses the moral sense to aggressiveness by its lessons." Thomas Ewing Steele gives brilliant prophecies of "The Future of French Canada." R. H. Clarke, LL.D., writes on "Freedom of Worship in Practice." John Augustus O'Shea has an interesting paper on the apparently uninteresting subject of "The Nosology of Regicides." It is rather amusing, from a liberal thinker's point of view, to read the estimate of "Victor Hugo and his Work," given here from a really generous Catholic writer, P. F. de Gournay. Other articles are: an attack from the Catholic stand-point on our public school system, entitled "Two Education Reports"; "Among the Insects in a Southern City," by T. F. Galway; and "A Farming Experiment in West Virginia." Among the "New Publications" reviewed, we note *The Revision of the Anglican Version of the Hebrew and Chaldee Books of Holy Scripture*; *Nature and Thought*, by St. George Mivart; *The Philosophy of Disenchantment*; *The Morals of Christ*; and *Essays and Speeches of Jeremiah S. Black*.

"CONCERNING THE SUPPRESSED BOOK" is the title of the first article by the editor in the August number of the *Popular Science Monthly* which examines the Spencer-Harrison correspondence, that ended in destroying the book those gentlemen had jointly produced. It is shown that the charge of "piracy" is groundless, and that Harrison, instead of being robbed by the American publishers, was in fact protected by them, and his interests as substantially cared for as they would have been under an international copyright law. An article of great interest is "Genius and Insanity," by Mr. James Sully. "The Future of National Banking" is the subject of an article by Mr.

E. R. Leland, of Wall Street, who discusses some of the more important methods that have been proposed as substitutes for our present system now passing away with the decrease of the national debt. Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi gives an account of "An Experiment in Primary Education," made by herself on her own child, in which the study of things was made to take the place of the study of words, with some decidedly novel and striking results. Sir John Lubbock's illustrated articles "On Leaves," begun in July, is completed in this number. The speeches of Prof. Huxley and the Prince of Wales, at the presentation of the Darwin statue to the British Museum, are given, together with several interesting articles not here noticed. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

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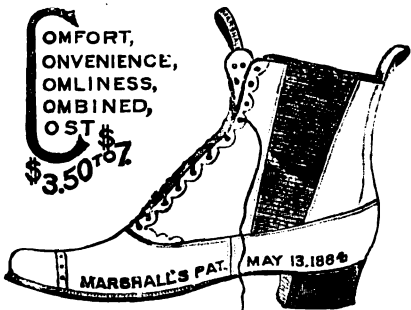
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, the distinguished Hebrew philanthropist, who died at Ramsgate July 28, was born in London, Oct. 24, 1784. A long and useful life was his.

SAYS the *Literary Monthly* of Hamilton College: "When the class of '85 entered college, fourteen of its members were looking toward the ministerial profession. Now, upon the eve of graduation, only three can be found who are certain of entering the ministry. This is probably a smaller proportion than ever known in the history of the college."

SAYS the *Nonconformist*, "If the weak-kneed Liberals, most of them rich men, who, by their desertion of Mr. Gladstone, promoted Mr. Bradlaugh to martyrdom, had spent half their fortunes upon propagating secularism, they could not possibly have given it so much aid as by the singular method they have chosen for showing their attachment to Christianity."

MRS. HESTER M. POOLE writes in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*: "Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of New York, well known for her many charities, has a new scheme in progress. It is to organize traveling bands of singers of religious music, to give concerts in halls and public places, in order to awaken religious sentiments. These companies are to be trained and fully equipped for that purpose."

THE pope, in his latest allocution, condemns the Italian government for prohibiting the public procession of the sacrament to the sick,—a prohibition made in the interest of the public health, at a time when cholera is greatly feared. The government is also condemned for permitting the recent anti-clerical congress in Rome. The old gentleman seems to be dissatisfied generally, and there is nothing that the secular government of Italy is likely to do that will receive his approval.

SURGEON sees at this time more unbelief among dissenters than in the Episcopal Church. "In

fact, non-conformity in certain quarters is eaten through and through with a covert Unitarianism, less tolerable than Unitarianism itself. So frequently are the fundamental doctrines of the gospel assailed that it becomes needful before you cross the threshold of many a chapel to ask the question: 'Shall I hear the gospel here to-day, or shall I come out hardly knowing whether the Bible is inspired or not? Shall I not be made to doubt the atonement, the work of the Holy Ghost, the immortality of the soul, the punishment of the wicked, or the deity of Christ?'"

THE grief of the American people over the death of the leader of their armies is as genuine as it is general; but one cannot help noticing a disposition on the part of some to make profit out of the national sorrow by unseemly displays, designed rather to advertise their wares than to express their feelings, and which serve to reveal the greed rather than the grief of their owners. But, if such mourning decorations are in bad taste,—to speak mildly,—what shall be said of such despatches as that published last week in some of the papers, speaking of the "pique" of Saratoga because the body of Gen. Grant was not to be taken there, and a despatch, in one of the papers at least, that, "if Gen. Grant were placed on view at Saratoga, it would bring much additional business to the hotels?"

THE Springfield *Republican* wants to know what disposition will now be made of Rev. J. P. Newman, who, it says, "is of a tender and attaching nature; and, when his tendrils are torn rudely off from one support, it will be necessary to provide him another. For some time, he has adorned—oh, so tastefully!—the sketches of the illustrated papers and the long letters of special correspondents. The public eye has been unable to contemplate the pathetic figure of the dying soldier for any length of time without catching a glimpse of the parson on the piazza or in the pines. The public, listening painfully for the faint utterances of the great man, or reading those admirable little notes, sometimes playful for his friends' sake, often serious and noble for his country's sake, has been sure to hear and read beside them the pious platitudes of Newman. The public has understood, in a feeble and general way, that Dr. Newman had Grant's spiritual interests in charge, and could be trusted to pray for him in case he should forget it, and to use his professional acquaintance with celestial procedure in his behalf. Dr. Newman's prayers have even been telegraphed to us, when they were unusually effective. . . . And, now, is there any way of getting quite rid of this too frequent person? He has, no doubt, some oak in view that he may cling to and obscure as much as possible."

TWO OR three weeks ago, some young men who were playing a game of cricket in a town in the south of England were set upon and badly beaten, not at their innocent game, but with fists and clubs, by a large number of their townsmen, who had assembled for the purpose of stopping "the desecration of the Sabbath." The Boston *Herald* pertinently observes: "It would be a fine question

of casuistry which is the worse offence, fighting on the Sabbath or playing cricket on the Sabbath. But the incident is illustrative of that English spirit of intolerance which we inherit in a large measure from our ancestors. It is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon mind that, in order to do one's duty, one should not only do right himself, but forcibly prevent his neighbor from doing what he (the thinker) considers to be wrong. This, we say, is a race characteristic, and shows itself in the social affairs and legislative actions both of this country and of England. Other races view these matters from an entirely different standpoint; for, with the Germanic and Latin people, attempts at interference are rarely, if ever, made, so long as the action disapproved of does not directly or personally affect the happiness of others; that is to say, individual freedom of action—and this, perhaps, is the greatest freedom a man can enjoy—is accorded to him in a much greater measure on the continent of Europe, under monarchical governments, than under the free political systems of England and the United States."

AN examination by a committee composed of Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and Messrs. Morley and Reid, of the evidence upon which was based the statement respecting criminal vice in London, has satisfied the committee "that, on the whole, the statements of the *Pall Mall Gazette* are substantially true." It is not strange that there is a crusade rapidly extending throughout England for the protection of young girls from the vice of men who use their wealth and position to corrupt and ruin the fair daughters of the English poor. A petition presented by the Salvation Army to the House of Commons July 30, urging the immediate passage of the criminal act amendment, bore five hundred thousand signatures, and was a mile and a half long. The bill, the passage of which is thus urged, was drawn about three years ago. It put the age below which a girl cannot legally barter away her honor at sixteen; but, by some process, which is unexplained, it lost a year in reaching the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone has written a letter in favor of making the protected age eighteen years, and the pressure upon Parliament for immediate legislation on this grave subject is too strong to be resisted. Even those who would gladly have suppressed the paper which contained the ghastly disclosures will be compelled now, by an aroused public sentiment, to favor the protection of young girls from those who would make them the prey of their foul appetites. The people will not see in these recent disclosures any social reasons why the aristocracy of England should be the ruling class; and, possibly, some of those who belong to this class may be led to reflect on the resemblance of the state of society in London, as shown by these revelations, to that which, in France, preceded the Revolution that swept the aristocracy of that day from the land. But the English people are less mercurial than the French, and will probably accomplish the same results by less violent methods.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

We wrote last week of the perplexing problem, which is newly interesting thinking men and women, how to effect a happier social order. What can be done, so that at least all honest and industrious people can have an equitable share in the desirable things of life? The problem of crime comes, indeed, alongside of this question, and complicates the solution of it. But, on the other hand, were exact justice to be done in respect to possessions and opportunities to all honest members of society, crime would doubtless be diminished, and the problem of dealing with it much simplified.

We sympathize fully with the hope of those persons who look for a new social order in which there shall be peace and plenty for all, and the wrongs and miseries that have accumulated through centuries of selfish aggrandizement and injustice shall be righted. Unless modern civilization can find a remedy for pauperism, stay the evils which its own aggressive ambitions have nourished, and discover a way for more nearly equalizing, not necessarily the lot nor the wealth, but the opportunities of mankind for happiness, enlightenment, and progress, then we may say that modern civilization is a confessed failure; and, like civilizations before it, it may be doomed to perish, surfeited to death by its own luxuriant successes, which no moral principle has mastered and guided to noble and permanent uses. That there is a danger here which stares the proud and complacent nineteenth century in the face, it were folly to be so optimistic as to refuse to see; but it were worse than folly to be so pessimistic as to despair of finding a remedy.

In regard, however, to any social reconstruction that is to come or which may be rationally aimed at, there are two things which have proved so essential to human progress that they may be considered as permanent elements of society itself, not to be put aside by any socialistic theories. The first of these elements is the principle of *competition*, so far as it conduces to the development of individual faculty and the strengthening of that basic quality of character, *self-reliance*. The principle of competition, it is true, is the root of some of the worst evils of modern society. Unbalanced by the law of justice or by feelings of sympathy, it has fostered those forms of selfish, grasping aggrandizement in property and power under which the weaker members of society groan, heavily burdened. Competition, swayed only by selfish passion,—competition which not merely means a noble ambition in one's self to rise, but an ignoble desire and effort to push others down that one may keep above them without having to rise so high,—such competition is the diabolism of human society. But competition, so far as it means a laudable effort to be independent, and offers stimulus for that self-exertion which achieves independence, is a force that lies so near to the motive power of human progress that philanthropy may well hesitate to tamper with its sources.

The conditions of human society, in truth, differ from those of brute life largely in the fact that man has the faculty of ameliorating his own lot and the spur to exercise the faculty. Upon man himself has thus been placed, to a large extent, the responsibility of his own destiny; and to this spur to individual exertion must be chiefly credited the intellectual and material advance of mankind. Modern civilization especially is thoroughly infused with this principle. It is the parent of the enormous industrial progress of the later centuries, and has produced that accumulation of material wealth, which, if rightly directed, is quite as important a condition of intellectual and moral prog-

ress as it is of physical culture and comfort. It would be a great disaster to the human race at large, were individuals to know that they would be cared for whether they put forth any exertions themselves or not. And no theory of socialism will, in our opinion, ever prove anything but failure, which does not in some way preserve the spur to individual endeavor and honest industry which the principle of competition supplies. The problem for social reformers to solve is to show how this valuable part of the principle of competition can be combined with the principle of co-operation.

The other thing that has proved itself so essential to human progress that no new theories of social reconstruction can safely set it aside is the integrity of the family relation. Some of the social theorists openly proclaim war upon the single family as the unit of society. They would abandon special family interests, and combine a company of like-minded persons in a family by themselves without regard to ties of blood and marriage. Possibly, such an absorption of families into a family might be an economical arrangement, and conduce to material prosperity. But economy and material prosperity are not the ends of human society. They do not cover the highest objects of human life. The affections and the moral nature have their place, and a supreme place, when the objects of human existence are considered in any large way. And experience and social philosophy would agree in the conclusion that the affectional and moral interests of mankind could not be so well secured in any family arrangement which could be artificially devised as they are secured in the family life which natural social evolution has devised in the unitary marriage. Upon this the history of the human race, on the principle of seeking that which is the most favorable to social stability and happiness, has put the seal of its authoritative approval. Any socialistic theories which are to find favor with the coming generations of humanity must then, we believe, leave the integrity of the family untouched. There may, it is true, be a great deal of arrant selfishness in building up and pushing and maintaining the interests of a family, as there is in excessive exertions for individual aggrandizement. But to strike down the family institution because of this evil is to cut down a tree, sound in root and trunk, for the sake of getting rid of a rotten branch. The problem is, again, to combine the integrity of the single family with the neighborly co-operation of families in all rational aims and enterprises for promoting their common welfare.

And if, for the best good of society, the integrity of the family is to remain untouched, and the stimulus to individual endeavor which inheres in the principle of competition is to be conserved, it does not appear as if any very revolutionary methods or ideas are to have play in the introduction of a higher and happier social order. After all, is not the one thing needed a new baptism of human society into the spirit of the old commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," or a revival in the human heart of the ancient and well-nigh universal sentiment of the Golden Rule? Mankind for ages and in all the great systems of religion have repeated this rule of life. With their hearts and with their understandings, they have assented to its truth. Yet how rarely has it been lived! No nation has ever lived by it, no community of any considerable influence has ever lived by it. Individuals here and there may have made it the guide of their conduct; but how far below its high demands falls the action, or even the effort, of any average community, even in the most enlightened sections of Christendom!

We said above that no revolutionary methods or ideas seem to be required to bring in a better social order. But this saying, perhaps, needs modification. It might be more correct to say that no new revolutionary ideas and methods are needed; for if people, the people of Christendom, were at once to begin to act upon the principle of the Golden Rule,—were, from this day forward, really to put into practice, in all their social relations, the old commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself,"—an actual revolution would be produced in human society, such as the world has never before seen. The Golden Rule means exact rectitude and equity between man and man in their social relations. Let that commandment be kept, and justice, plenty, and peace would encompass the earth. It is an old-fashioned way; but is there any other way of accomplishing the result than by impressing this law, through continued iteration and reiteration, upon the moral nature of man, until it becomes an instinct of action? Without this, neither legislation nor new social philosophies and experiments, however needful in their place, will avail.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CHANCES OF UNITARIANISM.

The nineteenth century is an age of eclecticism. Politics, art, and religion have agreed to abandon their ultra claims, and worship in the temple of expediency. And yet the history of the last ninety years has frequently confirmed the experience of earlier times, that compromise parties rise to become more obnoxious than the partisans of either extreme,—a result not easy to avoid, if the mediator undertakes to harmonize the discords of irreconcilable principles. The attempt to reconcile the Republic and the Bourbons led to a relapse into military despotism. Abdul Aziz exasperated the Ulemmas without conciliating the party of reform. The sordid arithmetic of the high license plan satisfies neither the brewers nor the teetotalers.

But, even with the best possible motives, compromise parties may fail to master the difficulties of their task. Our liberal Unitarians, men like Strauss and Theodore Parker, who honestly undertook to build a temple of truth on the ruins of Christian theism, have certainly done their best with the available materials. They worked the quarries of science and ethics with equal success; and, if the basis of their enterprise had been worthy of the superstructure, their edifice might have become a sanctuary for the truth-seekers of all churches and sects. Unitarians have promoted knowledge for its own sake, and disdained to "patronize and muzzle" its exponents. Unitarians have encouraged philanthropy for that noblest purpose of teaching the poor the art of self-help. Unitarians almost alone have practised charity without demanding in return a charitable connivance at the juggles of pious charlatanism. Unitarianism has identified its cause with the promotion of earthly happiness, of secular education, and the propaganda of social and political liberty: it has sent forth a series of enthusiastic reformers into a world thirsting for reform; but all its claims to success have been outweighed by an utter want of union and consistency.

Yet that deficiency is but the natural outcome of a hopeless enterprise. The cause of reform and the promotion of human happiness might prosper in a community of atheists. They might be reconciled with the absolution of a benevolent despot, and even with military tyranny; but they are wholly incompatible with conformity to that system of Nature-hating fanaticism and depreciation of earthly welfare embodied in the doctrines of

the New Testament. Minerva disdains to prostitute her divinity to the purposes of Hindu pessimism. The steeds of the Sun refuse to labor in the yoke of Buddha Sakyamuni. Genius, fettered by the associations of childhood and the pledges of heedless youth, will sooner or later break those bonds, and rebel against the thralldom of the hideous superstition that has deluged this world with blood, turned the garden spots of earth into dreary deserts, and arrested the progress of mankind for fifteen hundred years. For the favorites of Nature have never despised her blessings. They have never insulted her bounty by rejecting her gifts: they have been true children of their mother Earth, and sympathized with all the earthly loves and hopes of their brethren, ever striving to realize those hopes on this side of the grave and regain our lost terrestrial paradise.

What claim to the homage of such men has the fanatic who has poisoned the life-blood of mankind with the virus of pessimism? Why should the party of progress linger in a moral desert? Shall we cultivate the gardens of earth in the name of him who enjoined the renunciation of that earth as the first condition of salvation? Shall we strengthen the bonds of the natural affections by the doctrine of natural depravity and the threat which rejects the disciple who fails to hate his father and his mother, his brothers and his playmates,—“yea, and his own life”? Can we hope to reach the goals of civilization by following a teacher too busy with the mysteries of cloud-cuckoo-town to waste one word on such worldly concerns as the abolition of slavery, the promotion of science, of education, of earth-redeeming forest culture, or physical regeneration,—a moralist who repeatedly denounced labor and industry as worldly vanities, and inveighed even against the common forethought for the needs of the next day? Shall we face the demon of intemperance with the exorcism of him who turned water into wine, and informed his disciples that men cannot be defiled by things that enter their mouths; in other words, that the health of the body is of too little importance to deserve a serious thought?

The attempt to reconcile such doctrines with the teachings of science has produced its unavoidable harvest of discord,—of discord and its practical result, disintegration. Hypocrites, rite-mongers, and self-stultifiers will gravitate toward fraternities more inclined to appreciate their peculiar talents. Men who decline to include reason among the “blessings to be sacrificed for the love of Jesus” will drift in the opposite direction. They may drift into materialism, and hold with Henry Thoreau that “one world at a time is enough.” If men of a gnostic turn, they will decide the choice between God and the Galilean, and stand to their convictions, regardless of consequences.

We may continue to enjoy the distinctive privilege of producing scores of such men, but not without the distinctively Christian privilege of losing them as soon as their eyes get opened to the real significance of our test dogmas. The living will not be chained to the dead. *Sic vos, non vobis*, will continue to be the reward of our painstaking colleges, cultivating philosophy and natural science—in the name of the Galilean Buddhist. We may continue to furnish our infidel opponents a desirable quota of eloquent free thinkers. We may continue to furnish our orthodox opponents a not less welcome contingent of accomplished Jesuits. But, if we should ever get tired of letting others reap the reward of our labors, we have to decide the alternative of Giordano Bruno,—we have to choose between ghostland and earth. If we would share the advantages of dogmatical conformity, we ought to disarm suspicion by a pilgrimage to Ox-

ford, and a three weeks' penance in the woodshed of the Rev. Tollemach-Tollemach; we ought to sanctify our chapel by the addition of three steeples, and, above all, we ought to change our misleading name.

If, on the other hand, we should prefer to deserve that name, we should thoroughly purify our rites as well as our tenets from every suspicion of Jesuitism. The worshippers of Nature's god must cease to turn their faces toward Galilee.

We know our compromise friends and their ready-made answer: “The mission of Unitarianism is not destructive, but constructive.” Just so. And, if we ever hope to fulfil that mission, the best beginning would be a pledge to abstain for the next twenty five years from every allusion to that rehash of Buddhistic chimeras called the New Testament. Its author, whether a conscious or unconscious imitator, was an apostle of Anti-naturalism. In his name, no honest man can construct anything but La Trappes.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

OCCIDENTAL BUDDHISM.

The necessity of defending the dogma of sole inspiration has compelled Christian writers to deny the influence of Buddhism on our western faith or on the shaping of Jewish thought as expressed by Jesus. This point will be yielded as the exclusive claim to inspiration is yielded. Placed in the line of evolution, as a natural result, the necessity follows to trace the historic causes of Christianity. The supernatural origin disposed of, what was the natural origin, or the origins?

Buddhism has been traced out of India to the East, where it became a victorious idea in Thibet, China, and Japan. But, even in Asoka's day, Buddhism was not an acclimated faith to the east of India. It had the position and power assigned to exiled goodness, to oppressed truth. Confucianism, arising contemporaneously, became the national faith, while the State religion remained Taoism; that is, Confucianism gained the position of moral supremacy, while the worship of ancestors, according to Tao custom, remained. Confucius, while about as clearly a sceptic of the gods as were Buddha and Socrates, was, after all, in no way inclined to overturn the ancient worship. Buddhism became a power in the way of checking the drift toward subversion of worship. Its concentration of purpose on “Right Life” gave a moral power to the Taoism into which it was infused.

But the real current of Buddhist influence flowed westward. This would be apparent from the elements absorbed from it, even if all historic record of its drift into the Occident were lost.

We might presuppose such a tendency by analogy. Every race trend has been to the West, from the age of the River Driftmen till now. Ideas have gone with races. The Aryan stock has always passed toward Europe, although by détours. Buddhism is distinctively Aryan.

We do not, however, rely on this general tendency. It is what Buddhism has positively given to western religious thought that detects its presence. A careful study of Christianity shows the evolutionary chain to be a very broken one from early Aryanism, if we leave out Buddhism. Somewhere back of even Brahminism, we find a primitive social custom of this sort; till twenty, all the young were considered scholars, and compelled to pursue such a course of education as the times afforded,—mainly religious, including, above all, duty to parents; from twenty until fifty, all persons performed civil functions; at fifty, another sharp change took place, retiring all to forest life.

This was evidently a custom not of the earlier patriarchal state, but of a social condition as late as the household community, or possibly the village community. It implied fixedness of residence. The adult residents in the forest were to devote themselves to worship. In this way, the tie between the dead and the living was kept ever clear and strong. It is equally evident that the family condition of social life had not been long outgrown; for here was the family, so all-important a thought that one section of the living had for its only object the sustenance of the dead,—the careful thought and devoted worship of the fathers. This was a natural religion under the patriarchate. The family dead were fed, loved, and carried about in the household idols. During the prevalence of the household community, this intense family feeling had not lapsed. At this point was the custom referred to. The aged served the fathers; that is, the gods.

It needs little consideration to determine some of the tendencies of this custom. It would involve the desire to be as ghostlike as possible on the part of the attendants. These old people would show their grace by giving their food to the gods, and themselves fasting. They would despise the flesh as inferior to the condition of ghosts. They would seek, above all, communion with the ghosts. Fasting, prayer, self-abasement, even flesh laceration, would almost certainly accrue. Here were all the elements of monkery. And, in fact, monasticism was born at this time and in this way. Brahminism, appearing in India at a later date, and during the tribal period or feudal era of the Aryans in India, took on the same forms, absorbed the monastic idea. But the same Brahminism, moving westward as Abramism in the Semitic stock, was wholly exempt from any notions of the sort. The Jews were never ascetic or other-worldly. Long life, many wives, abundance of children, and milk and honey were their ideals. This was an intensely strong and clearly outlined characteristic of Hebrew religious thought.

Meanwhile, 500 B.C., Buddha began to proclaim a reformation. Whatever else he taught or denied or undertook, he did not undertake to change the current of asceticism. His career was that of a mendicant friar. His church or body of disciples was organized into a society to practise rites of abstinence, poverty, and self-abasement. The Buddhistic church was an order of monks, and nothing else. Buddha could see no better path than for himself to desert wife and children and home, and take up a forest life, or wandering mendicancy. The origin of his views is evident. It was national heredity.

This was between four and five centuries before Jesus. These doctrines were destined to spread eastward, where they would be met by Confucianism, a contemporaneous thought; and, westward, they would be met and modified by Socrates, also a contemporary. That is, monasticism rises in the south, Greek philosophy in the west, moral formalism, or the code of earthly rectitude, in the east. Buddha cared wholly for meditation, fasting, and prayer,—a system of association with the unseen. Confucius cared only for the seen: to do was his religion. When asked if there were gods, he answered, Yes; but the less you have to do with them, the better. Socrates sought the truth about things, without consideration of here or hereafter. Greek philosophy was the religion of knowing. So here at one time arose the religion of doing, the religion of praying, and the religion of knowing. They were destined to a fusion, very naturally. Rationalism, as it now exists, is a blending of Confucius, Socrates, and Buddha.

If we had no knowledge to the contrary, we

should be confident that an aggressive faith like Buddhism, which was little more than preceding Brahminism, brought down to the people, and infused with propagandic zeal, would be the one of the three that would not only seek to impress itself on other religions, but would succeed in doing it. Greek philosophy established the school, and went only indirectly into the conflict, although its final power is supreme. Confucianism had no missionary force. It was the gospel of labor, of honest doing, set into a formalistic schedule, that made it peculiarly national. Buddhism was Brahminism set on fire with love. It was the first religion specifically preached for the poor. Reaching in two hundred years the farthest east, it was not likely to limit its efforts to that direction. Historically, we find that it did not. Within fifty years, under Artaxerxes Longimanus, Buddhist missionaries were located in Persia. In Bactria there were hermits and mendicants professing Buddhism two hundred years after Buddha. King Asoka, his most famous royal disciple, sent preachers of the truth to Greece. Alexander, in his conquests, opened a direct intercourse with India, which was never closed. This was four hundred years before Jesus, and was in addition to the commercial intercourse by sea. But this is not all. Early Christian writers, like Jerome, speak distinctly of Buddhism.

This is more than enough to account for the presence in the west of monasticism, indigenous to India and never indigenous to the West. The Hebrews, with scarcely a thought of a future life, begat no forms of unworldly self-sacrifice. Polygamy, not celibacy, was their natural condition. Circumcision, as a religious rite, indicates that life was considered by them the all-important idea in religion. To the gods they gave the foreskin, as indicating their idea of a God as chiefly a giver of life. The closest tie between a man and a god was symbolized by the organ of generation. How, then, shall we account for the uprising of ascetic sects shortly before Jesus? The Jews, coming home from captivity, brought clearer notions of a future life. They began to talk of rewards and punishments beyond the grave. The Sadducees at a later date were largely under the influence of Hellenic thought. The other half of the people, the Assideans, were more pietistic and inclined to devoteism. Still later, we find the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes. Here is Greek influence in the Sadducee party; in the Essenes, Hindu influence; and the Pharisees are the legitimate old Jew party. The Essenes are a fully developed form of asceticism, withdrawing themselves from the world largely for communion with the spirits. They tilled the soil, but were fond of hermit life, dwelling often in caves. Property they held in common, and they refused marriage. The vow of celibacy was their primal distinction. Home life was not wholly given over, but it was an inferior existence.

So we find just previous to Jesus the western and the eastern indigenous modes of emotion and thought meeting; and we see what is liable to be the product.

Western Asia weds Greece to India, and the product is Christianity. Jesus came, as Buddha came, "to the poor." The early church held property in common. The predominant thought in Christianity was contempt of this world and preparation for the next. The same influence—that is, the eastern—which affected Jesus, operated still more powerfully on his followers. They were not only his disciples, but disciples of the age. The Greek schools held Jesus back. He was by no means so much of a Christian as his followers were. The Hindu influence did not culminate in him, but in the apostles, and in the Church of the

first three centuries. John the Baptist was certainly an Essene. So also seems to have been James, the brother of Jesus. Jesus never spoke a word against this sect, but was severe in dealing with all others. Paul was still more completely at the cross roads where the two philosophies concentrated influence, but his face was toward Greece and Rome. From him came the start of that wonderful sacerdotalism that, belonging gorgeously to this world, mothered the great crowd of cenobites and ascetics and monks that came from the inoculation of Buddhism.

Here we see the east and the west, Buddha and Socrates, meeting, and naturally producing a new product involving both: that product was at last a monkery devoted to the study of Aristotle; for such was the curious fact, that the Aryan custom of ignoring the world became a retreat from active life to study Greek philosophy.

That Buddhism is an actual and practical factor in all Occidental religious thought and life thus appears conclusive. It is present wherever celibacy has a priesthood. It is equally present in Protestant contempt for "the world and the flesh" as fitly to be classified with a devil. Puritanism was a sporadic revival of the Buddhist spirit. It at first antagonized the Greek spirit of beauty and love of logic. When it became the patron of these, it passed away. The triumph of Puritanism in Edwards sounded its decay. Its own universities killed it.

The peculiarity of the present phase of religious thought under the overmastering influence of material investigation and invention is to create a western Confucianism, a practical religion of doing. Speculation and introverted meditation, metaphysics and worship, are both dying out of the Churches. That is, Greece and India are equally losing control of modern life. Fatefully, at the same time, classic studies are no longer to the taste of our scholarship. Confucianism, *par excellence*, is the school instead of the kirk. The rise of the religion of doing is a drift toward education in the place of worship. It is this-worldliness in the place of other-worldliness. Curiously, on the seal of Martin Luther was "Laborare est orare." Thus, Protestantism had a prophecy in its forehead.

E. P. POWELL.

THE CONCORD LECTURES ON GOETHE.

III.

The ablest of these lectures was that on July 25 by Prof. Davidson on "Goethe's Titanism," or, in other words, his "revolt against established conceptions of the divine and the institutions formed thereon." Prof. Davidson began by comparing the Greek view, according to which each man must save himself, with the Christian view, according to which we claim nothing for ourselves, but look for everything as a free gift from God.

The Christian ideal is not a perfect one. It is essentially one-sided, and needs to be supplanted by the Hellenic ideal, which contains elements, both of manliness and of truth, which the Christian ideal lacks. All popular systems of religious thought, though in many ways of great value, contain much that is erroneous. Hence there must sooner or later come revolt, Titanism. This always seems like impiety, whereas it frequently turns out to be the very opposite. When such a revolt is crushed, the revolters are spoken of as atheists and traitors. When it succeeds, they may be counted as prophets and heroes. Goethe's Titanism, like that of his favorite hero, Prometheus, is against the old order of things in favor of something more spiritual. His unfinished drama represents the philanthropic Titan sitting amid the

images he has made of men yet to live, and rejecting thus the offer of Jove to give them life in return for worship:—

"I honor thee? Wherefore?
Hast thou e'er soothed the anguish
Of the heavily laden?
Hast ever wiped away the tears
Of the grief-oppressed?
Have I not been forged into a man
By almighty Time
And by eternal Fate,
My lords and thine?"

"And didst thou fancy
I should hate life,
And flee to deserts
Because all blossom-dreams
Did not bear fruit?
—Here sit I, and mould men
After mine own image,—
A race to be like me,
To suffer and to weep,
To enjoy and to be glad,
And pay no heed to thee,
Like me."

Goethe's *Prometheus*, *Götz*, and *Werther* are all Titanic. The reason he left *Prometheus* a fragment is that he never finished a work until he had completed that stage in his own culture which it represents, and his Promethean Titanism lasted all his life. His rapid progress, too, made him see that the conception of revolt against Jupiter is too antiquated. He found a better representation of Titanism in Faust, the seeker after truth, and laid *Prometheus* aside. The greatness of Goethe's Titanism consisted mainly in its war against the external, enslaving God of tradition and conventionality, in the name of the internal, freeing God, whose kingdom is within us. This Titanism did not altogether cease at any period of his life, though it tended more and more to become a compromise, especially during that reactionary period which followed the French Revolution. In closing his greatest work, he abandoned the Promethean spirit in which it had been begun, sixty years before. Faust does not reach heaven by his own efforts, but by the aid of good angels, like a mediæval saint. Goethe's Titanism had never been of that kind which imparts perfect satisfaction to the Titan, and therefore can endure forever. He could never entirely surrender himself to the God within him, careless of happiness. He wavered between the Christian spirit and the Greek spirit, without ever being able to seize either in its purity. Their union is the great problem of our time. To reject the outer God of mythology and all his works, to cling to the inner God who is the very life of our life, the self of our self, to crush out mercilessly the little temporal self, in order that the great, the eternal, the divine self may be free to manifest itself,—that is our task, a task to be performed Titanically by ourselves, and by none other. There is no salvation anywhere but in our deepest selves. No outer God with the best of wills can save us, for salvation means being strong in and through ourselves.

If Titanism needs any limitation, it is only that suggested by the Professor himself in the discussion called out three days later by Mr. Snider's masterly essay on *Wilhelm Meister*. This novel presents the Rousseau theory of education, that of letting children be taught by the consequences of their own mistakes. Prof. Davidson did not believe that it was necessary to learn everything from one's own experience. The aim of a teacher should be to give the pupil the results of all human experience, so as to let the new work begin where the old work left off. "The unheroic hero" of *Wilhelm Meister*, as he was justly called by the essayist, begins where a man might have begun in the days of Jehoshaphat.

The less of Wilhelm Meisterism we have in education, the better.

Of course, children should be encouraged to find out facts for themselves, a point on which Miss Peabody gave the audience the benefit of her rich experience. No duty is more sacred than that of thinking freely and independently, but this cannot be done with much advantage by those who fail to take a just estimate of what has been found out by others.

How important it is to hold fast to the best results of human thought was manifest at the next session, that of Tuesday evening, July 28, when the Concord School of Philosophy came out, boldly and plainly, against one of the most valuable and firmly established truths of science. It is more than two hundred years since Newton announced his great discovery, that sunlight is composed of colored rays. This fact he proved by separating it with a prism into that brilliantly colored band known as the spectrum. The experiment has been repeated millions of times with invariable success, and is well known to the children in our schools. Scientific men accepted this truth almost as soon as it was made known to them, and have held it with ever-growing firmness. This was in no blind idolatry; for even Newton could not save his secondary theory, that light is a stream of atoms, from being displaced by the arguments presented in his own lifetime, though more strongly afterward, to prove that light is a series of waves in some unknown medium. This undulatory theory is now preferred by men of science, but they are still all convinced that white light results from the union of colors. This truth is held all the more firmly because it has been made the basis of all our knowledge about the constituents of the sun, the stars, and the planets. Spectrum analysis has taught us nearly all we know about what these bodies really are. Separating sunlight by the prism into its component rays shows, for instance, the presence on that luminary of sodium, which is found in salt. Many such discoveries have been made, and many more await us. This is mentioned to show the significance of the attempt made by Prof. Harris, with the approval of other prominent members of the School, to establish Goethe's theory, that sunlight cannot be decomposed into colored rays, and that the colors arise out of modifications of light by darkness. According to Goethe, there are but two pure colors,—yellow, which is caused by looking at light through some dark medium, and blue, which is darkness seen through light. From these two colors are derived all the rest. This theory was published seventy-five years ago, and has not yet met with any favor among men of science. A few metaphysicians, like Schelling, Schopenhauer, and Hegel, found it agreed with their other theories. Trained observers, who study such facts experimentally, are satisfied that Goethe was wholly in the wrong. Tyndall has, I think, recently refuted him much more elaborately than would be thought necessary by most physicists. Our text-books of optics have as little to say about the great poet as our geographies do about a recent English author who is trying to prove that the earth is flat. Many such fancies have been weighed by Science in her balance, and left behind in her onward march.

What Goethe really did for this progress, in showing how the different parts of the plant develop one from another, by a law according to which the latest product is the most complex and perfect, as well as how closely men are related to other animals, was eloquently set forth by Mr. Snider. He also quoted that momentous passage in which Goethe anticipated Herbert Spencer: "The more imperfect a being is, the more do its individual parts resemble each other, and the more

do these parts resemble the whole. The more perfect a being is, the more dissimilar are its parts. In the former case, the parts are more or less a repetition of the whole: in the latter case, they are totally unlike the whole. The more the parts resemble each other, the less subordination is there of one to the other. Subordination of parts indicates high grade of organization." Mention was also made of the rather unfavorable comparison of Goethe to Lamarck by Huxley, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. viii., p. 748, ninth edition).

Mrs. Howe's lecture on "The Women of Goethe" has been postponed, so that it cannot be reported in this article. Nor can I do more than give the titles of the papers on "Goethe as Playwright," "The Novelettes in *Wilhelm Meister*," "The *Elective Affinities*," "Goethe's Relation to Kant and Spinoza in Philosophy," and "The Style of Goethe." Mr. Hawthorne did not appear. On the whole, the course has been very interesting and satisfactory. Goethe's most important work, *Faust*, has been discussed thoroughly, though it would have been better to have had these four lectures given in immediate succession. Other errors in arrangement were apparent, especially that of putting Mrs. Cheney's noble exposition of one of the last passages Goethe wrote so near the beginning of the course. Too little attention was given to his important services in art criticism, as well as to the question how far his influence during the past century has been for good or evil. His heterodoxy of views was acknowledged frankly, and there has been a gratifying willingness to take the facts as they are. The ladies and gentlemen who have spoken in this course deserve hearty thanks.

F. M. HOLLAND.

NOTE.—The kindness of Prof. Davidson enables me to add a summary of a lecture which has been merely mentioned. On Monday morning, Mr. William Ordway Partridge gave a very excellent and well-prepared paper on "Goethe as a Playwright." He began by laying down in systematic order the laws of dramatic effectiveness, and then proceeded to try Goethe's works in accordance with these laws. The result was by no means favorable to Goethe as a playwright. Indeed, his works were shown to violate almost every canon of dramatic art, to show little sense of dramatic effect, to be deficient in unity, and to reach no satisfactory conclusion. The plays criticised were *Götz*, *Egmont*, *Iphigenie*, *Tasso*, and *Faust*. Some of the remarks on these were very pointed, and showed great critical skill. In the conclusion, an attempt was made to account for Goethe's failure as a dramatist, and a graceful tribute paid to him as an epic and lyric poet.

The discussion which followed was lively, and was shared in by Dr. Harris, Mr. Sanborn, Mr. Snider, Prof. Davidson, Miss Peabody, and others. It was admitted by all the speakers that the position taken by the youthful essayist was correct, and that Goethe was not a great playwright.

WOMAN AND THE BIBLE.

In the *New Englander* for July, Rev. W. W. Patton says that "an element of ingratitude appears in this unbelief [of woman], as one reflects upon the special indebtedness of womanhood to the Bible." He declares that the influences that have brought woman "out of ignorance and dishonor, to occupy the throne upon which she now sits," can be traced mainly to Christianity. "Lecky, himself a rationalist," he says, "admits that primitive Christianity, before it was corrupted by ascetic notions [the italics are Mr. Patton's], contributed largely

to this result." Then Mr. Patton quotes a few fragments of sentences from the historian, like the following: "Christian sentiment is chiefly a glorification of the feminine qualities of gentleness, humility, and love." Lecky is here speaking, not simply of "primitive Christianity," but of that "Christian sentiment," largely based upon reverence for the Virgin, and which was strongest during Catholic ascendancy.

The quotation is from a sentence in which Lecky mentions as the true reason, in his opinion, "why sculpture has always been peculiarly Pagan, and painting peculiarly Christian," that "sculpture is especially suited to represent male beauty, or the beauty of strength, and painting, female beauty, or the beauty of softness, and that Pagan sentiment was chiefly a glorification of the masculine qualities of strength and courage and conscious virtue, while Christian sentiment is chiefly a glorification of the feminine qualities of gentleness, humility, and love." "Michael Angelo, whose genius loved to expatiate on the sublimity of strength and defiance, failed signally in his representation of the Christian ideal; and Perugino was equally unsuccessful, when he sought to portray the features of the heroes of antiquity." Pursuing the same line of thought, this historian says: "It can hardly, I think, be questioned that, in the great religious convulsions of the sixteenth century, the feminine type followed Catholicism, while Protestantism inclined more to the masculine type. Catholicism alone retained the Virgin worship, which at once reflected and sustained the first. . . . A religion which prescribed to the distracting mind unreasoning faith in an infallible Church, and to the troubled conscience an implicit trust in an absolving priesthood, has ever had an especial attraction to a feminine mind. A religion which recognized no authority between man and his Creator, which asserted at once the dignity and the duty of private judgment, and which, while deepening immeasurably the sense of individual responsibility, denuded religion of meretricious ornaments and of most æsthetic aids, is pre-eminently a religion of men." Although this author argues that Protestantism strengthens character, love of truth, the sense of duty, liberty, and self-assertion, and has purified and dignified marriage, and "conferred a great benefit on woman," still, he says, "it must be owned that neither in its ideal type nor in the general tenor of its doctrines or devotions is it as congenial to their nature as the religion [Catholicism] it superseded."

Thus, we see that, according to Lecky, the Pagan type of character predominates in Protestant countries, while the essentially Christian type predominates in Catholic countries. Does Mr. Patton think that the condition of woman in Catholic countries, compared with her condition in the Protestant portions of Christendom, affords any proof of the superiority of the Christian over the Pagan type of character? An impartial and fair-minded man like Mr. Lecky can see that these two types of character contain elements of excellence of which the other is deficient, that the extremes of one have been corrected by the influence of the other, that the ideal type is one that combines all that is noble, beautiful, and lovable in both, without the defects of either. But Mr. Patton is incapable of taking a judicial view of this subject; and, in his eagerness to make a point in controversy, he misrepresents the authors he quotes, as in the instance given above.

Since Mr. Patton is so fond of quoting from Lecky, it is strange that the following passage from the *History of European Morals* escaped his notice:—

The types of female excellence exhibited in the early Jewish history are, in general, of a low order,

and certainly far inferior to those of Roman history or Greek poetry; and the warmest eulogy of a woman in the Old Testament is probably that which was bestowed upon her who, with circumstances of the most aggravated treachery, had murdered the sleeping fugitive who had taken refuge under her roof. The combined influence of the Jewish writings and of that ascetic feeling which treated women as the chief source of temptation to man was shown in those fierce invectives against this sex which form so conspicuous and so grotesque a portion of the writings of the Fathers, and which contrast so curiously with the adulation bestowed upon particular members of the sex. Woman was represented as the door of hell, as the mother of all human ills. . . . She should live in continual penance on account of the curses she has brought upon the world. . . . Their [women's] essentially subordinate position was continually maintained. It is probable that this teaching had its part in determining the principles of legislation concerning the sex. . . . But, in the whole feudal legislation, women were placed in a much lower legal position than in the pagan empire.

Mr. Lecky adds that Christian legislation rendered it impossible for women "to succeed to any considerable amount of property, and which almost reduced them to the alternative of marriage or a nunnery. The complete inferiority of the sex was continually maintained by the law; and that generous public opinion which, in Rome, had frequently revolted against the injustice done to girls, in depriving them of the greater part of the inheritance of their fathers, totally disappeared."

Women "arrived during the empire," he says, "at a point of freedom and dignity which they subsequently lost and have never wholly regained"; and Sir Henry Maine thinks that "no society which preserves any tincture of Christian institutions is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on women by the middle Roman law." It is idle to say that the subordinate position of woman upon which legislation inimical to her has been based has not been encouraged by Christianity, when it was expressly taught by Paul, and when, as Mr. Holland, in *The Rise of Intellectual Liberty*, says, "precisely the same words are used, not only in the Greek text of the Epistles, but in our English versions, to command the obedience and subjection of wives to husbands, as of slaves to masters, and of all men to God."

St. Paul was the principal author of the Christian theology, formulated into creeds by Augustine, Calvin, and other theologians; and his views of woman have prevailed, and still prevail, in all Christian countries, in proportion as they accept the Bible as an authority. Christianity in its origin and doctrines is an Orientalism; and only where it has been modified by Roman and Germanic influences, and by modern extra-Christian and anti-Christian thought, do its representatives regard woman's position other than one of subserviency and subordination, and, where it exists even in this modified form, every effort made to improve the condition of woman is constantly opposed by appeals to the Bible.

During the decay of ancient institutions, Christianity put itself in opposition to a strong tendency of the times by emphasizing the duty of chastity and marital fidelity; but its teachings in regard to woman caused her to be regarded as impure, and led to an unhealthy asceticism, which proclaimed war upon nature, and produced a revulsion toward its opposite extreme, while the independence and intellectual culture of woman were discouraged, and for centuries she ceased to figure in history except as a devotee. It is as true of the advancement of woman as of progress in general, during the past three hundred years, that "the decadence of theological influence has been one of the most invariable signs and measures of our progress."

Some there are who, recognizing this fact, attempt to defend Christianity by making a distinction between Pauline Christianity and the moral precepts of Christ; but the influence of a system must be judged not so much by its precepts of virtue as by its doctrines which have been widely accepted, and have been favorable or otherwise to the practice of these precepts. That Christianity, like the older religions, has been necessary to the attainment of the present social condition, such as it is, and that it has met certain wants and contributed some elements to human progress, is as true as that in other respects it has been reactionary and has retarded progress. Christianity would long since have become extinct in every enlightened, progressive country but for its modifications in the popular mind and in practical life, making it agree largely with the requirements of science and industry. If we should ascribe all the art, literature, science, virtue, and freedom in ancient Rome to the pagan religion, we would not be more unreasonable than are theologians like Mr. Patton, who, whenever they speak of anything worthy in our modern civilization, ascribe it to the influence of the Bible and Christianity.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

ONLY in countries where Germanic sentiment has taken root do we see marks of any elevation of the female sex superior to that of pagan antiquity; and, as the elevation of the German woman in her deepest Paganism was already striking to Tacitus and his contemporaries, it is highly unreasonable to claim it as an achievement of Christianity.—*F. W. Newman*.

THE Roman religion was essentially domestic, and it was a main object of the legislator to surround marriage with every circumstance of dignity and solemnity. Monogamy was from the earliest times strictly enjoined; and it was one of the great benefits that have resulted from the expansion of Roman power, that it made this type dominant in Europe. In the legends of early Rome, we have ample evidence both of the high moral estimate of women and of their prominence in Roman life. The tragedies of Lucretia and Virginia display a delicacy of honor, a sense of the supreme excellence of unsullied purity, which no Christian nation could surpass.—*Lecky*.

THE *American Israelite*, criticising the claim that everything good should be called Christian, says: "The bubble of Christian virtue, Christian liberty, Christian civilization, burst long ago. Civilization and liberty, like righteousness and virtue, are not the products of any creed. They have their roots in human nature, and thrive in a congenial atmosphere, purified by commerce, industry, science, mental and moral culture. The civilized man's creed is civilizing: the deteriorated man's religion breeds corruption. Man forms and reforms his religious conceptions. We think one can be a very excellent man and an orthodox Christian besides; and Governor Hoadly, of Ohio, is a splendid man, and no Christian at all."

SAYS R. L. Perrin, in *The Religion of Philosophy*: "If the Phœnician navigators in the Mediterranean, eight hundred years before Christ, brought to the shores of Greece the knowledge of the arts of Egypt, the manufactures of Tyre, and the products of India and Africa, is it to be wondered at that the religious forms and ceremonies of these early ages should have been gradually transplanted from one country to another? It is true that there is no recognized historical movement which indicates

the growth of Christianity out of Buddhism; but is not the intercourse which is known to have existed between the ancient nations sufficient to account for the resemblance between their religions?"

At the present day, although the standard of morals is far higher than in Pagan Rome, it may be questioned whether the inequality of the censure which is bestowed upon the two sexes is not as great as in the days of Paganism, and that inequality is continually the cause of the most shameful and the most pitiable injustice. . . . The character of the seducer, and especially of the passionless seducer, who pursues his career simply as a kind of sport, and under the influence of no stronger motive than vanity or a spirit of adventure, and who designates his successes in destroying the honor of women his conquests, has been glorified and idealized in the popular literature of Christendom in a manner to which we can find no parallel in antiquity.—*Lecky*.

THE *Investigator* is not pleased with the notion of the *Christian Statesman* that the cholera, pestilence, and famine are sent by God to punish men for unbelief and ungodliness. "As if God," says our heterodox neighbor, "who, it is said, is all mercy and benevolence, and takes better care of his creatures than an earthly parent does of his children, afflicts mankind with the cholera; earthquakes, pestilences, famines, wars, distress of nations, and every other plague and calamity that the most devilish ingenuity and hatred can invent! 'Miserable comforters,' as Job said of his tormentors, are orthodox Christians! They seem to have 'eaten of the insane root which takes the reason prisoner.' May the Lord, if there is one, have mercy on them, and forgive their blasphemy, if he can." The concluding sentence is doubtless a prayer, although the editor of the *Investigator* is theoretically opposed to praying; but the prayer is extremely hypothetical and agnostical, and will not improve its authors' chances with "the Lord, if there is one," and he regards doubt and unbelief as is commonly represented.

A WRITER in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, after mentioning that Prof. Thomas Davidson, in the discussion on Goethe at Concord, defined Christianity as "salvation by grace," takes exception to his definition, and says: "There is nothing in the world so easy as to falsely define Christianity. This the essayist [Prof. Davidson] did as it seems to the present writer. . . . Christianity in truth is simply the spirit of Christ, who is the supreme manifestation of God; and they who follow this spirit are Christians, whether they live in India or America, or before or since the Christian era. . . . Creeds are not Christianity; nor is the Church, under whatever name. But he who loves the right and does it, and who helps his fellow-men to do the same, is a Christian, even though he never heard of Christ, or though he misunderstand or repudiate him. All such, in whatever creed or nation, form together the invisible and universal Church, through whose agency the human race has gone upward and onward." Prof. Davidson's conception of Christianity, so far as we can judge from his definition quoted above, is evidently more correct than that of his critic. To define a great historic religion like Christianity as the *spirit* of an individual is simply absurd. The *spirit* of a person, sect, or party may be humane, yet its *principles* may be wrong and its *influence* bad. Christianity involves certain affirmations, certain doctrinal beliefs, the most distinctive of which is, as Prof. Davidson says, "salvation by grace."

THE statement that "he who loves the right and does it, and who helps his fellow-men to do the same, is a Christian, even though he never heard of Christ, or though he misunderstand or repudiate

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

WOMAN AND THE CHURCH.

An Address delivered before the Hartford Equal Rights Club,
June 12, 1885.

BY FRANCES ELLEN BURR.

The position of the Church toward woman is a question that has come to the front in the last few months, having been started in the suffrage convention in Washington last winter by the resolutions presented by Mrs. Colby, of Nebraska. These resolutions had some able advocates as well as opponents; and chief among the former was Mrs. Stanton, from whom our little club has had some breezy letters upon the subject.

There is no question that the Church—and by Church I mean churches of all denominations—has looked upon woman as belonging to a class to be governed in religious matters rather than to govern. The feeling of the Church toward woman may perhaps be described in the comprehensive words so often used to children: "Little children should be seen, and not heard." However, I do not feel so much like attacking the Church as I do like attacking women for so tamely accepting a situation that places them under a dictatorship, notwithstanding the fact that they form a large majority in an organization that denies them any controlling power, and notwithstanding the fact, also, that its support depends so largely on women. The work of putting women on an equality with men in the Church is not one that belongs to men: women themselves are the ones to do this. Let women unitedly demand equality in this matter, with a proviso that, if it be refused, they will withdraw from the Church, and equality would not long be withheld. But let them sit with folded hands, waiting for men to thrust freedom upon them, and they would not be fit for it, should it

come. The slave that will not work for his freedom is unworthy of it. Women all over the land enrich the treasuries of the Church from year to year; they largely support the men who preach to them the lessons of humility and submission; and they stand meekly at the altar, and respond in acquiescence to a marriage ceremony in which they are told to obey their husbands. So long as they are blind to the incongruities of the situation, can we expect ecclesiastical bodies to come forward and tender offices of trust and responsibility to them? We might as well expect them to tender such trusts to those who are literally blind. Women have got to come by the slow process of growth or evolution to a realization of the gravity of the situation,—a situation that keeps them in a state of serfdom. They have got to come to a point where they shall unite in the taking of their rights in these things. It is easier for them to do this in church matters than in the case of political disfranchisement, for they have simply to withdraw their presence and support from the Church. They could gradually get an ecclesiastical machine of their own into pretty fair working trim. It is easier to imagine a church run by women alone than one by men alone. The religious element of a church is furnished largely by women. Fancy prayer-meetings and revival meetings made up of men alone! John Newland Maffitt, in his palmiest days, would have found he had undertaken a more difficult task than he ever did before, if he had undertaken to get up a first class revival in a congregation of men alone. Take all the women out of the Moody and Sankey meetings, and you remove a vital element of their success. To attempt a revival under such circumstances would be about as encouraging as it would be for Nature to try to get up a summer in December.

If women could be moved as by one impulse to realize the situation, they would soon take themselves out from under the ecclesiastical yoke. The only way for them to do it is to take themselves out of the Church, and become their own priests and ministers. The Rev. Dr. Patton, of Washington, attacked the woman suffragists as atheists; but, as women are ever charged with doing, he used no reason, nor looked at the facts as they are, but jumped to his conclusions. I do not believe a woman in that convention had any feelings of hostility toward religion. Attacking the Church as to its mode of organization and attacking religion are two widely different things. Religion does not consist in the stone and mortar of a church, nor in a gowned priest,—or ungowned, if you please,—nor in creeds nor ceremonies. Religion, in the sense in which I am using it, is the aspiration of the soul for a spiritual life,—for a life beyond this. Every one, I take it, has this desire, this longing, deep planted within. The wild Indian, who trod these hills before the white man ever came, had visions of happy hunting grounds beyond this life, and of a Great Spirit over all. This stretching out after the invisible is a feeling inherent in the human breast, and is one of the grandest proofs of a life beyond this. In nature's grand economy, such a demand is never created without a corresponding supply. The poet Shelley speaks of the grub in the chrysalis dreaming of his future wings. Man in this chrysalis state is ever dreaming of spiritual wings. Like the sky-lark that soars and sings, and ever mounts straight up, so we are ever mounting up on wings invisible. It is this feeling that makes men forever try to embody their religion in creeds and churches, which are but an outward, clumsy form of an inward, spiritual life. Religion is subjective: creeds, churches, and theology are objective. The crystallizing process of trying to put religion into

him," is the statement of one who has evidently outgrown belief in Christianity, but still retains reverence for the name; and, with such, "there is nothing in the world so easy as to falsely [erroneously] define Christianity." A definition of Christianity which implies that the moral and philanthropic man is a Christian, whether he be a Catholic or a Unitarian, a Buddhist or Mohammedan, an Agnostic or an Atheist, is a definition that does not define. They who use it simply substitute for the word "morality" the word "Christianity"; and thus, when the essential teachings of Christianity are called in question, they avoid the trouble of defending untenable doctrines and the inconvenience and unpleasantness of discarding a name that stands for popular belief, and is endeared to them by many associations, by defining Christianity to mean only that which is held in common by all intelligent men and women, irrespective of their religious belief. If Christianity were nothing more than the disposition and effort to do right, there could be no discussion among intelligent people as to its influence; but, so long as it is understood by its millions of adherents to include numerous theological doctrines, nothing is gained by ignoring the fact, and referring to it simply as "the spirit of Christ" and of all who love the right and do it, whatever their beliefs.

A RELIGIOUS journal quotes the answer of a West India Islander to a question, What happens after death? as a good definition of the agnostic's belief:—

We Ulu men do not know if this is so or not, and we wonder how they know; for we have never heard of any one who has come back to tell them. We Ulu men do not know whither we go; but the breath that goes out of the mouth is lost two arms' length away, and we believe that we mix with the wind and follow it wherever it goes. And our bodies certainly rot away.

Very ignorant, no doubt, is the heathen who made the above answer; but how much more does the Christian editor know about the subject than does the simple islander, who, to the missionary statements about the state of the soul after death, said, "We Ulu men do not know if this is so or not"? The answer is so intelligent that we suspect the islander had been in contact with some civilized minds, who were conscious of their inability to solve the problem of human destiny. We have met Indians in Oregon who spoke very much as above, but, as we ascertained, only when they had heard Christian preaching, and the doubts and discussion to which it had given rise among the white settlers. Paradoxical as it may seem, people who know the most generally doubt the most. A simpleton believes whatever is told him. A Humboldt, a Darwin, a Huxley, a George Eliot, is more or less an agnostic in regard to matters that are beyond the province of observation, experience, and verification. And the difference between the agnosticism of those who call themselves agnostics and of enlightened men and women who call themselves Christians is simply one of degree, when indeed it is anything more than a difference of phraseology.

TO NATURE.

For The Index.

Nature, I would be thy child,
Sit and worship at thy feet,
Read the truth upon thy face,
Wait upon thine accent sweet;
I would put my hand in thine,
Bow my head upon thy knee,
Live upon thy love alone,
Fearless, trusting all to thee.

GOWAN LEA.

church and creed must necessarily mix more or less of the earthly with what is spiritual and divine. But I am not attacking churches. I see the need there has been of them, and still is, though to a lessening extent. They would never have existed, if the need had not also existed; and they will never go out of existence till people, in the process of religious evolution, shall reach a point where they can be their own priest, creed, and church. The Church can never be removed by the battering-rams of nihilism or atheistical opposition. Negations cannot accomplish much. Atheistic France, in the days of her great Revolution, tried to strike out everything but the roughest materialism: they even introduced a new calendar, putting ten days into the week, and left Sunday to "shift for itself," as Carlyle says, in his peerless history of that wonderful Revolution. The Christian era was to be struck out, so far as dating was concerned; and everything thereafter was to be dated from year one of the republic, which corresponded to 1792, Christian era. This new calendar, "calculated for the meridian of Paris, and gospel of Jean Jacques,"—as Carlyle puts it in his facetious irony,—lasted thirteen years. And he adds further on: "And solely as paper then, and as a hope, must this poor new constitution exist; in which shape we may conceive it lying, even now, with an infinity of other things in that limbo near the moon. Further than paper it never got, nor ever will get."

Mere materialism is cold, blank, and cheerless: it is the negation of night. The soul finds no life in negations: it needs the warm sunlight of an affirmative,—a positive *something* to take the place of church and creed before the need of these will die out. Defective as the Church is, it has been a stepping-stone to something better. It has been a torch—though a feeble one—to light people out of the black night of materialism. Notwithstanding the wars that have been waged and the blood that has flown like rivers, and the iniquities innumerable that have been committed in the name of religion, we can easily see how, rejecting the higher spirit and philosophy that should characterize true religion, and clinging to the outer husks of form and ceremony as being their only hope of heaven, the defenders of the Church should have fought with a bitterness and intolerance that has never been aroused in any other cause. They felt that they were fighting for their eternal welfare and the glory of God; for a man's God never rises much above his own level. If he is a warrior, his God is one also,—witness the warlike character of the Israelites' God, and of other nations as well. If a man believes in burnt offerings and sacrifices, so does his God. These Gods are essentially human, and unworthy the infinite power or spirit that guides the laws of the universe. Out of the sacrificial slaughter-houses of the old Mosaic dispensation arose the idea of a God sacrificing his own son for the sins of the world,—an idea utterly foreign to any just conception of an infinite being of love and tenderness. And to the same source also must be traced the ceremony of eating and drinking the body and blood of that Son. Christ is to me a wonderfully beautiful character and most lovable; but to eat his body or drink his blood, though only symbolically, is to me an utterly repugnant ceremony. I have never heard the idea advanced by any one, and have often wondered that it never has been; for there must be others who feel the same about it. While I respect the faith and sincerity of others, I must nevertheless acknowledge that this ceremony, to them so sacred, is to me abhorrent. And I say this in no irreverent spirit. A symbol should represent a truth back of it; and this symbol does

not represent a thing we would in reality do, for we would not in reality eat the body and drink the blood of friend or foe: no one but a cannibal would do that. It is said that Christ himself instituted this ceremony. If so, it was doubtless because, with his clear spiritual vision, he could see how a people imbued with the bloody gospel of the old Israelites could not be freed from it in a day. The higher spiritual truths he taught must necessarily be presented in a form the most readily seized by them. But, whatever the motive for instituting such a ceremony, I should still have to be excused from participating in it. If Christ himself could see the feeling that prompts me to say this, he would see that it is said in no irreverent spirit. His is a character that appeals to our reverence, admiration, and love. But that human institution, the Church, partakes of human weaknesses and cruelties. Its eternal punishment doctrine is well described by Burns, in his "Holy Willie's Prayer," beginning,—

"O Thou who in the heavens dost dwell,
Who, as it pleases best thyself,
Sends one to heaven, and ten to hell,
All for thy glory,
And not for any good or ill
They've done afore thee!"

The Christian, or rather the Jewish, doctrine of sacrifice is essentially barbaric in origin, and has caused a vast amount of misery in the world. No wonder that this, and that other barbaric doctrine, eternal punishment, have struck the light of reason out of so many minds. How many have felt themselves commissioned by the Almighty to sacrifice some innocent person "for the Lord's sake," it would be impossible to tell. I once began to collect accounts of this kind, but the business grew so sickening I had to leave it. The most notable case of late years is that of the Pocasset murderer, who, in the hamlet of Pocasset, Mass., on the 1st of May, 1879, deliberately murdered his little girl as a test of his faith in the God of Abraham. That story of Abraham and Isaac is responsible for many bloody harvests. The latest one (June, 1885) comes from Wilkes-barre, Pa., where a man named Williams, a hard-working, honest miner, joined the Salvation Army, and soon blossomed out into a first-class fanatic, saying that the Lord came to him at night, and bade him make some human sacrifice. So he started out with a butcher-knife, and began an indiscriminate onslaught on whomever he met, but was captured before he had succeeded in his purpose, but not till he had injured a number severely. These fanatics are consistent. The trouble is not with them, but with the hideous doctrine. If it was right for Abraham to sacrifice his son, why was it not right for Charles F. Freeman, of Pocasset, to sacrifice his little daughter? The old Mosaic theology sowed the seed from which later years have reaped many a bloody harvest, the work being perpetuated and pushed on by the Christian "fathers." Let us hope that the Christian "mothers" may yet take a turn at Bible and creed making, and introduce into them a little more of the milk of human kindness. I do not claim that women alone are any better than men alone; but I do claim that it takes the two elements to make a complete whole, in governments ecclesiastical as well as political.

But, notwithstanding these objectionable features, the Church has been the expression of the soul struggling out of darkness into light; and, in the light of the higher spiritual life, these weak points are thrown into the background, and we see its better features. With Emerson, I can say:

"I like a church; I like a cowl;
I like a prophet of the soul;
And on my heart monastic aisles

Fall like sweet strains or pensive smiles;
Yet not for all his faith can see
Would I that cowed churchman be."

How the very poetry of ecclesiasticism clusters about the cathedrals of England! Wipe these out of her history, and you would destroy the very essence of one of its most poetic and beautiful features. Bi-hop Coxe felt this, when he wrote a poem beginning:—

"The chimes, the chimes of Motherland,
Of England green and old,
That out from fane and ivied tower
A thousand years have rolled."

And that wonderful organization, the Romish Church, antedates the Protestant by some centuries, and, according to Macaulay, is destined to outlive the latter. Though cruel and despotic in asserting its own supremacy, it has one beautiful feature,—its worship of the Virgin Mary. But such a series of crimes and persecutions as it has practised—not only through its terrible Inquisition, but also outside of it—would have killed any other organization; but it lives in vigor, notwithstanding its background of cruelty. Macaulay's masterly word-painting of this organization, in his review of Von Ranke's History of the Popes, has never been equalled on this particular subject. He says:—

"There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian Amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the supreme pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series from the pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is lost in the twilight of fable. The republic of Venice came next in antiquity; but the republic of Venice was modern, when compared with the papacy; and the republic of Venice is gone, and the papacy remains. The papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and useful vigor. The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the earth missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine, and is still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated for what she has lost in the Old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn,—countries which, a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her communion are certainly not fewer than one hundred and fifty millions, and it will be difficult to show that all other Christian sects united amount to one hundred and twenty millions. Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world, and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Gracian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And

she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

The bulwarks of such an organization as that may well seem impregnable to the assaults of time, to say nothing of the puny assaults of woman suffragists. But the subtle alchemy of evolution undermines the strongest bulwarks of despotism. The Church herself is being evolutionized, for the great principles of truth and right underlie all evolution. The human mind is subject to the laws of evolution no less than the vegetable and animal kingdoms below us. Our planet is one great ball, or aggregation of particles, that have been built up under this same law. There is no escaping it. Not even this wonderful organization over which Macaulay gets so eloquent can escape it. Churches, Protestant and Catholic, as well as political despotisms, have got to succumb to it. And it is this fact that gives our little puny suffrage societies such unbounded hope. We have truth on our side, and truth is stronger than an army, or legions of armies with all their banners. So we wait and hope, at times almost exultant in the sure consciousness that neither Church nor State can reverse nature's decrees. When woman was created an intelligent being with brains of her own, it was not intended by the power that created her that her intellectual faculties should lie dormant; it was not intended that she should be kept in a state of subjection, like the cattle on a thousand hills. Neither priests nor law-givers, nor men of high nor low degree, should assume the position of specially appointed vicegerents of the Almighty to rule over women,—a vicegerency founded upon sex. And women should not accept such a position as the God-appointed relation of woman to Church and State. Brains, not sex, govern; and let us remember that brains lie in the head, and that both sexes alike have them. Women should awake to the fact that their reason was given them to use; and, so long as they refuse to use it, and allow men to do their thinking for them, they will remain a subject class in Church as well as State. The women of Utah swallow whole the Mormon religious scheme,—if it is allowable to debase the word "religious" by applying it to such a wholesale system of prostitution,—a system in which religion is made to serve base ends by reducing women to a state of serfdom as abject as that of a Turkish harem. Christian women of enlightened lands point to Mormondom with a shudder; but do not Christian women use as little reason in swallowing without a grimace the male system of Orthodoxy? The lecturer who referred to theology as *heology* expressed the situation with admirable brevity. We need a system of theology—if there is any need of theology at all—that shall be made up equally of the two elements, masculine and feminine. We need a God who shall represent the woman side as well as the man side of nature. When Disraeli was twitted with being a Jew, he said, "One half of the Christian world worships a Jewess, and the other half worships her son." Now, the son of this Jewess had as much of the feminine in his nature as the masculine: strike out the feminine part of him, and you have no Christ. The man who is wholly masculine is intellectually weak, as is the woman who is wholly feminine. The Heenans and Sullivans of the prize ring are wholly masculine. It requires both elements to make the perfect balance. And this rule holds good with religions as well as governments. The world has given *heology* and a masculine God a thorough trial, and it has not proved a success. Governments, ecclesiastical and political, have been

lop-sided; and lop-sidedness is a token of something wrong. But Nature rights all wrongs, though it takes ages to do it; for she has eternity to work in. Victor Hugo said, "The nineteenth century is to be woman's century." Perhaps the revisers of the Bible snuffed this battle from afar. The eleventh verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm of the old version reads, "The Lord gave the word; great was the company of those that published it." This passage in the new version reads, "The Lord giveth the word; the women that publish the tidings are a great host." The host is coming. Women are to-day occupying pulpits of their own; and we have a Bible translated by one woman alone,—a work pronounced by competent Hebrew scholars to be an accurate and literal translation. I think we need have no fears that the ecclesiasticism of the past is to rule in the future. The night of its long reign is passing away. Already we are in the morning twilight, and soon we shall have the full dawn. The dark ages can never return.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHRISTIANITY AND WOMAN.

Editors of The Index:—

So long as Mrs. Stanton holds the popular misconception of what Christianity is, it will be impossible for her to admit the major premise of Mrs. Shattuck's syllogism; namely, that "the human race has been benefited by Christianity." But the popular is by no means the right conception.

In order to know what anything is, it is also necessary to know what it is *not*: and this is eminently true of Christianity. Whatever the "Church" or State may teach concerning the inferiority and subjection of women, concerning masculine superiority or headship, certainly cannot be chargeable to the spirit of the Christ; and this spirit is the vital essence of Christianity, whether it was manifest in the days of Adam or Homer or Plato or Paul or Mrs. Stanton. Whenever and wherever, in the history of the world, this spirit has dominated, the human race has been benefited, man and woman alike; for neither can be or ever has been *really* benefited without the other. Man is spirit, and spirit is free. Freedom is realized through conflict by transcending the manifold limits of time and sense. All who in conflict overcome abide *consciously* in the law of their being. The law of man's being makes it possible for him to rise to the level of his source, which is God. Man may become Godlike: this is the supreme consciousness and teaching of the Christ, and the realization of this consciousness and teaching is the process of history.

Religion is from everlasting. The Christ is not the originator of it; nor does he anywhere profess to be, in so far as a "form of religion and government" are "based on the principle of caste and class, and the greatest blessings of advancing civilization have been monopolized by the few at the expense of the many." In so far as "women have belonged to the ostracized class," the spirit of the Christ, or Christianity, in its true meaning, has *not* prevailed. The conclusions to be deduced from this fact are most unflattering to that half of the human unit who claim to have established the existing order in "Church" and State by virtue of an alleged monopoly of the intellectual faculty of the race. But no woman will help her cause (and her cause is man's cause, too) by endeavoring to undermine that only secure foundation upon which humanity shall yet build a veritable "republic of God." The sins of alleged Christianity the past eighteen hundred years cannot be charged to the spirit of the Christ, but are due rather to an absence of his spirit. In spite, however, of the deplorable history of the past, there has always been a remnant who have, through crucifixion, death, and burial, joyously arisen, and drawn men up to them. These are the Christians, by whatever name they may be called, in whatever nation they may be found.

Christianity cannot be exclusively identified with any form of theology. The latter is but the result of man's endeavor, or want of endeavor, to know truth, and comes more nearly to the absolute truth only as man, climbing slowly toward the level of his source,

gains with his higher altitude a broader horizon and a better point of sight.

Christianity *has* benefited the human race, and, unless Mrs. Stanton denies that woman is a human being, she must admit that Christianity *has* benefited woman.

CHARLOTTE F. DALEY.

CHRISTIANITY AND WOMAN.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Francis E. Abbot wrote the following letter eight years ago to a convention of the National Suffrage Association held in Washington. It is so clear and concise, and contains so many telling points, that it is worth reproducing at this time, when the question, "What has Christianity done for woman?" is up for consideration.

E. C. STANTON.

BOSTON, MASS., Jan. 10, 1877.

Dear Mrs. Stanton,—It is with some little pain, I confess, that I accept your very courteous invitation to write a letter for your Washington convention on the 19th instant; for what I must say, if I say anything at all, is what I know will be very unacceptable—I fear very displeasing—to the majority of those to whom you will read it. If you conclude that my letter will obstruct, and not facilitate the advancement of the cause you have so faithfully labored for these many years, you have my most cheerful consent to deliver it over to that general asylum of profitless productions,—the waste-basket.

Running this risk, however, I have this brief message to send to those who now meet on behalf of woman's full recognition as politically the equal of man, namely: that every woman suffragist who upholds Christianity, tears down with one hand what she seeks to build up with the other,—that the Bible sanctions the slavery principle itself, and applies it to woman as the divinely ordained subordinate of man,—and that, by making herself the great support and mainstay of instituted Christianity, woman rivets the chain of superstition on her own soul and on man's soul alike, and justifies him in obeying this religion by keeping her in subjection to himself. If Christianity and the Bible are true, woman is man's servant, and ought to be. The Bible gave to negro-slavery its most terrible power,—that of summoning the consciences of the Christians to its defence; and the Bible gives to woman-slavery the same terrible power. So plain is this to me that I take it as a mere matter of course, when all the eloquence of the woman-suffrage platform fails to arouse the Christian women of this country to a proper assertion of their rights. What else could one expect? Women will remain contented subjects and subordinates just so long as they remain devoted believers in Christianity; and no amount of argument or appeal or agitation can change this fact. If you cannot educate women as a whole out of Christianity, you cannot educate them as a whole into the demand for equal rights.

The reason of this is short: Christianity teaches the rights of God, not the rights of man or woman. You may search the Bible from Genesis to Revelations, and not find one clear, strong, bold affirmation of *human rights as such*; yet it is on human rights as such—on the equality of all individuals, man or woman, with respect to natural rights—that the demand for woman suffrage must ultimately rest. I know I stand nearly alone in this, but I believe from my soul that the woman movement is fundamentally *anti-Christian*, and can find no deep justification but in the ideas, the spirit, and the faith of free religion. Until women come to see this, too, and to give their united influence to this latter faith, political power in their hands would destroy even that measure of liberty which free thinkers of both sexes have painfully established by the sacrifices of many generations. Yet I should vote for woman suffrage all the same, because it is woman's right.

Yours very cordially,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNCREATED AND THE CREATED LIFE.

Editors of The Index:—

Having found life to be the cause of all action, the next thing to consider is the quality of this life, or cause. There are two kinds of life, and consequently two kinds of action; namely, the uncreated Life and its action, and the created life and its action.

The uncreated Life and its Thought are an eternal living substance, which is unchangeable, without beginning and without end,—perfection. It is the *first cause*, and, created, underlies and sustains all created life.

The uncreated Life is a separate quality from its creation, and can no more blend or mix with its creation than the soul of man can blend or mix with the material products of its thought.

All created life holds its existence in the uncreated Life. The created life is the life of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, of which the life of the animal kingdom, alone, is a conscious life. The animal life is conscious of its existence with a material form and outline, and, being changeable, is, of course, an opposite quality to the unchangeable, uncreated Life. The latter is Spirit, and the former was created spiritual.

The life (soul) of man is a changeable, movable spiritual life. It is not only conscious of its existence with a material form and outline, but is the highest form of created life, and is capable of comprehending its origin and Creator.

We will term the uncreated Life perfect Life, perfect Love, and perfect Truth. The life of man is an opposite quality to this perfect Life, because it is created and changeable; and, although capable of becoming like unto Perfection, it is liable to imperfection.

The soul of man claims to possess love and truth. Perfect Truth is Purity, with which hatred or impurity has no identity, it being, in fact, but the absence of Love, and therefore no-thing to the Love itself. Perfect Love, or Purity, loves the sinner as much as the saint, because to it there is no sin or impurity. But to the sinner there is impurity (produced and recognized by the soul of man alone); and his recognition of this impurity separates the sinner from the saint in thought, and clouds his soul, and prevents him from realizing that perfect Love. The soul of man can not only hate, but it recognizes hatred as an entity, and has therefore no portion of the perfect Love. And its recognition of hatred as something denser or clouds the soul, and is a hindrance to its realization of perfect Love. Perfect Truth can neither recognize nor produce its absence, a lie; and, as the life of man can both recognize and produce a lie, there can be no portion of the perfect Truth in it.

Thus, the life, truth, and love, which the life of man claims to possess, are found to be no portion of the perfect, uncreated Life, Truth, and Love. All conscious life has thought; and the perfect, uncreated, unchangeable Life must have perfect, unchangeable thoughts, which are co-existent and co-eternal with it. The created life or soul of man, being changeable, must have changeable or material thoughts. These thoughts are the first product of the life, and according to them the life acts. The action of the life of man is, therefore, independent of its Creator (the uncreated Life and its Thought), who completed it when it was made, and thereafter merely sustains it and its fruit or offspring. If the life of man entertain opinions which are not demonstrable, in reasoning from and acting in obedience to these opinions, it is not advancing toward spiritual knowledge or demonstrable truth, but is working from a changeable or material stand-point, and thereby growing more and more material.

If the life of man understand first its origin, and realize that it is no part of the Creator, or uncreated Life and its Thought, but is an opposite quality,—a changeable, spiritual life, responsible for its acts because capable of comprehending Truth, and governing itself thereby,—it will seek that comprehension; and its acts will bear witness of the realization of it.

The created life or soul would no longer ask its Creator to add unto or take away from the work which that Creator completed and pronounced good, but would strive to realize and become like unto that perfect Good in the image and likeness of whose Idea it was originally created.

Asking the uncreated, unchangeable Life, which is Love itself, to love the created life more, or to forgive sin (the absence of itself, and nothing to it), would be equivalent to limiting the Creator, or attempting to model the unchangeable Love in accordance with the created life's ideas of a changeable love. The uncreated Life, being unchangeable, can neither love more nor less, but must remain ever the same; and the created life must, through the realization of that unchangeable Love, destroy in itself its absence,—hatred,—and thus become like unto that Love.

The first step toward that result is, as I have before said, the understanding that life, not matter, is the cause of all action. The next step is to understand the quality of the uncreated Life and of the created life, and to realize that thought is the first product of the life of man, and that according to the thought the life acts. Then, through the realization of this knowledge of the quality of the Creator and of the spiritual creation, the life or soul of man will become more and more like unto that perfect Love, until it becomes impregnable to outward tribulation. This will be the reward of those who faint not in well doing. This is the peace which Jesus spoke of giving to his disciples, not that which the world calls peace, which may be broken at any time, but the inward peace, which surpassed all understanding of this world.

E. J. ARENS.

BOOK NOTICES.

POEMS, ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATED. By Charles T. Brooks. With a Memoir by Charles W. Wendte. Selected and edited by W. P. Andrews. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885. Price \$1.25.

It is a very engaging portraiture of a refined and winning type of intellectual manhood which is unfolded to us through these poems, Mr. Andrews' preface, and Mr. Wendte's memoir. The memoir, which fills about one-half of the two hundred and thirty-five pages of the volume, is written *con amore*, and will doubtless be warmly welcomed by the many who knew and loved the amiable and scholarly gentleman who was for so many years the presiding genius of the Channing Memorial Church in Newport, R.I., and who will be remembered in the future history of that church as its first and dearly beloved pastor.

Judging from the story of his life as related by Mr. Wendte, its events were not of a kind to bring out in any marked manner whatever latent strength of purpose or character there might be in his gentle, kindly nature, though he met the little transient ills common to humanity which came to him with serene patience. His amiability, liberality, purity of life and thought, his literary tastes and scholarly attainments, seemingly won for him the friendship and love of all who knew him; and, whenever his worldly prospects looked gloomy or threatening, these friends were swift to come to his aid with substantial offers of assistance. Though never rich, he yet never knew what poverty or genuine hardship meant; nor do the pages of this book reveal any cause for those deeper trials of soul strength which make part of so many anguished lives. His were mostly "ways of pleasantness" and "paths of peace." So the poetry which is given to us here, though evincing true poetic feeling and expression, a purely sweet nature, sincerity of purpose, loftiness of aim, and a high degree of scholarship, is not such as will be likely to make him in any way particularly noteworthy among American poets. He was a genuinely literary man, and an unwearied and enthusiastic writer of interesting books, both original works and translations (a long list of which is furnished in the appendix); but he cannot be claimed as a true genius in originality of thought or strength of expression. The portrait of Mr. Brooks which is given in the frontispiece indicates the lovely, benign, and intellectual character of the man as portrayed in this volume. S. A. U.

UNITY SONGS RESUNG. Compiled by C. H. K. Chicago: The Colegrove Book Company. pp. 139. Price \$1.25.

This dainty volume in "blue and gold" is a selection, made by Charles H. Kerr, one of the editors of *Unity*, from the poems contributed to that paper between December, 1879, and March, 1885, and are most of them from writers well known to Unitarian readers, such as W. C. Gannett, F. L. Hosmer, James Vila Blake, J. T. Sunderland, Hattie and Florence Tyng Griswold, Celia P. Woolley, Abbie M. Gannett, Alice Williams Brotherton, Fanny Driscoll, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and others. These songs are not all attuned to one key: they range over a wide field of poetic subjects, from the purely devotional to the descriptive and amatory. One would judge, from the fact that out of this group of twenty-seven singers sixteen are women, that the Unitarian faith has peculiar attractions for the more intellectual and refined types of that sex; and some of the most exquisite of the seventy-five poems the volume contains

are the productions of feminine brains. Of these seventy-five, forty-two were written by women. Mr. Kerr has made his selections with excellent judgment and taste; and the book should be a welcome and inspiring visitor to every household, whether Unitarian or otherwise. S. A. U.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE real hero, President Bascom says, is often not worshipped at all, oftener crucified.

MR. ROWLAND CONNOR is doing good work in the West. He has just finished a course of able and instructive lectures in East Saginaw, Mich., on "The Books of the Bible." The lectures have been quite fully reported in the papers of that city.

IN the Chinese quarter in New York, last Saturday, the imperial standard hung at half-mast, and a bulletin was issued as follows: "Gen. Grant, a very great war general, and head man of the Americans, is dead. He was a very good man. It is requested that everybody observe to-day, his funeral day, quietly, and pass proper respect to his memory."

IN regard to the exposures of vice in London, Col. Ingersoll, in reply to a question by a reporter, said: "I have never read the *Pall Mall Gazette*. If the charges are made in good faith, the editor is in the right. Virtue does not live on ignorance, and vice flourishes in the dark. All the guilty parties will object to the publication, but I see no reason why good people should. If the charges are true, they ought to have been published. I know, in a general way, what the facts are claimed to be; and nothing could be more horrible."

THE *Freidenker* quotes the statement made by the editor of a newspaper published in Columbus, Ohio, and called *The Orphan's Friend* (*Waisenfreund*), that the joy of the saints in heaven is undoubtedly increased by their beholding the torments of the damned, and that this is the meaning of Psalm xci, 8: "Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked."

RECENTLY, the police broke in the doors of the Asylum of San Filippo de Neri at Leghorn, and found twenty little girls held in captivity.

The institution was under the supervision of a Catholic priest,—Father Bruzza. Apparently repentant Magdalenes, enrolled as Sisters of Charity in the service of the house, went about the city making new victims, securing clients, and soliciting alms. The priest denies the charge; but the evidence against him is declared to be conclusive, and he is now in the municipal prison, as is the Mother Superior.

OUR Hebrew brethren do not intend to be outdone in praising Grant. From one of their papers, the *Occident*, we take the following, by Rabbi Browne: "Moses liberated three millions of people—his own brethren—from Egyptian bondage. Grant liberated three millions of people, a race not his own, from American bondage, over the dead bodies of his own brethren, breaking the negro's chains. These three millions of broken chains the angels of heaven have been linking together, so that our American Moses might climb on his self made path to the realms of bliss, and shake hands with his prototype, our own Moses of old."

REV. ROBERT LAIRD COLLIER has figured lately as a somewhat sensational newspaper correspondent. Whether describing his reception by an English nobleman, a bull-fight in Mexico, or some popular demonstration, he always revels in superlatives. Thus, writing to the *Boston Herald*, after mentioning Gen. Grant's funeral, he says: "Grant is felt to have had the most consummate intellect, and to have lived the most illustrious career, of this century. He was altogether the most splendid man America has yet given to the world." Last Sunday in a sermon, Mr. Collier said: "The written history of this man will never reach the truth. This must be left to the larger and subtler insight of legend. . . . Washington, Lincoln, Grant,—it is the edict of legend that the greatest of these is Grant." For such exaggerated, for such utterly false statements as these, especially by a moral and religious teacher, there can be no excuse. Enough can be said in praise of Gen. Grant to express the popular feeling, and at the same time to do full justice to the memory of the illustrious dead, without going beyond the bounds of all truth and common sense.

MINNEAPOLIS, where the American Woman Suffrage Association is to hold its next annual meeting, October 13-15, is quite a distance from Boston, the head-quarters of the "remonstrants"; but the telegraph has almost destroyed the advantages as well as the disadvantages of distance, and the A. W. S. A. will need to keep a sharp lookout lest the tactics of its enemies, who lack neither money nor energy, and are fertile in resources, strengthen the opposition with which it has to contend. We suggest that some of the remonstrants be invited to attend the convention, and to show the strength or the weakness of their position. The people of the West like to "hear both sides"; and a debate between Mrs. Lucy Stone or Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, or between Henry B. Blackwell, the man of facts and figures, and any of the gentlemen who

spoke against woman suffrage before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee last winter, would attract large audiences, be instructive as well as lively, and help to awaken and extend an interest in this important reform.

JOSEPH SMITH, son of the Prophet and president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,—branches of which hold service in many cities and towns of New England as well as in the West,—is in Utah on his long-contemplated mission of restoring Mormonism to its "primitive purity." The members of the hierarchy at Salt Lake City are not a little disturbed by his presence in the city, where he has commenced preaching. He is fiercely assailed in the Mormon papers, especially in the *Deseret News*, the official organ of the Church. The Utah Latter Day Saints had better elect Joseph Smith president, abandon polygamy, and put themselves in harmony with the laws of the United States. They have received so many revelations they might now manage to get one authorizing them to make Smith their leader and to forbid polygamy.

THE London correspondent of the *Boston Herald*, referring to the movement for disestablishment, says: "This will be the most burning question at the coming elections. Both Church and clergy, by their conduct, are almost daily helping the Radical cry of 'Divorce the Church and State.' The newspapers continue to bring charges against the clergy for drunkenness and loose morals on the one hand, and bigotry and clerical oppression on the other." A case is related of a rector, in a parish where the value of the living is £1,052 annually, or nearly a sovereign per head, who wrote to an old man eighty-two years old, of irreproachable character and patriarchal appearance, saying, "I feel it my painful duty to pronounce you cut off from church communion, and I pray that God may save your soul," thus concluding after the fashion of an assize judge, who has donned the black cap, and is pronouncing the sentence of death against a murderer. The old gentleman, being a practical man, although suffering from the infirmities of age, wrote the rector, inquiring whether the reason of his letter was not because some part of his tithe remained unpaid. The rector replied, repeating his "black cap prayer," and the next Sunday, before his congregation, publicly announced his anathema against the octogenarian, using, it is said, the excommunication in the Prayer-book, which has long been obsolete in the Church of England. The account says: "The farmer thus treated meditates obtaining legal redress, believing the attack as one made upon his personal character. Meanwhile, the people of the whole diocese of Norwich appear to be intensely excited; and, undoubtedly, the whole Radical press of the realm will adopt the aggressive incident as a pivot for renewed attacks upon a union of Church and State, that invites bigotry and ecclesiastical autocracy. Parliament will also be asked to inquire into the affair."

CREDULITY.

Credulity, scepticism, and faith are words that respectively represent certain attitudes of mind which, with the relations between them, we propose to treat in three successive articles. Faith, among theological writers, is often confounded with credulity, and usually is made the antagonist of scepticism; but rather, when genuine, is it the product of the two.

Credulity is a quality of mind that is apt to be ridiculed and scorned. It is popularly associated with mental weakness, and as such is despised. Especially is it treated with contempt by men of the world, so called; that is, by men who have travelled much, and have mingled largely with the various classes of their fellow-beings, and who are commonly thought, and who think themselves, to understand better the world and human life because they have gone over more areas of mankind, and think they have discovered that things are not what they seem. Henceforth, this class of persons regard themselves as proof against every form of cheat, delusion, jugglery, mental or moral pretence, by which, in their view, ordinary mortals, who have not had their opportunity, are constantly duped. You will not catch them expressing confidence in this neighbor's honesty or in that one's purity; for have they not learned, they boastfully say, what moral hypocrites lie concealed under the fairest moral appearances? They even smile incredulously at claims put forth for woman's virtue, and wonder at the weakness that is thus deceived. Now, possibly, this class of men—who, in their own eyes, have so much worldly wisdom—would have been wiser in the realities of human life, if they had not gone over such large areas, but had gone deeper; if they had studied life less in its superficial and more in its cubic contents; if they had known more of home and of home virtues, and less of the possible follies and vices abroad, which may be found by those who seek them. With all their affected wisdom, they might have been a little wiser, if they had had some of that quality of credulity which they so scorn in others. As to their mission in the world,—that of scoffing at confiding and credulous souls, treating all faith in human goodness and integrity as only an amiable, deluded weakness, and thus undermining the very foundations of social sincerity and confidence,—there is nothing more lamentable or more despicable.

Credulity, it is true, is often a weakness, and it may rise to such excess as to become of the nature of crime,—a crime against the spirit of inquiry, of investigation and research, on which so much of important and saving truth depends. Yet it is a weakness that is associated with kindly, generous, and magnanimous natures. Better, a thousand times better, believe too well of your friend than too ill of him. Better credit your neighbor with ten virtues that he may not possess than harbor ungrounded suspicions of his integrity. Better run the risk that your companion may turn out a hypocrite and deceive you than run the risk of doing him the injustice of assuming that he is a hypocrite, and have him turn out an honest man.

But credulity is not always even a weakness, nor necessarily associated with weak natures. It is sometimes found in strong characters, and is even the spur and stimulus of heroic careers; and, in itself, at its root, not considering now its possible excesses and malformations, it is a quality of character that is admirable and to be cherished. What, then, is the genesis of this quality? What of its ancestry and kindred? Considered etymologically, credulity means the disposition to believe

or to accept things for just what they seem. More exactly, it means, in common usage, the disposition to believe very readily, often too readily, and to accept things for just what they seem *at first sight*, without scrutiny or question or thought of question. But, already, we see that the word in common usage has a taint of evil. It has become stained with objectionable and odious excesses of the quality of mind that it names.

Yet credulity, in its simple etymological sense of *disposition to believe*, to accept things unquestioningly for just what they seem, is a natural and inherent tendency of the human mind when it makes its first advent into conscious existence. The disposition is just as natural, and it is just as impossible that it should not exist, as it is natural for a living body to breathe, and impossible that it should not breathe. We cannot conceive of a human being, nor of any other living creature, starting in life in any other way than by instinctive, involuntary acceptance of surrounding facts, so far as there is any cognition of them, for what they purport to be. The scientific definition of organic, or individual, life is that it is the result of a long series of adaptations between an inner vital energy and an outer environment. To suppose, therefore, that, when organic conscious life has come, it should not accept these adaptations as anything real, should refuse to trust them and to confide itself to them, and should deny and reject them, would be to suppose an absolute contradiction in the very heart of nature's processes; for, without these adaptations, there would have been no conscious being at all. Or could we suppose a conscious being to come, and then to have power to deny the reality of its apparent relations to surrounding things, and to refuse to act as if they were real, by that act of disbelief and refusal life would soon cease. In other words, nature will not, cannot, perpetuate any utter disbelief and rejection of her processes. Such disbelief is an insanity that at once effects its own cure. Man comes into existence, then, naturally and necessarily, as a believer, and not a doubter; as an affirmer, not a denier. And we may go further, and say, in consequence, that he comes also as a positive, creative, and constructive force, and not as a destroyer. Whatever human beings may think, become, or do afterwards, they necessarily, by a stern law of nature, begin their career on this planet by the implicit acceptance of certain apparent facts and relations amid which they find themselves as if they were real. Without a shadow of doubt, they confide in them, trust them, believe them; and, upon this confidence and belief, they *begin* to build all the great structures of knowledge, character, and power that are afterwards reared.

This point may seem metaphysical and obscure in statement, yet, in reality, is very simple. And, simple as it is, it presents a solid basis for all practical philosophy, ethics, and religion. To illustrate: the infant, whether human or brute, accepts in perfect trust the instinct that puts it into vital connection with the provision nature has arranged for its sustenance. It has no possible question of the veracity of this tendency; no more thought of denying the reality of the other side of the vital relation thus established than it has of denying its own side,—that is, its own consciousness of the instinct. The one is just as real as the other. And, if nature, in her provisions for sustaining life, makes an affirmation that life is a cherished object with her, not less affirmative and trustworthy in the same direction is the *infantile instinct* that impels the young life to seek nature's providings. So with all the instinctive tendencies of functions that have for their end the preserva-

tion and safety of existence, and that make the first elements of conscious life: they are necessarily accepted and followed for what they purport to be.

But with the developing instincts there awaken other sensations and perceptions that enlarge the sphere of relations to the external world; and these, too, are accepted with the same trust in their faithfully representing realities. The child *sees*, and believes that things exist just as he sees them. He *hears*, and believes in the reality of what he hears. He *touches*, and believes that there is something there just as his fingers report to him. He becomes conscious, not only of a motherly bounty for his boy's needs, but of a motherly tenderness, carefulness, and love, which watch over him day and night, in sickness and in health, and gratify other needs that have been born within him; and he can no more doubt the reality of this higher maternal bounty than he can doubt the physical. It is pledged to him in smiles and caresses and acts and promises that have never yet failed of fulfilment. The parental provision for his wants that he finds in his own home, however narrow and poor that home may be, is a providence he does not doubt. There is a time when to the child his parents' wisdom and goodness are boundless. This is the age of simple credence, of innocent credulousness, of repose upon appearances as realities, of childly readiness to believe that all is good and true and fair. And this is the attitude of credulity,—the instinctive acceptance of things for what they seem; and, with this inherent vital confidence in the *truth* of things as they are related to him, man begins the task of life.

WM. J. POTTER.

MAN vs. NATURE.

No recent discovery in geology is more significant than this: that decline in the activities and powers of nature heralded the advent of man. Volcanic fires were dying out. The fires of life were burning low. Chimborazo was dying, and the high orders of life over all the world were declining. The time had come when Nature must bring forth a child who could help her. Man came. "Earth's hollow need was prophet of his coming." "Adam," says the apostle of Mormonism, Orson Pratt,—*"Adam came into Eden with one of his wives, and assisted at the creation."* Profoundly true that man assisted, and does assist, at the creation, which was and always is. Man found the elephant, the tiger, the lion, all great or hurtful things, to be waning dynasties; and he has rendered assistance in working their extermination. Soldiers of the French army in Algiers have killed many elephants, and more than five hundred lions and tigers. Dr. Gerard made dissections, and found that almost every lion and tiger had consumption, and almost every elephant had Bright's disease. The bullets shot by men had merely hastened the work which Nature herself was doing. In assailing so many individuals, she is killing the species. Man must help her, and correct her.

For Nature is not good. Let us be brave, and say what we see. In the name of man, her pain-racked child, I indict her. We walk under the shadow of a dark mystery. Evil is not a fleeting shadow cast over the earth by the deed of an Adam. Evil is real, primal, colossal. A cyclone sweeps over Bengal, and slays twenty-five thousand men and women and babes, and countless animals called dumb. Insects innumerable infest our fruits and grains, and destroy every year more wealth than the combined armies of the north and south destroyed in any year of the civil war. A

low fungus attacks the potato, and brings on Ireland the miseries of famine. Man himself is scourged by invisible thongs; he is bitten by invisible mouths; he is pierced by invisible lances; he is compassed about by an army of invisibles. They camp in the waters, they bivouac in the air. This is the night-side of the organic world: the inorganic has its analogue.

Far back, in the tertiary epoch, deserts began to break out on the Pacific slope of America, as hives may break out on a sick child; and Humboldt, having his eye on the factors which dominate in desert-making, anticipated a time when the whole coast would be a hopeless desert. Man forbid! Painful to this day is my recollection of a desert. Approaching the Mohave desert in California, I saw everywhere the signs of impending ruin. The vultures, which I had seen whirling through the air, began to disappear,—proof that there was no longer anything to die. The tar-weeds had gone, and the penstemons. Nature was taking on more and more a sinister look. Her weeds, as they approach the desert, are characterized more and more by tarry exudations and poisonous spines. Reptiles, insects, weeds, show how sharp had been the struggle for life, before Nature died into a desert. I reached the desert, and found only the cactus. It is the devil's own. It rose before me in sprawling, flattened trunks, jointed like claws of a lobster, and armed with barbed spines; in stems twisted into horrid shapes, and bristling with horrid thorns; in clumps shaped like a pumpkin, and spined like a sea-urchin; in pillars of diablo's temple, channelled and ribbed from plinth to capital, and beset with rosettes of serrated spikes.

The desert of the desert is Death's Valley. The Amargosa sweeps through alkaline sand from a desert in Nevada to a sink in the Mohave. Many a band of emigrants, seeking the fertile valleys of California, has followed the arid trough of the Amargosa into the Valley of Death. Eighty Mormons, journeying to San Diego, at that time one of the "Stakes of Zion," were entrapped in this sink; and to this day their skeletons, and skeletons of their wagons, lie bleaching on the burning sand. Not much "assistance," O thou much believing, much suffering, polygamous saint, did the God of thy imagination get from his Adam in the desert of Mohave!

We have preferred to look at Nature as she is,—deserts to be redeemed, lives to be killed, the inorganic world to be amended, and all but a segment of the organic world to be destroyed.

We take that sweetish, oily fluid, glycerine, composed of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen, and pour into it a fine stream of nitric acid. Atoms are now breaking away from their old molecules, and forming new ones. With the mental vision, we look into the new molecule, and see how the atoms are grouped. We see that the oxygen atoms cannot be grouped about the carbon and hydrogen; for, if they were, their affinities would be satisfied. The oxygen must lie against the nitrogen, for which it has no liking. When powder burns, the explosion is not absolutely instantaneous; for the oxygen lies in one molecule and the carbon in another. When nitro-glycerine burns, the explosion is instantaneous; for the carbon and oxygen lie in the same molecule. A more terrific agent of destruction it is impossible for science to find or make. On this line, we have reached absolute perfection; for we have made that which, with irresistible force, expands instantaneously to nine hundred times its normal bulk.

With this agent, we are to lay our hands mightily on the earth as destroyers. At the touch of a baby's hand, electric life sped through a wire into a murderous granite reef charged with dynamite,

and Hell Gate was shattered. Let Alps and Hoo-sac thrust now their ribs of granite athwart the highways of man, we'll break them into shreds, With such an agent for remodelling the globe, man, perchance, may open gateways for the rain, and redeem the deserts. What we have done is but

... "A star of promise,
The faintest reflex of a distant sun,
Which wakes an eager salutation in us,
'Till nobler heights are won."

We must find other agents of destruction, and work on other lines. We must do more at killing.

Every one will remember the Black Hole of Calcutta,—a hundred and forty men thrust into a close room, only twenty feet square. Suppose that in the airless prison house had been a vat filled with the juice of corn or rye, and the men had been plunged into the vat. The grain juice holds oxygen enough; but the men, having no power to wrest it from the embrace of other elements, would have died of asphyxia. Pick up in any damp place a bit of horn or leather, and you will find it coated with a greenish mould. The mould is a little rod-like plant, called *penicillium*. Put *penicillium* into a little Calcutta hole, and it will die, as the man died, for want of oxygen. Thrust it into a little vat of corn-juice. Now, it has an advantage over man: it will wrench the oxygen it needs from the liquid in which it is bathed. It behaves as carbon in nitro-glycerine, which wrenches oxygen from nitrogen. Burning without air is explosion. Living without air is fermentation. The product of one is gas, the end of the other is alcohol or—if the life is led in a human body—death. We have in each a most powerful agent of destruction. Lives which hide from the eye of day, and skulk and burrow in dark vats or in the body of man or beast, are destroying every year millions of higher lives. Fire-water is not the worst work of these wrenchers of oxygen. Terrible are the zymotic diseases. Myriads of organisms, in the form of transparent rods, swarm through the body, as if they had mistaken it for a vat, and were trying to make it all over into whiskey. When we are told that cholera never sets out from India, its fatherland, on an invasion of the world, without slaying at least a million human beings, we stand aghast. But what is this to the annual death harvest of all zymotic diseases? When shall we cease to fight these scourges with invocations in the church, and to welcome them right royally by dirt in the streets? When shall we cease to invoke a suprasensible world against the subsensible? We have created the rock-rending dynamite; but when shall we evoke the dynamite that shall blast and destroy this whole underworld of lives that breathe from the blood and tissues of men? The cry which goes up from stricken Spain and threatened America is for an agent of death to the invisible myriads which to-day may be sailing on the air or floating in the water, and to-morrow may bivouac in the bodies of men. If the invisible life-world could be killed,—every wriggling rod or point of life,—man would be near his elysium. Some day, perchance, it can. The day seems far off, when we remember that the only slayer of the microbe of cholera found, till now, is corrosive sublimate; but slay we must, or be slain. Before the world can become an Eden, a garden of delight to man, a whole segment of nature must be wiped out. But what if it comes back again through spontaneous generation? That such a thing as spontaneous generation did occur when Nature was young, no naturalist, I think, will deny. Science has well-nigh demonstrated that it does not occur now: if it does, then Nature has in her bosom a perennial spring of evil.

There is another world, one within the range of our vision, which must be destroyed.

A few weeks ago, I came from Florida to New England. The last labor I saw in Florida was that of pumping an insecticide over orange trees. The "scale insect" must be killed, or the orange growers will be impoverished. I passed a day on Cape Cod, and the first labor I saw in Massachusetts was the pumping of a vile decoction of tobacco over a cranberry bog to kill the "fire-worm," so named because it sweeps through a bog like a devouring flame. It must be killed, or Cape Cod will revert to a waste of sand and barren bogs. Two volumes of agricultural reports lie on my table, and I find that four-fifths of their contents are devoted to the problem of killing. I find in the proceedings of an agricultural society that a farmer proposes as the division of a day to him who would be a successful farmer sixteen hours for labor,—that is, for killing weeds and worms,—seven hours for sleep, forty-five minutes for breakfast, dinner, and supper, and fifteen minutes for mental improvement and feeding the hogs!

The insect world, with the exception of a very few species, should be destroyed. It were better for man if he could destroy the whole animal world save about one species in five hundred, and the whole vegetable world except one species in three hundred.

In the flood myth, Javeh is represented as having discovered his mistake, and destroyed the world. Unhappily, the world behaves as if it had been started anew, just as the myth describes; as if man had started from a commodore whose first impulse on touching land was to get drunk, and whose ship, to stock a new world, had borne a cargo of rattlesnakes and doves, of thistles and corn, of tigers and horses, of mosquitoes and silk-worms,—the bad and the partially good,—and, down in the hold, the seeds of cholera, typhoid, scarlatina, every zymotic scourge. Pity the ark was not quarantined!

The world may be redeemed, but not through the redemption of man alone. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth." Man cannot have his Eden as long as "every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food" holds its life at the mercy of myriad mouths of insects.

I believe that *this* is to be the better world. I believe that, if the genius and energy put forth to destroy our fellow-men were to be directed against the enemies of man, in nature, it would very soon be that better world. With the old prophet of Israel, I dream of a world where "nothing shall hurt or destroy in all the holy mountain," "no lion shall be there." I am of those who,

"Rowing hard against the stream,
See distant gates of Eden gleam."

W. D. GUNNING.

LECTURES BEFORE THE CONCORD SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

Immediately after the lectures on Goethe came another series, but a much shorter one, on the question, "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" The first speaker, Mr. Fiske, was greeted by a large and enthusiastic audience, on Wednesday evening, July 29. His paper on "The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge" was so long, and yet so concise, as to make any summary difficult. Belief in God he thought indispensable to the rational and healthy working of our minds. The fact is above our comprehension. His own presentation of it might seem too much at variance with existing creeds, too unreal for those who prefer to believe in a Deity swayed by human passion, and too much in conformity with

the supposed tendency of science to banish God from the world. As for the philosophizers who hope for this, the man of real science might say, "Lord, save me from my friends!" Never have men's minds changed so much as in this century. With our railroads, telegraphs, and labor-saving machines have come wholly new developments of astronomy, chemistry, philology, comparative anatomy, archæology, history, and Biblical criticism.

This is the age of ideas: its grandeur dwarfs all the others. The man who had his education before 1880 is separated from the men of more recent culture by a wider gulf than ever existed before. Creeds lose their hold. It is no longer a struggle between Church and Church. Religion herself is called upon to explain her existence, and say why she should not be ruled out of human affairs. Will science destroy faith in God as it has belief in ghosts?

Examination of the idea of God discloses a permanent element, which must remain unshaken. We must all admit, as did our ancestors, that we depend on something outside of ourselves: the world exists independent of us. We differ from primitive men only in that they personified all the forces of nature. This tendency has joined with that for worshipping ancestors to create religions. Paganism is an inextricable tangle of ancestor worship and nature worship. The latter preponderated with thoughtful nations, like the Greeks, Hindus, and Norse. Worship of ancestors preponderated with the Romans, Chinese, and early Hebrews. The word translated "God" in Genesis, "*Elohim*," is plural, and means a number of tutelary deities. One of them, Jehovah, gradually came to be thought more powerful than the rest. His worship supplanted that of Baal, a personification of nature. Then he was believed in as the only God of the earth. Finally, he was revered as supreme over all the universe. This is the Christian view, though it is encrusted with pagan superstitions, like worshipping saints and the Virgin. The word "God" seems to be derived from Woden, the Norse god, after whom Wednesday is named; and in Christianity there are two views. There is one favored by Augustine and other Latin Fathers, and derived from the Roman worship of ancestors. This makes the universe inert, and governed by a God who is outside of it, and is like a man, though so much greater than men are separated from him. This conception is dominant to-day: every Christian child grows up under it. Five-sixths of Christian doctrine is derived from Augustine. This view leads to the misconception of a conflict between religion and science. Agassiz objected to Darwin, as Leibnitz had done to Newton, that the new theory put natural forces in the place of God. Such objections were anthropomorphic, even polytheistic. To Agassiz and Leibnitz, the forces of nature were little gods. This view necessarily calls out atheism and materialism. Voltaire and Büchner are as much successors of Augustine as are Calvin and Paley. The assumption that one part of the universe is nearer God than another leads to the theory of two regions of phenomena, one governed by its own laws, the other governed by the direct action of God. Every scientific discovery changes the boundary line between these two realms. This calls out a cry that soon there will be nothing more left for God to do. People who think thus lay great stress on the argument from design, not seeing that this cannot prove God infinite.

A far higher view was taken by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek Fathers, who saw God immanent in the universe, its ever-present life. This view cannot conflict with science: the physical forces are simply manifestations of God.

Mr. Fiske once spoke of the former view as anthropomorphic, and this as cosmic; but even this contains an anthropomorphic element. To eliminate this would be to abolish the idea of God. The old argument from design has been destroyed by Darwinism, but there are signs of purpose in the universe which cannot be ignored without reducing it to a farrago of nonsense. Scientific philosophy teaches that the universe is animated by a single principle of life. Is this principle, force, power, something material, a blind necessity? Material it cannot be. All we really know is mind; the universe is mind-stuff; we can conceive of it only as a form of consciousness. There is a meaning in the orderly sequence of events, tending to a mighty goal. The fundamental idea underlying religion is fully justified; all things work together for the evolution of the highest.

Mr. Fiske did not say what part sin plays in the evolution of the highest, or what meaning it has in the orderly sequence of events. It may also be objected that we each have just as much knowledge of matter as of any mind except our own. We are convinced of the existence of material as well as mental phenomena. Why believe that the cause partakes solely of the nature of one class of the effects? Why suppose that this cause consists of any one principle rather than of many principles working in harmony?

Many of Dr. Abbot's friends were assembled next morning, when he began by showing what philosophy is the legitimate outcome of science. No one doubts the value of the discoveries made by the scientific method, which begins with observation and experiment, then makes hypotheses, and ends in verification. This method presupposes that the universe, of which we form a part, exists independent of us, and external to us; that this universe is known; and that there is an objective reality in the known relations between its parts. The current philosophy, which sees no reality except that of phenomena, and which cannot consistently recognize that anything really exists, except in so far as it is represented in the individual consciousness, lays the axe at the root of the tree of knowledge. We read in *Alice in Wonderland* of a Cheshire cat, which gradually disappeared, leaving only its grin in sight. What is usually called philosophy tries to conceive of the grin without the cat. Kant and his followers do not give sufficient reality to the relations between objects, but the reality of these relations is affirmed in all propositions. The true philosophy is that of scientific realism, according to which things in themselves are necessarily intelligible, and there is nothing unknowable but the non-existent. The unknown exists, but not the unknowable, which is a figment of the imagination, an offence to reason. Every discovery converts the unknown into the known, and thus shows that what is unknown is knowable. The universe is made up of relations which are known, or at least knowable; and, therefore, it is intelligible. Its existence does not depend upon my consciousness, but my consciousness depends upon the universe. The true philosophy knows not merely phenomena, but relations which are realities.

The next question is, What idea of God is the legitimate outcome of this scientific philosophy? If there is an infinite mind, it must know the relations of the universe; and its nature must be identical with that of the mind of man. You may call this anthropomorphism. Hard words can never make a true principle false. The universe is infinitely intelligible; and, therefore, its origin can be nowhere except in an infinite intelligence. This intelligible universe is also intelligent. It is both the subject and object of knowledge, its own object of thought. It is an infinite self-conscious

intellect. Nature is as necessarily the product of infinite mind as philosophy is of finite mind. Our study of evolution has brought us to the question whether it is mechanical or organic. The central struggle in thought is whether the universe is a machine or an organism. The latter view gives all there is in the other, and more. A machine implies a machinist: it is a means adapted to external ends. An organism must be adapted to internal ends also; and there must be an internal agent, not merely an external one. Machines must be explained by reference to organisms. The conception of an organism explains itself. To understand evolution, we must suppose that there is a purpose. Spencer and Haeckel acknowledge that there is one, in using such words as "adjustment" and "adaptation." The universe is not a machine, but an organism. It is alive with a power working everywhere by organic means for organic ends, feeling infinite tenderness for all that is written within itself. Evil is simply the pressure on the finite of its own finitude. It is the shadow side of all finite reality. Thus, the universe is real and intelligible. It is an intellect and an organism. Its life-principle is an infinite power, acting by means for ends. There is an infinite love for the finite; and thus there is an infinite Person, an eternal Spirit. This is the scientific idea of God. Is it pantheistic? It does not make spirit and matter hostile to each other. It says that the all is God, and God is the all. But it does not deny his personality, and thus is not mere pantheism. God is both immanent and transcendent. He is not to be confounded with matter or banished from his own universe. The faith of the future will build its altar, not to an unknown, but to a known God.

Dr. Abbot's phraseology was so technical that in some parts of this imperfect summary, which has been submitted to his inspection, it seemed best to use more familiar though less accurate words. Nothing else so profound and original has been given this year in Concord. His system of philosophy can safely challenge criticism. The strength of his theological arguments cannot be adequately estimated until they appear in full. It is well to consider deeply and earnestly what conclusion should be drawn from the intelligibility of the universe, and what reason we have to accept it as a self-conscious organism rather than as an unconscious organism, the tree of life. Among the criticisms made on this lecture was Rev. Mr. Gill's, that organisms are mortal, and Prof. Davidson's, that it is a poor compliment to the Deity to make him intelligent. Intelligence is an adjustment to surroundings, and therefore finite. It can cause nothing. Ideas produce no realities. Action depends on volition, not intelligence; and volition implies desire, a result of limitation.

The scientific view of force was presented with admirable boldness and strength in a paper contributed by Dr. Edmund Montgomery, one of the ablest physiologists in this country, to which he came after making a brilliant reputation in Germany, not only as a practising physician, but as a writer on such subjects as the beginnings of life. Great respect must be paid to the opinion, coming from such a source, that there are very many forces which cannot properly be regarded as one. Accordingly, pantheism is not the legitimate outcome of modern science. This paper deserves most careful study, and will, I am informed, soon appear in *The Index*. It should be added that the reception given by the School to these and other expressions of agnosticism, among which was a speech by Mr. Courtlandt Palmer, was extremely courteous.

F. M. HOLLAND.

CHARITY WORK.

Mr. Potter's article in *The Index* of July 30 tells some very pathetic stories and puts some very hard questions; but I wish he belonged to the Irishman's Club, where every man was bound to answer his own questions. I have watched charitable operations with great interest; and I am coming more and more to the belief that it is not by any change in circumstances, or in the structural order of society, that poverty and crime can be prevented, or even much lessened, but only by the cultivation of the moral virtues and an increased sense of personal responsibility. It is from the want of the sterling virtues of honesty, prudence, temperance, industry, and humility that the rich become poor, and the poor poorer.

When I see a young man, who has laid up three or four hundred dollars, spend it all on showy furniture, when he marries, and plan his style of living on the full extent of his present income, having no thought of the probable increase of family and possible decrease of work, I say to myself, "They are preparing cases for the Associated Charities." When young men refuse to do the work which is ready to be done, because they "do not like it," I am sure that they do like smoking, and will soon like drinking, and will finally swell the ranks of paupers and criminals. When I hear of a person who wants a situation, and will not ask advice and help from those who have known her in better days, I think it is not self-respect which actuates her, but that she is either an impostor, whose friends of better days have had good reason to cast her off, or else that she is ashamed that she is obliged to work, and wants to keep up a genteel fiction.

All this sounds very hard-hearted; and it is much pleasanter to pity the poor creatures who suffer, and lay the blame on an impersonal society, and try to remedy the evil in a lump. My view of the matter does not give the philanthropist an easy task. He must seek out causes, and there are some which do belong to general fault rather than individual shortcomings. One of these is sickness, the most expensive of evils except crime, since it takes one well person to care for every sick one; and sickness is only partially the fault of the individual. There is a small residuum of poverty, suffering, and perhaps even crime, which cannot be prevented by the best efforts of the individual. For this, charity is needed; but charity abounds in our communities, and needs rather to be directed than stimulated. Individual influence of one human being on another, giving sympathy, help, advice, encouragement, but without lessening the sense of responsibility, or encouraging dependence and weakness, seems to me the best means of reaching those who, from causes beyond their control, have fallen behind in the race of life.

I hope those who have had experience in charitable efforts will let the readers of *The Index* have the benefit of it; for this is one of the most important of all practical subjects, and we are all much in the dark about it.

E. D. CHENEY.

A CRITICISM CRITICISED.

We learn from the *Woman's Journal* that one Rev. Robert Nourse lectured in Washington, D.C., lately on "Blighted Women." He criticised the position which, he said, was assumed by a convention of women suffragists held in that city, respecting the influence of Christianity on woman, and arrayed against it "the Apostles' Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Westminster Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and all the unformulated creeds

of the leading bodies of evangelical Christendom. Then he instanced the hymnology of the churches, Watts' songs, the Wesleys, Moody and Sankey, adding, 'I don't believe any Christian composer could or would write a melody to float the absurdity. Nor could the morning stars have shouted for joy at the creation, if God had made woman inferior to man, instead of a helpmeet, as the good old Bible puts it; and then, quoting T. W. Higginson, Huxley, and Darwin in their utterance, he charged these scientists with having taken rank with savages in their interpretation of woman's sphere.' He also declared, among other things, "that Christ gave to the world an entirely new idea of woman, that the Christian Church is the only organization which has succeeded in elevating the female sex." The *Woman's Journal* makes this comment only: "Dr. Nourse is partly right and partly wrong. He is right in claiming Christianity for woman's rights, but wrong in charging suffragists, like those named above, with being in conflict with civilization in their advocacy of woman's equality."

We should be glad to be informed what new idea of woman Christ gave to the world, and on what teaching of the New Testament is based the statement that this preacher "is right in claiming Christianity for woman's rights." We have rarely taken any notice of the theological claims made in the supposed interests of the woman suffrage movement, with which we are in the fullest sympathy, and were when its advocacy was confined mainly to those who were denounced from the orthodox pulpit as "infidels"; but, of late, these assumptions appear almost too often to be allowed to pass unquestioned. They are heard at almost every woman suffrage convention from the lips of preachers who use the platform, not unfrequently, to defend their theological system quite as much as to speak for woman suffrage; and great care is taken to guard against any reply to these assumptions, for the reason, perhaps, that it is thought that their identification with the movement will strengthen it. If the radical free thinkers in this State have not been alienated from the woman suffrage movement, it is because they value the movement solely for the justice of its aims. As to the preacher quoted by the *Woman's Journal*, it is evident from his words that he has no true conception of woman's position or rights. He does not question that Paul taught the right doctrine in regard to woman. Certain it is that both the Old Testament and the New teach woman's inferiority and enjoin her subordination to man. There are certain moral precepts in the Christian and Jewish churches, such as the Golden Rule, which, if fully carried out by enlightened minds, would secure to woman political equality with man; but these precepts do not belong exclusively to any one religion, nor can they take the place or serve the purpose of clear and distinct teachings regarding human rights and duties, without an understanding of which these precepts cannot be realized in practice. Christianity, the Christianity of the New Testament, fell short of teaching the rights of man: much more did it fall short of teaching the rights of woman. So long as the authority of the Scriptures is used to block the way of every reform in its infancy, that is not a wise expediency which would identify any particular reform with the attempts to perpetuate that authority.

B. F. U.

THAT is a tender and noble attribute of civilized human nature which forgets prejudices and animosities after the life of one toward whom they have been felt is ended, and is but a narrow and ignoble spirit that would carp at their manifestation.—*Boston Herald*.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

ALL theologies, Pagan, Hebrew, and Christian, have curiously enough been at accord in denouncing woman as the cause of all our woes.—*B. W. Ball*.

WHATEVER you believe to be true and false, that proclaim to be true and false; whatever you think admirable and beautiful, that should be your model, even if all your friends and all the critics storm at you as a crotchety-monger and an eccentric.—*G. H. Lewes*.

GEN. GRANT, who was able to enjoy a good joke, even when it was against himself, related, a few days before his death, that Quartermaster Ingalls, during the siege of Petersburg, had a queer-looking dog, which was the object of much curious attention. Gen. Grant once asked its owner if he expected to take that dog into Richmond. "Yes," was Ingalls' reply: "he comes of a very long-lived breed."

To a Boston reporter, Col. Ingersoll said lately: "Sheol is a great relief. It is not so hot as the old place. The nights are comfortable, and the society is quite refined. The worms are dead, and the air reasonably free from noxious vapors. It is a much worse word to hold a revival with, but much better for every-day use. It will hardly take the place of the old word when people step on tacks, put up stoves, or sit on pins; but for use at church fairs and mite societies it will do about as well."

THE orthodox *Congregationalist* says of Sir Moses Montefiore: "Few men have ever more warmly attracted general love and respect by a life of honor and large philanthropy, which latter knew no limitation of race or station. A Hebrew of the Hebrews, it may yet almost be doubted whether his name, with a generous sum, was ever withheld from any solicitation for aid to a worthy object." Yet this man rejected the Messiah; and, for his unbelief, according to the creed of the *Congregationalist*, he must suffer everlasting torment.

MRS. CAROLINE H. DALL writes of the late Maria Weston Chapman, in the *Boston Transcript*: "Miss Martineau fell in love with Mrs. Chapman on her first arrival in Boston. She was never tired of wondering at her splendid and stately beauty." "So far as I can judge, Mrs. Chapman accepted Miss Martineau's latest views of life and death." "For herself there was no one associated with the movement, who valued William Lloyd Garrison as she did. She rated him at his true worth, and stood unflinchingly by his side during the conflicts of half a century. I have not written these pages because I think that anything I can say is worthy of my subject. Her portrait should be drawn by sunbeams. No human imagination ever conceived anything more luminous than her magnificent presence."

SAM JONES, the Southern revival orator, knows how to use vigorous language; and, although he is as far behind the age Scripturally as he is politically, he can convey a lesson and point a moral with a Bible story most effectively. To a convention lately held in Atlanta, Ga., he said:—

You don't want to have a fuss. Well, I'll tell you every good man dreads a fuss; but he don't fear anything that walks on the earth. The Church lays back on the idea that it must have peace. Old Joshua went out one day, and fought all day long. He was crowding the enemy, when he looked up and saw the sun going down. He said, "Lord, if you will just give me three or four more hours of sunshine, I'll clean these fellows off the face of the earth." And

the Lord just made that old sun rack back on the dial; and Joshua won a victory, the fame of which has lasted until this day. God despises a coward. I had rather die at the mouth of a cannon doing my duty than to run away from it because I was afraid. God intrusts all the noble causes on this earth to men who are game.

THE *Toronto Globe* gives extracts from Louis Riel's diary, from which we take the following:—

I thank thee, O my God, for having so protected me. Middleton's troops have given me a cannon. They have placed it at my disposal. O my God, give me grace to take it and make a good use of it. Oh, for the sake of Jesus Christ, my redeemer, of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Joseph and of St. John the Baptist, be with me, so that I may not fail to get possession of a good cannon or two, two or three cannons, with all the necessary ammunition. . . . O my God, thou hast kindly said to me, "I am going to be angry at it." Deign to be angry at the mounted police. Oh, be angry against them! I accuse them, before thee, in the name of Christ, of blaspheming the name of the Virgin, of outraging the name of the Holy Spirit, of offending by blasphemy against the holy sacrament of baptism. Punish frightfully the mounted police. Be angry against them; for they are entirely opposed to thy holy spirit of justice, to thy spirit of right, to thy spirit of truth. For the love of Jesus Christ, save us wondrously.

OF Mr. F. M. Holland's work, *The Rise of Intellectual Liberty*, the *Nation* says: "This title is unfortunate, for it seems to imply that the history of free thought in ancient and in Christian times presents a continuous development. The story itself, however, is truly told, its parts judiciously proportioned, and the relations of the different events and phenomena ably brought out. Moreover, all that tediousness which is apt to belong to comprehensive sketches of history is entirely avoided: the book is decidedly one to sit up late over. The most original part of the work is the concluding chapter, in which the author undertakes, by an inductive examination of history, to settle such questions as whether rationalism is favorable to morality, whether Christianity tends to the development of women's minds, whether the world's best work is done by book-men, etc. Mr. Holland claims special credit for having kept his mind free from prejudice in this investigation."

THE *Boston Herald* thinks that the irony of fate has rarely been illustrated more significantly than in Newman's display of pyrotechnics over the remains of our dead hero: "Hiring in a dancing girl in rosy tights, six-inch skirts, and a blaze of spangles, to attitudinize and pirouette round the coffin, could hardly have been more flagrantly out of place than an hour and a half of such tinsel rhetoric as this of a discourse that has made 'the judicious' shudder from sea to sea. When Dr. Newman preached his world-famous extravaganza over the body of Gov. Sanford's son in California, a boy of twelve or fourteen years old, and summoned all the generations to come to make pilgrimages to the tomb of this youth, beautiful as Apollo, wise as Ulysses, and saintly as Fénelon, people could afford to laugh over the sentimental burlesque, and even to feel that the \$10,000 the sacred orator is reported to have received for the effusion were a cheaper price than any self-respecting man, however hard up, could have been hired to do a like job for. But it is too serious a matter repeating this extravaganza at a time when the whole nation is so profoundly moved as to-day. . . . It is a wrong to the plain, simple, grand old commander that such fustian should be spoken over his bier. The whole nation should resent it. Nay, the pope himself ought to put it in the *Index Expurgatorius* as the most damaging blow that has been struck this many a day at the dignity and authority of the clerical office. It adds a new terror to dying."

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

A SHEAF OF POEMS.

BY GEORGE ILES.

I.

In the dim long ago of our planet's history there was a time when our ancestors, whatever their form, first began to distance their competitors in the struggle for dominion. When the branch of the tree of life whereon we now find ourselves first sprang forth toward its height and breadth of supremacy, what was it that gave the human stock its point of upward departure amid the races surrounding it, many of them individually stronger, swifter, and as cunning? Very probably it was articulate speech which first differentiated our species radically from all others, and, by making communication ample and easy, developed intelligence, and cleft the gulf which, with every era, has yawned wider between the human race and the mere beasts of jungle or swamp or prairie. As facility and completeness in powers of expression developed mind more and more, language became gradually perfected, and mankind arose to emotion, intellect, and conscience.

As with our race, so with the men who go to make it up: we accord supremacy to such of them as can adequately express the ideas and sentiments of which all men are profoundly conscious. Of these chiefs of mankind, poets are those who have the gift of utterance in its highest form. With the music of rhyme and rhythm, they give voice to the aspirations, impressions, and problems which move us universally, but find us dumb. And this fine gift of poetry usually goes with others of high vitality, wide range of sympathy, and extreme sensibility. Poets live more than other men, touch life at more points, see farther into its motives. They are more alive to the pagantry of nature in the seasons, the sublimity of the mountain, the forest, and the sea. They move us, not simply because they throb with the impulses of our common human nature, but because they bring all these to their loftiest and finest reaches. What in ordinary mortals is a fitful gleam of

inspiring insight is with poets a persistent illumination, whose pictures can be caught and detained to move and lift us all.

In bringing before you this afternoon a selection of poems, I shall endeavor to illustrate a single phase of nineteenth century thought,—poetry, as interpretative of the dawn of science and of the new ideas to which science, in its conquering march, has given rise. Ours is the age when knowledge has been most accumulated, and the methods of science have first been discussed and attempted to be defined. New knowledge has largely discredited old theories, with which were interwoven in former times the systems of religion, powerful for the moral guidance of mankind. Hence, a conflict between intellect and sentiment, to which our poets give expression in some of their noblest stanzas. Science in its commercial applications has enormously increased the world's wealth, and gold is the chief object of modern effort. Mankind ever rises to a more and more commanding eminence in our modern pantheon; and, if the violence of battle-fields is passing away, it is but giving place to the meaner strife and strategy of markets and exchanges. All this it becomes the province of the poet, as far as his power can be exerted, to combat and resist. It is his mission to take the slave of mill or warehouse or exchange and point him to the stars, to show him that life is more than the means of living, and that only the lower powers of enjoyment are satisfied, which neglect patriotism and nature and art for the heaping up of treasure, which, alas! so often takes wings, and leaves its victim poor indeed.

Science, thundering along in its victories, is practically kept in rather a narrow track. It has overcome and subjugated many regions by lens and theodolite and micrometer, and these conquests are often wrongly held to leave little territory of worth or significance unsubdued. But science, broadly interpreted, means the knowledge of all things; and we must not overrate the importance of what can be or has been reduced to rule and definition, while a vastly greater sphere of truth remains unknown.

Physics, chemistry, astronomy, and similar sciences have but begun to yield their secrets. More difficult of access, but more important to mankind, are the intricate laws of mind, will, and moral sense. After all, what has emerged from the sea of life into the upper air of the known and measured is but an islet, not more real than the vast hidden bulk which holds it up. Our sentiments and emotions deserve recognition not less than the intellect, and the appeal to them of poetry is of at least as much benefit as that of science to mind. We are the better for listening to the singers who would temper our constant drive after hard fact and material success. Surely, if the desire within us to be better can be quickened, as much is done as when the mind is informed. In opening the springs of generous emotion, in recalling us to the impressive questions of the destiny of man and of men, and restating in the light of modern thought the old problems of a Supreme Intelligence and a Supreme Conscience, our poets fulfil the noblest office of literature.

Perhaps the greatest thought of man has been that of God; and, however much it may be expanded and modified in these latter days, it has unquestionably served to prepare us for the idea of a universe whose parts consent in one orderly procession of law. George Herbert, the cleric of the seventeenth century, says in his poem on "Man," with singular anticipation of what science long afterward was to teach:—

"Man is all symmetry,
Full of proportions, one limb to another,

And all to all the world besides ;
Each part may call the farthest brother,
For head with foot hath private amity,
And both with moon and tides.
Nothing has got so far
But man hath caught and kept it as his prey,
His eyes dismount the highest star,
He is in little all the sphere ;
The herbs do gladly heal our flesh,
For they find their acquaintance there."

How finely does Emerson in the "Problem" declare man in his best work to be impelled by universal forces which speak through him from the utmost diameters of space and time !—

I like a church ; I like a cowl ;
I love a prophet of the soul ;
And on my heart monastic aisles
Fall like sweet strains, or pensive smiles ;
Yet not for all his faith can see
Would I that cowed churchman be.

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

Not from a vain or shallow thought
His awful Jove young Phidias brought,
Never from lips of cunning fell
The thrilling Delphic oracle ;
Out from the heart of nature rolled
The burdens of the Bible old ;
The litanies of nations came,
Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
Up from the burning core below,—
The canticles of love and woe ;
The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
Wrought in a sad sincerity ;
Himself from God he could not free ;
He builded better than he knew,—
The conscious stone to beauty grew.
Know'st thou what wove yon wood bird's nest
Of leaves, and feathers from her breast ?
Or how the fish outbuilt her shell,
Painting with morn each annual cell ?
Or how the sacred pine tree adds
To her old leaves new myriads ?
Such and so grew these holy piles,
Whilst love and terror laid the tiles.
Earth proudly wears the Parthenon,
As the best gem upon her zone ;
And Morning opes with haste her lids,
To gaze upon the Pyramids ;
O'er England's abbeys bends the sky,
As on its friends, with kindred eye ;
For, out of Thought's interior sphere,
These wonders rose to upper air ;
And Nature gladly gave them place,
Adopted them into her race,
And granted them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat.

These temples grew as grows the grass ;
Art might obey, but not surpass.
The passive Master lent his hand
To the vast soul that o'er him planned ;
And the same power that reared the shrine
Bestrode the tribes that knelt within.
Ever the fiery Pentecost
Girds with one flame the countless host,
Trances the heart through chanting choirs,
And through the priest the mind inspires.
The word unto the prophet spoken
Was writ on tables yet unbroken ;
The word by seers or sibyls told,
In groves of oak, or fanes of gold,
Still floats upon the morning wind,
Still whispers to the willing mind.
One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost.
I know what say the fathers wise,—
The Book itself before me lies,
Old Chrysostom, best Augustine,
And he who blent both in his line,
The younger *Golden Lips* or mines,
Taylor, the Shakspeare of divines.
His words are music in my ear,
I see his cowed portrait dear ;
And yet, for all his faith could see,
I would not the good bishop be.

Seagrave, in the same strain, says :—

Rivers to the ocean run, nor stay in all their course ;
Fires ascending seek the sun ; both speed them to their
source ;
So my soul that's born of God pants to view his glorious
face ;
Ever tends to his abode, to rest in his embrace.

Of freedom as the condition of progress, we
have had many bards, none, perhaps, more impres-

sive than Bryant, who says, in his poem on the
antiquity of freedom :—

O Freedom! thou art not as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses gushing from the cap
With which the Roman master crowned his slave
When he took off the gyves. A bearded man,
Armed to the teeth, art thou ; and one mailed hand
Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword ; thy brow,
Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
With tokens of old wars ; thy massive limbs
Are strong with struggling. Power at thee has launched
His bolts, and with his lightnings smitten thee ;
They could not quench the life thou hast from heaven ;
Merciless Power has dug thy dungeon deep,
And his swart armorers, by a thousand fires,
Have forged thy chain ; yet, while he deems thee bound,
The links are shivered, and the prison-walls
Fall outward ; terribly thou springest forth,
As springs the flame above a burning pile,
And shoutest to the nations, who return
Thy shoutings, while the pale oppressor dies.

Thy birthright was not given by human hands ;
Thou wert twin-born with man. In pleasant fields,
While yet our race was few, thou sat'st with him,
To tend the quiet flock and watch the stars,
And teach the reed to utter simple airs.
Thou by his side, amid the tangled wood,
Did'st war upon the panther and the wolf,
His only foes ; and thou with him did'st draw
The earliest furrow on the mountain-side,
Soft with the deluge. Tyranny himself,
Thy enemy, although of reverend look,
Hoary with many years, and far obeyed,
Is later born than thou ; and, as he meets
The grave defiance of thine elder eye,
The usurper trembles in his fastnesses.

Thou shalt wax stronger with the lapse of years,
But he shall fade into a feeble age,—
Feebler, yet subtler. He shall weave his snares,
And spring them on thy careless steps, and clap
His withered hands, and from their ambush call
His hordes to fall upon thee. He shall send
Quaint maskers, wearing fair and gallant forms,
To catch thy gaze, and uttering graceful words
To charm thy ear ; while his sly imps, by stealth,
Twine round thee threads of steel, light thread on thread,
That grow to fetters, or bind down thy arms
With chains concealed in chaplets. Oh! not yet
May'st thou unbrace thy corselet, nor lay by
Thy sword ; nor yet, O Freedom! close thy lids
In slumber ; for thine enemy never sleeps.
And thou must watch and combat till the day
Of the new earth and heaven. But would'st thou rest
Awhile from tumult and the frauds of men,
These old and friendly solitudes invite
Thy visit. They, while yet the forest-trees
Were young upon the unviolated earth,
And yet the moss-stains on the rock were new,
Beheld thy glorious childhood, and rejoiced.

Campbell, who came in as science began to
eclipse old wonders with greater, said distrust-
fully :—

When Science from Creation's face
Enchantment's veil withdraws,
What bright illusions yield their place
To cold material laws !

But Lowell, who has seen not only the dawn,
but the noon, of modern thought, has written :—

I grieve not that ripe Knowledge takes away
The charm that Nature to my childhood wore ;
For, with that insight, cometh, day by day,
A greater bliss than wonder was before ;
The real doth not clip the poet's wings,—
To win the secret of a weed's plain heart
Reveals some clew to spiritual things,
And stumbling guess becomes firm-footed art ;
Flowers are not flowers unto the poet's eyes,
Their beauty thrills him by an inward sense.
He knows that outward seemings are but lies,
Or, at the most, but earthly shadows, whence
The soul that looks within for truth may guess
The presence of some wondrous heavenliness.

Matthew Arnold, of all our poets, is he who
chiefly feels the unworthiness of the ordinary
aims of men. He describes the attrition of life :—

This is the curse of life ! that not
A nobler, calmer train
Of wiser thoughts and feelings blot
Our passions from our brain ;

But each day brings its petty dust
Our soon-choked souls to fill,
And we forget because we must,
And not because we will.

And, in his elegy on his father, says :—

O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force,
Surely, has not been left vain !
Somewhere, surely, afar,
In the sounding labor-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficent, firm !
Yes, in some far-shining sphere,
Conscious or not of the past,
Still thou performest the word
Of the Spirit in whom thou dost live,—
Prompt, unwearied, as here !
Still thou upraisest with zeal
The humble good from the ground,
Sternly represses the bad ;
Still, like a trumpet, dost rouse
Those who, with half-open eyes,
Tread the border-land dim
'Twixt vice and virtue ; reviv'st,
Succorest !—this was thy work,
This was thy life upon earth.

What is the course of the life
Of mortal men on the earth?—
Most men eddy about
Here and there,—eat and drink,
Chatter and love and hate,
Gather and squander, are raised
Aloft, are hurl'd in the dust,
Striving blindly, achieving
Nothing ; and then they die,—
Perish,—and no one asks
Who or what they have been,
More than he asks what waves,
In the moonlit solitudes mild
Of the midmost Ocean, have swell'd,
Foam'd for a moment, and gone.

And there are some whom a thirst
Ardent, unquenchable, fires,
Not with the crowd to be spent,
Not without aim to go round
In an eddy of purposeless dust.
Effort unmeaning and vain.
Ah, yes ! some of us strive
Not without action to die
Fruitless, but something to snatch
From dull oblivion, nor all
Glut the devouring grave !

In the poem entitled the "Buried Life," he says :—

But often in the world's most crowded streets,
But often in the din of strife,
There rises an unspeakable desire
After the knowledge of our buried life ;
A thirst to spend our fire and restless force
In tracking out our true, original course ;
A longing to inquire
Into the mystery of this heart which beats
So wild, so deep in us,—to know
Whence our lives come and where they go.
And many a man in his own breast then delves,
But deep enough, alas ! none ever mines.
And we have been on many thousand lines,
And we have shown, on each, spirit and power ;
But hardly have we, for one little hour,
Been on our own line, have we been ourselves,—
Hardly had skill to utter one of all
The nameless feelings that course through our breast,
But they course on forever unexpress'd.
And long we try in vain to speak and act
Our hidden self, and what we say and do
Is eloquent, is well, but 'tis not true !
And then we will no more be rack'd
With inward striving, and demand
Of all the thousand nothings of the hour
Their stupefying power ;
Ah, yes, and they benumb us at our call !
Yet still, from time to time, vague and forlorn,
From the soul's subterranean depth upborne
As from an infinitely distant land,
Come airs and floating echoes, and convey
A melancholy into all our day.

Story, in his poem, "Io Victis," has a fine chord
of sympathy with what the world sometimes calls
failure :—

I sing the hymn of the conquered, who fell in the battle of
life,—
The hymn of the wounded, the beaten, who died o'er-
whelmed in the strife ;
Not the jubilant song of the victors, for whom the resound-
ing acclaim
Of nations was lifted in chorus, whose brows wore the
chaplet of fame,—
But the hymn of the low and the humble, the weary, the
broken in heart,
Who strove and who failed, acting bravely a silent and
desperate part ;

Whose youth had no flower in its branches, whose hope
turned in ashes away,
From whose hands slipped the prize they had grasped at,
who stood at the dying of day
With the work of their life all around them, unptiled, un-
heeded, alone,
With death swooping down o'er their failure, and all but
their faith overthrown.
While the voice of the world shouts its chorus, its prean for
those who have won;
While the trumpet is sounding triumphant and high to the
breeze and the sun
Gay banners are waving, hands clapping, and hurrying
feet
Thronging after the laurel-crowned victors,—I stand on the
field of defeat,
In the shadow, 'mongst those who are fallen and wounded
and dying, and there
Chant a requiem low, place my hand on their knotted
brows, breathe a prayer,
Hold the hand that is hapless, and whisper, "They only the
victory win
Who have fought the good fight, and have vanquished the
demon that tempts us within;
Who have held to their faith, unseduced by the prize that
the world holds so high;
Who have dared for a high cause to suffer, resist, fight,—
if need be, to die."
Speak, History! Who are life's victors? Unroll thy long
annal, and say.
Are they those whom the world called the victors, who won
the success of a day?
The martyrs, or Nero? The Spartans, who fell at Ther-
mopylae's tryst,
Or the Persians and Xerxes? His judges, or Socrates?
Pilate, or Christ?

Rev. Abram J. Ryan, of Mobile, in his "Song of
the Mystic," has expressed the aspiration of a fine
soul with the peculiar rich imagery of his church:

I walk down the Valley of Silence,
Down the dim, voiceless valley, alone!
And I hear not the fall of a footstep
Around me, save God's and my own!
And the hush of my heart is as holy
As hovers where angels have flown.

Long ago was I weary of voices
Whose music my heart could not win;
Long ago was I weary of noises
That fretted my soul with their din;
Long ago was I weary of places
Where I met but the human and sin.

I walked through the world with the worldly,
I craved what the world never gave,
And I said, "In the world each Ideal,
That shines like a star on life's wave,
Is wrecked on the shores of the Real,
Then sleeps like a dream in a grave."

And still did I pine for the perfect,
And still found the false with the true;
I sought 'mid the human of heaven,
And caught a mere glimpse of its blue;
And I wept when the clouds of the mortal
Veiled even that glimpse from my view.

And I toiled on heart-tired of the human,
And I moaned 'mid the masses of men,
Till I knelt long ago at an altar,
And heard a Voice call me. Since then,
I walk down the Valley of Silence
That lies far beyond human ken.

Do you ask what I found in the valley?
'Tis my trysting-place with the Divine.
And I fell at the feet of the Holy,
And about me a voice said, "Be mine!"
And then rose from the depths of my spirit
An echo,—"My heart shall be thine."

Do you ask how I live in the valley?
I weep, and I dream, and I pray;
But my tears are as sweet as the dewdrops
That fall on the roses in May;
And my prayer, like a perfume from censer,
Ascendeth to God, night and day.

In the hush of the Valley of Silence,
I dream all the songs that I sing;
And the music floats down the dim valley,
Till each finds a word for a wing,
That to men, like the dove of the deluge,
The message of peace they may bring.

But far on the deep there are billows
That never shall break on the beach;
And I have heard songs in the silence
That never shall float into speech,
And I have had dreams in the valley
Too lofty for language to reach.

And I have seen thoughts in the valley,—
Ah me! how my spirit was stirred!

And they wear holy veils on their faces,
Their footsteps can scarcely be heard.
They pass through the valley like virgins,
Too pure for the touch of a word.

Do you ask me the place of the valley,
Ye hearts that are harrowed by care?
It lieth afar, between mountains,
And God and his angels are there.
And one is the dark mound of Sorrow,
And one the bright mountain of Prayer.

Emerson, again, in his lines entitled "Blight,"
has a fine rebuke for the science which investigates
Nature from without, as if the unloving and
unlovely student were an alien to her:—

Give me truths;
For I am weary of the surfaces,
And die of inanition. If I knew
Only the herbs and simples of the wood,
The rare and virtuous roots, which in these glades
Draw untold juices from the earth,
Untold, unknown, and I could surely spell
Their fragrance, and their chemistry apply
By sweet affinities to human flesh,
Driving the foe and establishing the friend,—
Oh, that were much, and I could bear a part
Of the round day, related to the sun
And planted world, and full executor
Of their imperfect functions.
But these young scholars who invade our hills,
Bold as the engineer who fells the wood,
And travelling often in the cut he makes,
Love not the flower they pluck, and know it not;
And all their botany is Latin names.
The old men studied magic in the flowers
And human fortunes in astronomy,
And an omnipotence in chemistry,
Preferring things to names, for these were men,
Were unitarians of the united world;
And, wheresoever their clear eye-beams fell,
They caught the footsteps of the SAME. Our eyes
Are armed, but we are strangers to the stars,
And strangers to the mystic beast and bird,
And strangers to the plant and to the mine.
The injured elements say, "Not in us";
And night and day, ocean and continent,
Fire, plant, and mineral say, "Not in us,"
And haughtily return us stare for stare,
For we invade them impiously for gain;
We devastate them unreligiously,
And coldly ask their pottage, not their love.
Therefore they shove us from them, yield to us
Only what to our griping toil is due;
But the sweet affluence of love and song,
The rich results of the divine consents
Of man and earth, of world beloved, and lover,
The nectar and ambrosia, are withheld;
And, in the midst of spoils and slaves, we thieves
And pirates of the universe, shut out
Daily to a more thin and outward rind,
Turn pale and starve. Therefore, to our sick eyes
The stunted trees look sick, the summer short,
Clouds shade the sun, which will not tan our hay,
And nothing thrives to reach its natural term;
And life, shorn of its venerable length
Even at its greatest space is a defeat,
And dies in anger that it was a dupe;
And, in its highest noon and wantonness,
Is early frugal, like a beggar's child;
Even in the hot pursuit of the best aims
And prizes of ambition, checks its hand,
Like Alpine cataracts frozen as they leaped,
Chilled with a miserly comparison
Of the toy's purchase with the length of life.

Of man as the incarnation of the divine, Faber
says, in his lines on the indwelling Spirit:—

God is never so far off
As even to be near:
He is within; our spirit is
The home he holds most dear.
To think of him as by our side
Is almost as untrue
As to remove his throne beyond
Those skies of starry blue.
So all the while I thought myself
Homeless, forlorn, and weary,
Missing my joy, I walked the earth
Myself God's sanctuary.

Whittier, in his "Questions of Life," restates
the old problems debated so often by the Ganges,
the Nile, and the Sea of Galilee:—

A bending staff I would not break,
A feeble faith I would not shake,
Nor even rashly pluck away
The error which some truth may stay,
Whose loss might leave the soul without

A shield against the shafts of doubt.
And yet, at times, when over all
A darker mystery seems to fall,
(May God forgive the child of dust,
Who seeks to know, where faith should trust?)
I raise the questions, old and dark,
Of Uzdum's tempted patriarch,
And (speech confounded), build again
The baffled tower of Shinar's plain.

I am: how little more I know!
Whence came I? Whither do I go?
A centred self, which feels and is;
A cry between the silences;
A shadow-birth of clouds at strife
With sunshine on the hills of life;
A shaft from Nature's quiver cast
Into the Future from the Past;
Between the cradle and the shroud,
A meteor's flight from cloud to cloud.

Thorough the vastness, arching all,
I see the great stars rise and fall,
The rounding seasons come and go,
The tided oceans ebb and flow;
The tokens of a central force,
Whose circles, in their widening course,
Overlap and move the universe,—
The workings of the law whence springs
The rhythmic harmony of things,
Which shapes in earth the darkling spar,
And orbs in heaven the morning star.
Of all I see, in earth and sky,—
Star, flower, beast, bird,—what part have I?

This conscious life,—it is the same
Which thrills the universal frame
Whereby the caverned crystal shoots
And mounts the sap from forest roots,
Whereby the exiled wood-bird tells
When Spring makes green her native dells.
How feels the stone the pang of birth,
Which brings its sparkling prism forth?
The forest-tree, the throb which gives
The life-blood to its new-born leaves?
Do bird and blossom feel like me,
Life's many-folded mystery,—
The wonder which it is To Be?
Or stand I severed and distinct,
From Nature's chain of life unlinked?
Allied to all, yet not the less
Prisoned in separate consciousness,
Alone, o'erburdened with a sense
Of life, and cause, and consequence?

CORRESPONDENCE.

INEFFECTIVE STRICTURES.

Editors of *The Index*:—

One may be amused—if he is not too much dis-
pleased—to read the "arguments" that are sometimes
put forth with airs of scientific assurance on ques-
tions about which the writers seem really to know
very little. A bunch of these I have lately seen in an
article in an able and thoughtful journal, ranking,
perhaps, in these respects even with *The Index*, but
which need not be named, as my object is not to
direct attention to any person, but to help to more
discriminating habits a class of rather unthinking
readers, who usually are ready to accept as of weight
whatever they find in their favorite paper, especially
if it falls in with their own preconceptions.

The article referred to professes to discuss "The
Materialization of Spirits." Properly, this is a purely
scientific question, to be determined only by much
careful investigation of phenomena. To what pur-
pose is it for the writer, instead of examining what
purports to be high evidence on this point, to launch
into various general observations true to triteness,
and serving apparently only to introduce the men-
tion of great names? To what purpose to quote Prof.
Haeckel's opinion that this is "an age of natural sci-
ence," and Prof. Huxley's, that it is our "duty to
expose a supposed law to every possible kind of
verification"? No one thinks otherwise. Believers
and disbelievers in "materialization" are at one here.
Still further from the point is it to quote any pro-
fessor's views as to the propriety of physicists, seeking
in phenomena the evidence of "a Creator acting for
a definite purpose." It is not a question of "Crea-
tor" or no Creator, nor of his "purpose," definite or
otherwise. Quite as little is the doctrine of the eter-
nity or imperishability of matter, or the denial of this,
involved, though on this the writer, again quoting
Haeckel, enlarges.

All these things are simply irrelevant. Notwith-
standing this is "an age of natural science," and that

it is our "duty to expose a supposed law to every possible kind of verification," and notwithstanding, too, all possible opinions in respect to a Creator or his purposes, or as to the indestructibility of matter, the bare question of fact still stands as the only question, "Do deceased spirits ever assume visible or tangible forms?"

Though here, by the way, in the quotation from Haeckel, may be noticed a very common kind of logic, even among distinguished scientists. It is affirmed that "science teaches that matter is eternal and imperishable." On what ground? Simply that "never yet has an instance been observed of even the smallest particle having vanished, or even of an atom being added to the already existing mass." In other words, the want of proof that an atom has ever been added or has perished is assumed to be equivalent to proof that neither has ever been done. Here is a fallacy palpable enough to all logicians, if not to the men of natural science. The true scientific position is much more modest. We do not know. Quite possibly, the question may remain forever unanswerable.

Nor does the unhappy fact that "the [pretended] materialization of spirits is offered as an attraction to the curious, the credulous, and the ignorant, who are willing to hire a seat," etc., touch the question. That counterfeit money abounds, and that many have often been deceived by it, is a fair ground, indeed, for careful examination, but does not disprove the existence of the genuine. One certainly cannot wonder that those who have found themselves repeatedly treated to mere fraud in their personal investigations, or who have read of its frequent occurrence, should be extremely cautious. This is eminently their "duty," and not more so in the opinion of Mr. Huxley than in that of the most intelligent and experienced Spiritualists, some of whom are among the keenest and most exacting observers. But summarily to set down all "materializations offered" as fraudulent is to assume to speak from a knowledge of the subject which not one man in ten thousand of those who deny the fact of materialization possesses.

And here, let me say, is the weakness—yes, and the folly—of the great body of the writers who, with the airs of knowledge, presume to deny the reality of the phenomena of Spiritualism. They speak from their ignorance. They assume that what they have not been able to verify—and sometimes, I fear, have not even sought faithfully to verify—no one has. That difficulties—some not yet explicable—often stand in the way of this verification, the most experienced and acute observers are ready to admit. A letter from the scholarly investigator, M. A. (Oxon.), now before me says: "Many people complain that they cannot get satisfactory evidence. And there are many who never will. It is absurd to say, as some do, that anybody who will take a little trouble can see for himself." And he instances an eminent savant who has devoted much time and money to the investigation without obtaining personal conviction through it. "His belief rests on second-hand evidence." So that—account for it whether we can or not—it may often be that one is entirely right in saying that he has never yet met with any direct convincing proof in his own observation, though he has much sought for it. This is one thing, and quite permissible. But when, in view of the number of distinguished men in almost every branch of intellectual cultivation, including even the technically "scientific," who, against all their previous training and prejudices, have been convinced by the evidence offered to them of the fact of spirit intercourse and even of "materialization," one disdainfully ridicules it, and remits it to "the credulous and the ignorant," what insufferable arrogance is it! If the writer now under review will take up some single well-authenticated and minute account of a spirit's materialization, such, for instance, as that given in the *London Light* of February 28, where several independent witnesses give their several reports of what they, as members of a party of fourteen, all of the highest character for intelligence and integrity (names and residences given in full), witnessed, in a light sufficient to show the time by their watches, of the gradual formation of a spirit form from Mr. Eglington's side,—if, I say, he will examine these accounts, and tell us wherein they fall short of credible evidence of a spirit's materialization,—he will do something to purpose. But, if he has never heard of this and a great number of other well-authenticated cases,—every instance of proved apparition being a materialization of some

kind and degree,—and has never critically investigated them, of what value is his opinion that spirit materialization cannot occur? To say that he cares not for the proffered evidence, that it is not worth his attention, that no evidence can prove such things, that such stories are all sheer imposture, and so on, would be only to imitate the lofty and unreasoning scorn of some who yet style themselves "scientific."

But is this science? Is this the way in which, to quote his own words, "an enlightened man, a lover of truth and justice, attempts to prove that reason should be guided by research"? Such scientific methods will never demolish Spiritualism "any more than," to use one of his singular comparisons, "a goat can cause an earthquake." They have been essaying it for more than a generation, and behold where Spiritualism stands to-day.

There is, perhaps, some little show of argument in one part of the article. It is where it is urged that "the slowly changing forms of matter must be considered," and that "there is no known scientific basis on which to found the belief that a man, having ceased to perform his organic function, and dissolving in the water or the earth or crematory, can in any one of these conditions 'assume the same figure like the king that's dead.'"

That ordinarily the forms of matter change slowly is consistent with the further fact that they often change rapidly and even instantaneously, and with the still further fact that the laws or methods of these changes are by no means yet understood. No transformation of the atoms composing the physical body is, however, in "materialization" assumed. By what laws or in what way the spirit gathers to itself a body recognizable by the senses is yet matter for study. In respect to the limits of spirit power over matter, we really know nothing. The door into this department of science has hardly been opened.

If by "scientific basis" the writer means some established theory of the method or means by which spirits materialize, his assertion is true enough; but it obviously does not touch the question of the fact. But if he means there is no well-ascertained body of phenomena substantiating the fact, he propounds a negative, not only in its very nature incapable of truth, but one contradicted by an amount of evidence entitled to the highest respect.

Mr. Charles Bray's quoted opinion that, "If it were possible for the mind's identity to be continued after death with a different body, it would not constitute the same person," is a rather queer statement to come from a philosopher. The identity of the mind only, even if immortality be allowed it, does not constitute identity (!) is the amount of it. And his reason for this is that "our identity or personality is made up of our body and mind,"—an assumption too unphilosophic for any general acceptance, and requiring no answer.

JOSEPH D. HULL.

3 COPELAND PLACE, BOSTON.

"SEMITIC" AND "ARYAN."

Editors of *The Index* :—

Will you kindly inform me through the medium of your paper, or otherwise, as may be most convenient, why it is that eminent scholars, such as Max Müller, call one of the "two great families that have been the principal actors in that great drama which we call the history of the world" *Semitic*, the other being the *Aryan*?

Semitic, or Shemitic, evidently means descendants of Shem, the eldest son of Noah, but the belief in the destruction of mankind by the Noachian deluge, and the subsequent re-peopleing of the earth by Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their descendants, no longer exists among scientific men; and the term "Semitic," as applied to a large part of the human race, seems to me a misnomer.

T. W. J.

BEEVILLE, TEXAS, July 20, 1885.

[It was comparative philology that originated the terms "Semitic" and "Aryan" to designate two great divisions of the human race. Although the Hebrew patriarch Shem is doubtless as mythical as the Greek god Apollo, the word "Shemitic," or, as it is more commonly written, Semitic, is of course derived from the Hebrew name Shem, and was applied to those peoples popularly believed to have descended from Shem, or that were subsequently found to be related to them. The existing Semitic peoples are first the Jews and second the Arabians. The Syrians are also Semitic. The ancient Assyrians, Babylonians, Chal-

deans, Carthaginians, and Phoenicians were Semitic. Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed were Semitic. The Semitic languages, Hebrew, Arabian, Chaldean, etc., are kindred forms of speech. The fact that Shem was a myth, and that the story, the derivation of a division of the race from him, is a fable, does not invalidate the peculiar philological signification of the word "Semitic," although it is to be regretted, perhaps, that some word, not associated with current superstition, could not have been selected. The Sanskrit word *Arya*, meaning "respectable," "honorable," was applied to the Sanskrit-speaking people of India whose ancestors came across the river Indus from Central Asia. The word is believed to have signified originally "agriculturist" at a time when the most respectable portion of the people of that part of Asia were engaged in cultivating the earth, raising cattle, etc. But German students of Sanskrit soon found that that language was clearly related to the languages of the West, the Greek, Latin, German, and English, and thus indicated that the Hindus, Greeks, Romans, and Germans had a common ancestry, and called them all Aryans, or Indo-Europeans. We never think now of the ancient meaning of the word "Aryan," but only of its philological signification. And so the people will gradually come to regard the word "Semitic."—B. F. U.]

CARD.

We have been appointed for the United States of America upon the International Committee for the purpose of securing the erection of the statue to the memory of Giordano Bruno at Rome. We approve of the object of the Committee, and request that all subscriptions therefor should be sent to T. B. Wakeman, No. 93 Nassau Street, N. Y., who has been duly authorized by the Committee at Rome to receive and forward the same.

Dated July, 1885.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.
ELIZUR WRIGHT.
T. B. WAKEMAN.

[It is proposed to raise for the Bruno statue by subscription \$600. An instalment of \$200 has already been sent to Rome, and handsome acknowledgment made by the Committee. Col. Ingersoll has generously promised to give a lecture in New York, in early autumn, for the benefit of the fund; and it is hoped that the proceeds will raise the amount to be sent from this country to nearly or quite \$1,000. The character, services, and sacrifices of Bruno should make his name dear to every free thinker; and there should be no difficulty in obtaining the amount named. A monument such as is to be erected to the memory of Bruno at Rome will be a fitting rebuke to the Romish Church, and a perpetual reminder of the progress of intellectual freedom. The monument will be twenty-six feet high. The figure of Bruno will be of bronze, and about ten feet in height, standing on a granite pedestal. Among the inscriptions are these words, by the martyr, written in the book he is represented as holding in his hands: "The highest God has destined me to be an Apostle, not last or least, of the better Age to come." On other sides of the monument are bas-relief figures, which represent the condemnation of Bruno, the martyrdom of Huss, and Arnaldo da Brescia speaking to the people. Huss, Servetus, Vanini, and other martyrs of freedom are also appropriately represented. The monument was designed by Prof. Ettore Ferrari, who, the International Committee say, "honors with his noble genius and soul both Art and the Liberal Cause."—B. F. U.]

A PARIS correspondent of the *Catholic Review*, evidently an ecclesiastic, in a letter headed "Victor Hugo: His Awful Death," etc., writes: "Every Catholic heart has shuddered at the thought of the scandal occasioned by the civil obsequies of Victor Hugo. The Intransigent papers all reproduce the letter of M. Lockroy, and are very exultant over the matter. They appear to think that the Church, in losing Hugo, has lost everything, and France into the bargain. But the Church contemplates the pagan funeral of Hugo as serenely as she did that of Gambetta. She has seen so many other distinguished personages die in revolt against her and against the law of Christ, she has no fear: she is not to be pitied, but rather the unhappy dupes of atheistic republicanism, whom the diabolical fury of the Lodges tries to seduce by the

spectacle of the public apostasy of the 'Princes' (as they are now called) of the Republic. As to Hugo, he has died the death he obstinately willed and sought. He ordered guards to be placed near him who would defend him against every 'invasion' of the divine mercy and of the Catholic priest. He was well 'guarded,' well 'protected,' as the *Justice* acknowledges, with cynical frankness. If a return to God has been wrought in the understanding and soul of Victor Hugo at the moment of the terrible journey, it is a secret between God and him." Something—indeed, much—has been gained, when a dying free thinker in France can be "well 'guarded,' well 'protected,'" against the presence of priests and the mummeries of priestcraft.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE SONG CELESTIAL, OR BHAGAVAD-GITA (from the Mahābhārata). Being a Discourse between Arjuna, Prince of India, and the Supreme Being, under the form of Krishna. Translated from the Sanskrit text by Edwin Arnold, M.A. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885. Price \$1.00.

Of this poem in the original, Mr. Arnold says: "It enjoys immense popularity and authority in India, where it is reckoned as one of the 'five jewels' of Devanāgiri literature. In plain but noble language, it unfolds a philosophical system which remains to this day the prevailing Brahminic belief. . . . The weight of evidence tends to place its composition at about the third century after Christ, and perhaps there are really echoes in this Brahminic poem of the lessons of Galilee and of the Syrian incarnation." The poem has already been translated by able scholars into French, Latin, Italian, Greek, and English prose; and the present translator, in his preface, modestly says, "If I venture to offer a translation of the wonderful poem after so many superior scholars, it is in grateful recognition of the help derived from their labors, and because English literature would certainly be incomplete without possessing in popular form a poetical and philosophical work so dear to India."

We have space only for a few short quotations from Mr. Arnold's rendering of this noble poem, by which we hope to give our readers a foretaste of the many beautiful gems of thought which await their more leisurely perusal:—

"He who shall draw,

As the wise tortoise draws its four feet safe
Under its shield, his five senses back
Under the spirit's buckler from the world
Which else assails them,—such a one, my Prince,
Hath Wisdom's mark."

"Yet may it chance,
O Son of Kunti! that a governed mind
Shall some time feel the sense-storms sweep, and wrest
Strong self-control by the roots. Let him regain
His kingdom! Let him conquer this, and sit
On Me intent. That man alone is wise
Who keeps the mastery of himself."

"No heart that holds one right desire
Treadeth the road of loss."

"Even as the unknowing toil, wedded to sense,
So let the enlightened toil, sense-freed, but set
To bring the world deliverance, and its bliss."

"Beyond denial, hard
Man's heart is to restrain, and wavering;
Yet may it grow restrained by habit, Prince,
By wont of self-command. This Yōg, I say,
Cometh not lightly to th' ungoverned ones;
But he who will be master of himself
Shall win it, if he stoutly strive thereto."

"The faith of each believer, Indian Prince,
Conforms himself to what he truly is.
Where thou shalt see a worshipper, that one
To what he worships lives assimilate
(Such is the shrine, so is the votary)."

"Serenity of soul, benignity,
Sway of the Silent Spirit, constant stress
To sanctify the nature,—these things make
Good rite and true religiousness of Mind."

"There is 'right' action: that which—being enjoined—
Is wrought without attachment, passionlessly,
For duty, not for love, nor hate, nor gain.
There is 'vain' action: that which men pursue
Aching to satisfy desires, impelled
By sense of self, with all-absorbing stress."

"A Brahman's virtues, Prince,
Horn of his nature, are serenity,
Self-mastery, religion, purity,
Patience, uprightness, learning, and to know
The truth of things which be."

"The gift lovingly given, when one shall say,
'Now must I gladly give,' when he who takes
Can render nothing back, made in due place,
Due time, and to a meet recipient,
Is gift of Sattrocan, fair and profitable."

S. A. U.

STUDENT SONGS. Comprising the Newest and Most Popular College Songs. Compiled and edited by William H. Hills, Harvard Class of 1880. Cambridge, Mass.: Moses King. Price 50 cents.

A great deal of fun, a little sentiment, and not much wisdom mark the musical taste of our college boys, judging from this collection of over sixty of the most popular college airs and songs. These airs must be popular with others as well, for over forty thousand copies of this volume have already been sold. The titles of some of these songs are sufficient to provoke a smile, such as "Mush, Mush"; "Gee! Whoa! Dobbin!" "Halico! Calico!" "Ching-A-Ling-Ling"; "The Poco's Daughter"; "Drink, Puppy, Drink"; "Polly-Wolly-Woodle"; "The Beautiful Ballad of Waska-Wee"; and many others. We are glad to see the "Wellesley College Song" incorporated into this collection, as an indication of the future opening for women, which is hinted at in the second verse of this song, which we quote:—

All hail to the College Beautiful!
All hail to the brave and bright!
She has taken her place in the swift sandaled race,
Where the strong man smiles in his might.
Oh, shining arise the lights in her eyes,
And her hands are hot for the prize.
Now fast and far let the race be tried:
She runs in her weakness, and he in his pride;
But, run as they will, they will run side by side,
And share in the victor's right!

EGYPT AND BABYLON. From Sacred and Profane Sources. By George Rawlinson, M.A. New York: John B. Alden. Fine cloth, gilt tops, price 60 cts.

This work, by the renowned author of *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, and other works of like character, all of which are considered excellent authorities on the subjects treated, is now brought within the means of every student through Mr. Alden's cheap reprint. It contains citations from or references to all the notices of Babylon and Egypt in the Hebrew Scriptures from Genesis to Daniel, and is a valuable work for the student of history to consult in regard to these ancient nations.

A GRATIFYING proof of the success of Mr. W. M. Salter as pastor of the Ethical Society in Chicago is seen in the publication of fifteen of his lectures in a German translation, edited by that able writer on ethics, Gizycki. The handsomely printed volume of three hundred and sixty-three pages is entitled, after the first subject presented, *Die Religion der Moral*. Other themes are "Wendell Phillips," "The Higher Law," "The Social Ideal," "The Problem of Poverty," etc. Mr. Salter's eloquence and philanthropic fervor lose little by translation; but his quotation from the poets should have been left in English, and only a literal rendering added in the notes. The German publisher is Wilhelm Friedrich, Kgl. Hofbuchhandlung, Leipzig. Price 3 marks.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for August is, as is usual with this charming magazine for "the nursery," rich in beautiful illustrations of its instructive stories, most of which in this number deal with animal life. In the seventeen articles it contains, including prose and poetry, are given stories of birds, chickens, dogs, kittens, grasshoppers, and fish, all told in a very interesting way.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A DESPATCH from Newport says that last Sunday "the fashionable churches were well attended by fashionable people, who listened to fashionable clergymen speaking of the vanities and frivolities of this life."

ACCORDING to the reports in daily papers, fully twelve thousand persons were in attendance last Sunday at the Lake Pleasant Camp Meeting. Excursion trains brought people from many places in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

"AN Individual Spiritualist" quotes in the *Investigator* a statement of the *Banner of Light*,—that "the invisibles themselves are the real leaders," and adds: "This means, of course, the mediums through whom the invisibles manifest. But I see no difference, in principle, whether I am led by a medium or a minister. I don't wish to be led by either of them. I prefer to be my own leader."

"UNITY" quotes this remark of a teacher of elocution, which it says will do to think over during vacation: "All the ministerial throat difficulties that we hear so much of originate in that assumed oratorical, or false or falsetto, tone in which so many preach, generally without being conscious of it; and the false tone is assumed because they do not really mean what they say." This seems to justify Ingersoll's use of the word *paronitis*.

THE papers state that a lawyer at Galveston, Texas, having declared that no reliance could be placed upon petitions, and having been rebuked by the court for the remark, soon after appeared in court with a petition praying for the hanging of Luke Howard, a worthy citizen of the place. The petition had fifty signers, among whom were the father-in-law and brother-in-law of Mr. Howard. Every signature was shown to be genuine, and all the signers were men well known.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* revelations are not helping the Protestant evangelists in France in their work. A Paris letter writer says: "The conclusion drawn, by even some of the most serious dailies, is that the religion of the English is nothing but hypocrisy, and that henceforth English missionaries and evangelists had better stay at home instead of overrunning the continent with

their Bibles and prayer-books and evangelistic meetings. What effect such articles may have on the laborers in France of the British and foreign Bible societies, and of the gifted evangelists, Messrs. Gibson, McAll, and others, we cannot yet foresee."

"THE elevation of Baron Rothschild to the peerage," remarks the *Boston Advertiser*, "not only marks the disappearance of the civil ostracism to which the Hebrew race has been subjected in England, but it is an important recognition of the growing influence of the higher Jewish element in modern society. Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, as the new peer will be called, is the eldest son of the first Jew who ever sat and voted in the House of Commons, and is himself the first Jew, in the strictest sense of the term, who ever sat in the House of Lords. Jews can now triumphantly recall the controversy over the act for the removal of Jewish disabilities in England,—a controversy that agitated the last generation as the Bradlaugh case, or almost any other, has agitated this one."

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND's letter to the man who had signed a petition for office of an unworthy applicant, and after the appointment wrote to the President that "not a man whose name was on the petition had the remotest idea that the appointment was possible," has the approbation of all honest men, irrespective of party. The letter has been widely published, and we give here only the concluding paragraph: "Your confession comes too late to be of immediate use to the public service; and I can only say that, while this is not the first time I have been deceived and misled by lying and treacherous representations, you are the first one that has so frankly owned his grievous fault. If any comfort is to be extracted from this assurance, you are welcome to it."

MARGERY DEANE does not believe that the line dividing mortal and immortal beings should be drawn between man and the higher brutes. Writing from Newport to the *Boston Transcript*, she mentions the death of her "tiny black spaniel called 'Toots,'" and adds: "I reckon myself happy if I may believe so many people have kind words and even tears for me as had this little fellow, whom everybody here knew and loved, when my life goes out. Few men or women have been more truly faithful and loving for so long a period; and such qualities are not so common in the world that we should be ashamed to mourn for them, even in a dog. He began his life in Belgium, and his breed was rare in America; but it was the truthful, beautiful nature that made him precious, and somewhere, I believe, it still exists, and will forever."

THE published statement that George W. Childs regards Newman as an insincere sycophant who has used Grant's illness and death to glorify himself may be most too unqualified a statement, but it is not likely that he will fail to take advantage of the prominence into which his relations with Gen. Grant have brought him to promote his personal interests. A New York correspondent writes: "It

would be the joy of his life to be the actual owner of a fine church, and he now thinks that he sees his way clear to acquiring such a property. He has had several offers from publishers who wish him to write some sort of a book memorial of Grant; and he calculates that, with the profits of this venture, he could establish his desired pulpit. Of course, his conspicuousness at Mt. McGregor and in the funeral has advertised him to the whole country; and, with his undeniable power with most hearers, he ought to be able to hold a large congregation together."

THE *Boston Evening Transcript*, referring to the progress of democracy in England as illustrated by the emphasis of Canon Farrar in speaking of Grant, at the Westminster Abbey, put upon the lowly origin of most of America's great men, and the ludicrous attempts of a class in this country to convey the impression, especially to British visitors, that there is a great difference between themselves and the rest of their fellow-citizens, remarks: "The thing is preposterous; for everybody knows that even in Boston there is next to nothing of social consequence that is not founded on money, and money made, if not by the existing generation, by the generation before it,—always in vulgar struggle with vulgar people, and sometimes by less creditable means. The snobbery cultivated at Harvard, for example, to which President Eliot referred in his last Commencement address, that shows some kind of a line between the sons of business men and those of professional men, for instance, is pitiful and un-American in origin, and would only excite the contempt and amusement of the English aristocrats who entertained Prof. Lowell."

REV. A. H. SMITH, in a paper published in the *Honolulu Gazette* of May 6, has this to say of the unchristianized Chinese: "There is in China a great respect for law,—a respect which is indefinitely greater than in the United States, where there appears to be too often no respect for anything. There is likewise a great respect for reason. The Chinese are a peaceable people; and a quarrel no sooner begins than there emerge 'peace-talkers' and 'reason-talkers,' who will contrive to settle the matter, if it be soluble. In general, the most angry crowd can be quieted by 'talking reason' to them in a good-natured manner. It is much easier to adjust a disturbance, even for a foreigner to adjust one, in China than in the United States. It is safer for an American to travel all over China than for a Chinese to travel in the United States. There is a bitter hostility to foreigners on the part of the Chinese literati, but this springs largely from ignorance as to the motives of foreigners for coming among them. Yet this hostility, great as it is, is probably less than that felt toward the Chinese in the United States, where the relation of the two races is supposed to be well understood. Notwithstanding this blind aversion to 'foreign devils' *per se*, it is common for foreigners to travel all over China and never to be insulted by any overt act. The Chinese are among the politest of the human race."

SCEPTICISM.

What is the relation of scepticism to credulity? Why does the child's natural disposition to accept things for just what they purport to be not continue? How does the age of simple credence vanish? And how does the childish readiness to believe that all is good and true and fair disappear? It is because experience comes in to teach that facts are not always at first correctly or wholly seen, and that a larger sphere of facts is continually coming to light which must modify first impressions derived from only a limited survey. The child soon learns that the first evidences of his senses may have to be corrected by a mental judgment. He discovers, indeed, that his senses, which he could not help but put such implicit belief in, do, nevertheless, deceive and delude him. He puts out his hand for an object the other side of the room with as much confidence as for the rattle close by his side, but learns, to his astonishment, that he cannot reach it. It is not where he thought it was. A red ball has delighted him. So he puts his fingers on a live coal, expecting the same pleasure, but discovers that it hurts him. He steps on what looks just like the solid floor where he has been walking safely; but it gives way, and he falls. And thus slowly, and not without many disasters, hurts, and chagrins, he adjusts the evidence of his senses by the evidence of experience.

He learns, too, alas! by the same evidence of experience, that, as all is not material gold that glitters, so all is not moral gold that makes a show of goodness. He discovers, and perhaps quite early, that words are not always true to facts; that promises are not always followed by fulfilment; that the people about him who seemed so good and tender, and are so affectionate still, can also frown and fret and scold. And, as he grows older, he finds that there are many bad people in the world, and that some he had believed to be good turn out to be bad; that some things which had been taught him as truth prove to be errors; and that people are everywhere contending over different and contradictory opinions and beliefs, each party maintaining that only its own are true and worthy of acceptance. He discovers, also, in the unfolding experience of life, that evil thoughts come into his own mind; that evil passions spring up in his own breast; that temptations to carnal indulgence, to anger, to untruthfulness, to avarice, are striving within him for mastery over his better impulses and his more honorable ambitions. Thus, in the din of passions and the conflict of opinions, he finds that his predisposition to believe only in a world of moral truth and goodness is corrected by the facts of a larger experience; and, just as in regard to the evidence of the senses he had to call in the aid of a mental judgment to make the necessary adjustment between appearance and reality, so, in the domain of moral belief, he relies upon the same help to save his confidence in the moral soundness of the world.

And all this experience that follows the first brief period of unquestioning credence is the age of inquiry and investigation, the age of probings and questionings, and very likely of doubts and scepticism. The disappointed and baffled mind, finding its first trust to be broken,—finding that to be error which it had taken for truth, and that to be bad which had the appearance of goodness,—is often prone to ask despairingly whether there is anywhere any genuine standard of truth and goodness, any sure guidance for man, in the difficult straits of life; whether truth and goodness are not, after all, mere words, which, as they are used

so often without any corresponding realities in human life, so have no corresponding realities anywhere in the universe. This is the attitude of scepticism, of doubt, of denial. It is not simply, as is apt to be taught, the doubt or denial of certain commonly accepted theological beliefs: to doubt or to deny most of the popular theology of the day may indicate, indeed, only a healthy spirit of inquiry, or even a larger, firmer, and more satisfying belief; but the scepticism that is complete, and the only scepticism that is perilous, is that which goes below theological beliefs, below even the question of the existence of a Supreme First Cause, and doubts whether there be any truth and any goodness, divine or human.

Goethe, in *Faust*, makes Mephistopheles, the Satanic agency of the drama, define himself as "the spirit that constantly denies," and who gives, as a reason for his denial, that "everything that has originated deserves to be annihilated." This is the spirit of thorough scepticism,—the spirit that has passed through every phase of waning belief, from the perfect credence in which life started, until everything is denied as much as it was then affirmed, including even a moral worth and aim in the universe. This spirit is essentially destructive. It antagonizes the creative process; it saps the vigor of the human mind and heart. In its mental phases, it is bad enough; but, in its moral, it is ruinous. To disbelieve in any *goal of truth* takes away all motive to mental endeavor and progress; but to disbelieve in *goodness* is to corrupt life at its fountain with a destructive poison. It may not be just to aver that any persons ever reach this depth of degradation implied in utter moral scepticism. Yet the class of people alluded to in the article on credulity last week,—those who are habitually incredulous of human goodness, and who smile contemptuously at expressions of confidence in the average man's honesty and the average woman's purity, and who delight to illustrate their worldly wisdom by showing up, with an "I-told-you-so" air, the flaws in their neighbors' characters,—such persons are dangerously near the verge of this moral abyss.

Yet scepticism, though capable of reaching this degrading excess, is a quality of mind that, in its origin, is natural and desirable. It starts, as we have seen, in that inquiry which is necessarily made when the discovery first comes that things are not wholly what they outwardly seem. When the child learns that the live coal he delightedly and confidently touches makes him cry with pain, that the chair he expectantly reaches for on the other side of the room does not come at his bidding, he takes his first lesson in scepticism. Then he begins to doubt what he has before trusted: he begins to doubt and inquire, to try, test, and prove,—in other words, to use his reason as well as his senses. And the word "scepticism," etymologically considered, only means this harmless and even praiseworthy and necessary kind of doubting and proving by trial. Literally, it signifies the act of *looking about, of considering*,—an act which is not in the interest of denial, but of truth. And this quality of scepticism is commendable, too, when the relation that has to be corrected is not merely relation to material facts, but to mental reality; when it is found that certain beliefs or opinions or habits have been heretofore accepted on insufficient evidence, and must either be put upon new grounds of reason or must be abandoned. Scepticism is thus useful in removing superstition, and clearing the rubbish of obsolete opinions from the path of human progress. It is only when it runs to excess that it becomes an evil,—only when, turning from its work of lopping off dead or useless growths, it attacks the

roots of all belief and virtue, that it is to be resisted.

So, last week, we found credulity to be in itself a good and necessary quality of mind, only becoming an evil when in excess. And both credulity and scepticism have come, in common parlance, to have a taint of evil, because, in both, this illegitimate excess so often occurs. Credulity becomes an evil, if it receives no correction from experience, but continues in full force after new conditions of evidence are presented, and the period of inquiry and of rational investigation was intended to begin. It then stands in the way of a robust mental health and growth. So far as credulity is a generous trust in the mental and moral soundness of the universe, so far as it consists in an instinctive readiness to believe in the *best* concerning both persons and things, so far it is good and worthy to be sought. But so far as it sustains superstitions and irrational opinions that should have become obsolete, and opposes the application of reason to any questions that concern human welfare, so far it is an evil to be assiduously shunned. And so of scepticism. It is an evil if, instead of applying a natural restraint and corrective to that implicit credence of appearances in which conscious existence begins, it roots out the very faculty of credence, and ends in blank denial and despair. But so long as it is a fearless trust of the spirit of inquiry, a bold confidence in reason, and a brave, believing search for truth over boundless seas, with only the human mind at the helm, so long it may be followed with safety, though out of sight of all the landmarks of old beliefs: so far it is a discovery and to be commended,—a renewing and creative force in life, denying necessarily much of past belief, but believing in man himself, and working for the future. Credulity and scepticism represent, in fact, mutually balancing and correcting tendencies of human nature. They are the natural counterparts of each other. Let the two tendencies be properly developed together, and each will present the needed antidote and remedy for the excesses of the other.

WM. J. POTTER.

GRANT.

Americans probably mourn less for Grant than they suppose. Thought is sometimes taken for emotion. The public mind is, no doubt, fixed for the moment upon the dead soldier, and has given some measure of its mental impressions to a natural though not abounding grief. But I question a wider extension of real emotion in the matter. The extravagant nonsense that Newman has fathered, and the fulsome tone of popular comment, do no more, from their very extreme temper, than expose the hollowness of the efforts put forth to add to the common experience of the hour. Had the feeling been all that it pretended, its expression would have been quite different from what we perceive. The picture of a mourning world is the fancy of men who cannot distinguish between rhetoric and truth.

Grant's life included features hinting of exaltation. He is not responsible for the claims made by unbalanced admirers. He was always remarked as among modest men who read their own merits small, and gave liberally to the merits of others. But it has struck me to inquire whether a great part of this superabundant praise that now clouds the public judgment is not a tribute purely to his military qualities, whether it does not inherently confine itself to that point, as though bound there of its own nature, inevitably, paying this obeisance without regard to the motives that bent his career? Had the pluck

spoken for something less than patriotism and justice, would the deference have been lowered? Was Grant the representative of an idea or a profession? Was he to the North what Lee was to the South? If the popular mind grasps the higher conception, and sees the soldier's work in its relations to national supremacy and progressive moral sense, how far is it willing to go in doing honor to men in less ostentatious walks, who labored for the same ends it so approves in him?

We are assured that Grant—buried with exceptional pomp—was our *first* citizen. Assuming much, Mr. Newman brushes aside antiquity's heroes in this presence, and shows us that Nature surpassed herself when she occupied her hands with his departed friend. Impoverished editors, thinking to effect a startling characterization, lead us up to admire a frail tissue of impossibility. The pulpits break out in weepings and wailings, as though worlds vanished with this valued soul. The soldier was our "savior." The hero was the one bulwark of American nationality. The one-time tanner was the sower of seed by which the nation lived. "Who will do our thinking for us now?" the absurd eulogist feebly cries. Had Grant not been, or had he stopped his work midway, woe must have wrung the popular soul, and the republic must have gone down in hideous ruin.

That is the queer logic of the street. That is the way our "leaders" argue, while practically disavowing every word of lament. It is well to know that the fashion of the hour, and not the hour's conviction, dictates such unpardonable assertion. Grant would have been the last man to have chosen such terms for the best soul he knew. He certainly would have resented their application to himself. He was clear-headed, and saw by what drift of time and tide he was elevated. He knew that the war would have ended with Southern discomfiture, had he never existed. He realized that men of heroic mould were gathered at his side. The national "savior," he well recognized, was impersonal; and, though he was of it, it was not more than partly of him. He gave evidence of his innate distaste for professional militarism. He was not the brand of which "soldiers of fortune" are constituted. Brought into the vortex, he did his part in extrication, but must have acknowledged that what came of many minds was solved of many minds, no odds what may have been the brilliant powers of exceptional men.

I resist the idea that Grant was "our first citizen." The first citizens of momentous eras are never the military chieftains. This is particularly to be noted of our later times. History repeats the manifestation over and over again. The remembered souls are those that labored simply for amelioration. The guiding voices are, such as sung for the softening of life. The days of Homer and Jesus and Buddha and Shakspeare, the days in which Italy so liberally gave to classicism, rendered no great names in soldiery that have a message for later trust. The age of Grant is not less certainly the age of Emerson and Garrison. Has the era of Lee and Jackson escaped the finger of Parker and Weiss? This is a grave enigma we send down the avenues of time,—this mystery that puts its robes of splendor upon swordsmen, and leaves the vaster moral individualities to their fate. Can we answer it by pointing to the *final* honor? Gonsalvo de Cordova was a good man; but, where every child has his thought of Columbus, the great captain goes begging, even in the memory of grown men. Can life be relied upon to finally bring events out in their just proportions? The lesson of a year is not so pointed as the lesson of a century.

I should sorrow to be thought wilfully unjust in these reflections. I have in mind no end more vicious than that of appealing to men to take the facts of history, and accept their speech. The myths we can laugh at when they are a thousand years old are to-day at our doors, refreshed for new illusion. From the soldier to soldiering, and then to barbarism, are few steps to men who fail to perceive the patriot's spring of action. Not less subtle is the movement that leads from the poet to poetry, and next to the eternities. The same space, yet so different the vista beyond! This indicates the danger of Grant, and the infinite possibility of Hugo, who are the two men foremost in what is called national esteem these later days. I view these suggestions with an anxiety that reaches far.

The mass of men do not penetrate much below the flesh. The strong arm stops the curious where moral courage is ignored. Grant in the Wilderness, Von Moltke on French territory, Sherman marching to the sea, Wellington facing Napoleon, are more striking to rustic imaginations than to investigators who descend beneath the first show of circumstance. The more substantial civilizing elements—those, notably, that go to the service of science—elude the common touch. It takes a long vision to trace the line of the mountain-tops. Great characters are rarely heroic in the ways marked out for them by public thought. The issues of life bring their own results; and many a struggle, as chanced of that which assured us of nationality, has its Grants and Lincolns, who, however indubitably large and excellent, labor under tribute that belongs, in justice, to martyrs who preceded them. Blaine is right. The Rebellion summed up a great moral crisis. But I am not satisfied, as he is, that the tale is all told when Lincoln and Grant have been mentioned.

The most striking features in Grant's character are least emphasized. Men dwell most upon the stories of his battles. Of these events I think least. Not victory, but what secured and what was done with victory is the important consideration. Had Grant but the military lustre, I could regard him as materially less in stature. Indeed, while it appeared he was not specifically statesman nor philosopher nor writer, he was found to be each and all in that measure which seemed required of him in moments of grave decision. Herein, he laid hold of greatness. Finely balanced for his occasions, the man always ruled his vestments. He was tanner when he was President, and President when he was tanner. But people are not satisfied when we say this. They distrust our point of emphasis. They take isolated acts, and write a meagre verdict, as though life expressed itself in one verse.

Countries are not saved in crises by the existence of an individual. Least of all could that be possible in our day. Grant was saved by the nation: the nation was not saved by Grant. Or, if that seems an incomprehensible statement, we must admit that the vital force was an interacting, interwoven one. Above the power to do is the power to bid potently that things be done. Back of the late comer is always the pioneer. Earlier than Lincoln and Grant were Whittier and Phillips. The North had one arm on Southern fields, but was not nerveless in civic council and heroic labor. That one man might strike Richmond to the dust, others had striven—perhaps more feebly—to weaken resistance. Many men and many blows prophesied the end. These questions are never questions of any one man, however great; for even giants are only comparatively strong, and the best man does not encompass the end of possibility and virtue. Temperate love

shames passion back to its shadows. Grant knew that he was not America. He must have seen that union was maintained by powers larger than exceptional personalities.

The spindles to-day pursue their wonted direction. Poets sing, and the hours still beckon us onward. The sun shines as gladly upon the soldier's tomb as it did twenty years ago upon his glorious successes. This can have only one meaning. Foolish talkers may say otherwise; but the world's hosts dare not follow them, save to turn back disappointed. We have memory and work. Are they not enough? What each man can extract of lasting value from the departed life,—that is Grant. Not the moment's flame, not the forced grief, not the savage applause of warfare, but the virtues that make for liberty and peace, have most to say for the dead warrior.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN AT EIGHTY.

On the 27th of June, 1885, Francis William Newman attained his eightieth year. The South Place Religious Society, in London, observed this occasion by passing a resolution of cordial congratulation to the veteran scholar on the undiminished strength of mind and remarkable health of body at fourscore,—to him a period of labor, indeed, but not of sorrow. The Society ascribed much of the progress of thought during its own long life to the influence of Prof. Newman, who brought to the liberal cause fine scholarship and the highest moral and religious spirit. Excellent speeches, as I am informed, were made at this Sunday morning meeting by Mr. Mark Marsden, himself a veteran helper of every free and noble cause in London, and Mr. Conpland, author of a recent admirable study of Goethe's *Faust*; and the feeling in the Society was one of enthusiasm. George Hickson, who may be described as chief corner-stone of South Place, presided, and has just communicated to me Prof. Newman's response:—

Dear Sir,—I thank you for transmitting to me the very unexpected and necessarily welcome Resolution passed on Sunday morning last, at South Place Chapel.

I trust that there is between us something better than agreement in opinion,—that is, concord of sentiment. Eminently, we hold Truth to be natural and beneficial to man, to be a reality higher than each of us, because each is finite in knowledge and capacity. Therefore, each has possibly something to learn from those who differ from him.

Truth, being spiritual, is a far nobler possession than things material; and, of all Truth, that moral Truth which teaches Universal Justice and Universal Kindliness is best.

I thank your Society much for their cordial act.

Faithfully yours,

F. W. NEWMAN.

It may be incidentally mentioned that, on the Sunday following this Resolution, the discourse at South Place was given by Arthur Hutton, M.A., who for eight years was a priest under Father (now Cardinal) Newman, in his Oratory at Birmingham.

My own personal debt to Prof. Newman is great. While I was yet a Methodist preacher, riding Rockville Circuit in Maryland, I got hold of his book, *The Soul: Her Sorrows and her Aspirations*. I read it, mainly on horseback, amid the woods, and must have preached a good deal of it to my rural and village congregations, before I discovered how many of my traditional idols had been left without pedestals by this affirmation of purely spiritual religion. I gave the book to a dear friend, William Henry Farquhar, at the Hicksite Quaker settlement of Sandy Spring, in my Circuit; and he astonished me by pointing out how many dogmas,

superstitions, and forms lay broken in the crypt beneath Newman's nicheless temple of God. This Quaker teacher and scholar introduced the book in many families. In after years, he visited Prof. Newman, in England; and the two men have since maintained a friendly correspondence. The chief Quaker preacher at Sandy Spring in those years was Roger Brooke, already very aged, though he had lost no fibre of his powerful brain. A book must be good indeed to satisfy "Uncle Roger," and Newman's did nearly satisfy him. This Sandy Spring Solomon told me, when speaking of it, that, during the violence of the controversy about Thomas Paine, early in the century, an eminent sympathizer with Paine sent him the *Age of Reason*, and asked him how he could answer that? Having read the book, the Quaker replied, "I have no need to answer this book, for it attacks only the abuses of Christianity." Thus, he was a Hicksite before Hicks. I believe that, from the time that Prof. Newman's voice reached those Southern Friends, they have shown less inclination to label their religion Christianity. This is but one of the examples I have known of the far-reaching influence of Prof. Newman's writings. His correspondence, if ever published, will show his spiritual children in many regions of the globe, and each a centre from which a true spirit is going forth.

The letter copied above is quite characteristic of this ripe thinker and worker. In the course of my long personal acquaintance with Prof. Newman, I have found that, while he might be technically classed as a "theist" (though faith in immortality does not attach to his theism), his real religion is the love of goodness and of humanity. Though he strongly deplores doctrines which he regards as of immoral tendency,—such as "philosophical Necessity,"—no differences of opinion, certainly none about Deity, could ever alienate him from any one whose heart was right with his in its unwearied devotion to every humane and moral cause. Thus, lately, when the personal prestige of a faithless Premier silenced even the Quakers in presence of a mean and wicked war against the Soudanese, Prof. Newman wrote a letter to the Positivist leader, Frederic Harrison, gratefully acknowledging that he and his co-religionists had nobly taken the place of the Quakers in their testimony against the nation's murderous aggressions.

Though Prof. Newman has uttered the severest rebuke of every war waged by England during his time, it has not been because of any non-resistant theory. He holds that standing armies should be superseded by the drilling of all citizens sufficiently to know how to defend their country. He has, I believe, opposed every English war of his time, because each was unjust, but was among the first to sympathize with the anti-slavery war in America, and rendered larger services to the Union cause in England than have ever been made known. The young generation of Americans may not realize how much peril from the Confederate propaganda in England threatened their country in the early years of the war; but peril there was, and the Confederate agents understood it well. Palmerston and Gladstone were against us, and emboldened a mob that meant mischief. Prof. Newman is by no means an eccentric man, as some represent, but remarkably practical in his methods and purposes. His vegetarianism, for instance, did not arise from any abstract theory more than did his hostility to recent European wars. When the cattle-plague was raging in England, and all meat became very expensive, he thought that the poor, who imagined flesh-eating essential to their strength, should be undeceived, and that persons of influence ought to

set them the example of abstinence from that luxury. The custom adopted from simple friendship for the people was continued because found healthful to himself. In the same way, he sympathized with the anti-vaccinationists because of their oppression by a medical Popery, as Herbert Spencer calls it, and espoused their case against compulsory vaccination before reaching a theoretical agreement with them on the main question.

In truth, there is hardly anything in Prof. Newman's public career which may not be best interpreted by reference to his profound humanity. It was this that led him, after his graduation, to leave the attractions offered by Oxford and London to a youth of his position, and go out as a missionary to the East: Love for a Saviour meant to this man endeavors to save others. It was at Aleppo, that he was trying to convert a humble Moslem carpenter, who, after listening to all the Oxonian's arguments, gravely, and with touching humility, replied that Allah, though he had given the English many advantages, had withheld from them one; namely, knowledge of the true religion by which one may be saved. Newman then felt that his Church and creed could not save men. This poor carpenter was in the position of a humble disciple of Jesus in the presence of a learned and haughty Greek or Roman. It is notable that both Newman and Colenso should have been in a sense converted by those they went to convert. A London wit has put Colenso's case in a non-sense-rhyme:—

"There was a my Lord of Natal
Who had a Zulu for a pal;
Says the Zulu, 'Look here!
Ain't the Pentateuch queer?'
Which converted my Lord of Natal."

Both men were always characterized by the humility which accompanies true culture and greatness of mind. Young Newman returned home, tried hard to find the true religion whereby a man may be saved. On the search, he was immersed, and became a Plymouth Brother, and finally found that the true religion he already possessed in that longing to save man from all the evils that afflict and degrade him. While doing so much service to every reform of his time, he has done large services to literature. His classical works have at length compelled Oxford to follow University College, London, and make him an "Emeritus Professor," despite his repudiation of Christianity. Of his works on Biblical and religious subjects, I need not here write, but may call attention to the wonderful vigor of an intellect which, in its seventy-ninth year, had amused itself by turning *Robinson Crusoe* into perfect Latin, while giving the world two such powerful essays as "The Christian Commonwealth" and "Christianity in its Cradle." I do not agree with everything in them. I do not think that in the latter he emphasizes sufficiently the doubts suggested by the silence of Paul and other first-century writers concerning miraculous and other pretensions ascribed to Jesus, or does justice to the explanations of Comparative Mythology. I do not think Jesus claimed exceptional powers, and doubt whether he was even a theist in the ordinary sense. But Prof. Newman's statement is comprehensive, able, and intensely interesting; and, it should be added, he is careful to say that on such documents no trustworthy complete account can be founded. It is, I believe, the first book of a general character ever written and printed on the principles of the spelling reformers. In that, as in everything else, Prof. Newman has the courage of all his opinions.

Before leaving England, I visited my dear old friend and teacher, at Weston-super-Mare, where

for a good many years he has resided with his second wife. He has been twice married, both wives being orthodox, but each reserving in her creed a saving clause for good men, however unorthodox. His home, "Norwood Villa," is beautiful, and situated in one of the pleasantest places of seaside resort in England, within a half-hour of Bristol. Although he and his wife are vegetarians, except as to eggs, there is no asceticism about them; and it is wonderful what a luxurious table is spread before their guests. The poverty of English tables as to vegetables is notorious; and it might prove useful to them as an instruction in the resources of their island, if vegetarianism were compulsory for a year or so.

In the drawing-room, I remarked a fine picture, an excellent design in black and white, representing the Newmans in their youth. In the interior of their home appears the mother, a beautiful lady of dignified mien, the lovely daughter, and John Henry (already a strange, mystical kind of person in appearance). Francis was the handsome one of the family, closely resembling his mother. In the picture, he is shown wearing spectacles, turning from a book he is reading as if to speak to his sister. It is a charming picture, and would be invaluable to an engraver. The mother appeared to me as a kind of Rachel, in whose womb two nations had struggled. Prof. Newman told me that once, in their early clerical days at Oxford, he expressed to his brother a doubt concerning the "authority of the congregation" (or some such point). John said, "Have a care! If you go that far, you will go farther." Francis replied, "When I see farther, I will go farther." The lives of the two men were foreshadowed in those words. I saw John Henry Newman (not yet humiliated by the Cardinal's hat) celebrating mass at daybreak for one or two poor people (for the morning was horrible), bending his aged knees before an ancient Roman fetich, to which he had been driven back as penalty of not going forward. Francis William Newman, when I last saw him, impressed me as a man who had reaped all the rewards of having gone farther when he saw farther. No tinsel has been offered to reward the fidelity of a man who refuses a throne in heaven as reward of virtue,—as if it were some calamity to be compensated! In that, I suspect the Cardinal secretly envies his unbelieving brother, even if he does not recognize that his unwelcome decorations accurately illustrate Christian notions of the rewards of piety. I walked with Prof. Newman for some two miles beside the sea, on a charming spring day. His mind and body were sound, his step elastic, his heart happy. "Picturesque in age as in youth," I thought, recalling the picture. I had often been amazed at the extent of his knowledge, but on this occasion was destined to be still further surprised; for, as I was going to America, he talked about the political history of the United States during the present century, of the Monroe doctrine, and events that led to it, and of our contemporary affairs, with a minuteness of information which I believe could not be found in any other Englishman. And, with all his knowledge and his extraordinary powers of conversation, he is of childlike—of grand—simplicity. Moreover, though he bears on his heart the burden of all who are wronged, he has a fine humor: his laugh is merrier than Carlyle's, though never loud. Problems of the Unknowable vex not his soul. "My prevalent belief is that our best state (morally) is simple uncertainty concerning Future Life. Whichever way Supreme Will settles it, that (I am confident) will be the Best Way for me, and for all." These are his words to me in a private note. As I parted from him, receiving the last pressure

of his hand and kindly benediction from his large, soft gray eye, I recognized England's real "Grand Old Man," one that never did or said a mean thing in his life. He and his brother are, I think, the most striking figures in England. Each has written something of his personal experience, proving its fundamental relation to our age of Storm-and-Stress. What would not that genius be worth who could rightly tell the spiritual history of these two men in their relation to each other and to their time? Alas that Arthur Clough is no longer alive! he who saw them as two ships anchored side by side in the evening, but at dawn two towers of sail, long leagues apart; and who sang, with hope in his pathos:—

To veer, how vain! On, onward strain,
Brave barks! In light, in darkness, too,
Through winds and tides, one compass guides,—
To that and your own selves be true.

But O blithe breeze! and O great seas!
Though ne'er, that earliest parting past,
On your wide plain they join again,
Together lead them home at last.

One port, methought, alike they sought,
One purpose hold, where'er they fare:
O bounding breeze! O rushing seas!
At last, at last, unite them there!

M. D. CONWAY.

CHRISTIANITY AND LEGISLATION.

V.

The century that followed the collapse of ecclesiastical government was singularly deficient in any indications of legal or intellectual advance here, though there was a noiseless gain in wealth and numbers. Toward its close, however, came those seductive French speculations about a perfect state of nature; and the notions of equality and liberty that belong to it had a very great effect in coloring the conceptions of the great lawyers who drew our national Constitution. The French influence in it is very plain. It is true that the declaration that all men are born free and equal has been explained away by our courts to a mere shadow of its sonorous self, and its influence is on the wane; but, whether we treat it as a glittering generality or a blazing ubiquity, it played a great part in our national history.

The next feature of legal importance was the influence of Jeremy Bentham, about the beginning of this century. It was avowedly and exclusively utilitarian, and the Christian element in it was still more obscure than in the preceding nature movement. Both were attempts to get at the substance below the formalities, but they differed as widely as English and French methods are apt to do. Neither was helped by the Church, and the comparatively unobtrusive utilitarian one has proved far the more potent of the two. It would not have brought about the Revolution, but it has silently reshaped the Constitution that that Revolution gave us. The scheme of three non-partisan co-equal divisions of our government has been replaced by a better (though still incomplete) system of party government, with Congress supreme. Everything tends to competition and centralization. The towns have lost power, and the Union has become a nation; and, still, the process of evolution goes on.

In other departments of the law, our improvement has been considerable. In this century there has been a great amelioration in criminal law. We have put the gallows almost out of sight, and done away many vicious restraints upon business competition and individual rights. We have greatly improved our legal process by simplifying pleading and removing restrictions upon

evidence, so as to bring disputed issues more fairly before the jury. We have made unreligious education compulsory and thorough. In one direction, the growth of freedom has not been an unmixed good. In giving married women more rights, we have increased the frauds upon creditors, and the growth in divorces and in illegitimacy seems to be a part of the same movement toward individualism; and I may remark, as an explanation of the intermixture of evil with its good effects, that it is one of the few reforms which is not based on any clear utilitarian reasons, but mainly rests on the older notion of inalienable natural rights.

In general, we adopted the cautious English plan of making no changes for mere theory, and of remedying evils only so far as they are found to be practically oppressive,—a plan which gives us a somewhat patchwork garment, but one that is always fairly serviceable and comfortable. There are a good many weak places in it still; and in the most important of these, the treatment of the lower classes, the plan by which reform will be effected is not certain. In the questions of socialism, intemperance, charity, and the punishment of crime, sentiment is by no means in accord with science; but, probably, we can safely assume that the utilitarian methods will finally prevail. In our legal growth, we have been through each of Comte's three stages in this country,—the religious stage in the early days, the metaphysical or philosophical in the days that followed the Revolution, and the positive or practical one at the present time. And, now, civilization has grown so complicated that we are afraid to trust to mere impulse, whether it claims to be religious or philosophical; and yet we have not got a clear view of the scientific laws that should enlighten our wishes. There is a constant natural selection going on,—a struggle for existence between good and bad laws; and Christianity is, of course, a very powerful influence in this selection, a far more potent one than might be supposed from surveying the law alone, and especially so in the direction of humanity and purity. And Christianity is growing to be so broad that it may fairly claim to represent not only these, but all our other best instincts, whether founded on the Bible or not, and to press their enforcement. What, then, will the result be?

Glancing back at the early days, we see that the gentle spirit of Christianity was so alien to the law of Rome that she could not guide it. She Romanized herself into a despotism instead of Christianizing Rome, and her legal influence was slight.

In the East, too, she gave up too much for success. Mohammed sacrificed the vital principles of purity and order for power; and, from this orientalized Christianity, no legal system resulted.

In the Middle Ages, Christianity had far more influence upon legislation; but here, too, she gave up the doctrine of brotherhood, and took upon herself an alien form. And this was so hostile to progress that the feudal system which resulted had no permanence.

The common law, on the other hand, grew up in open opposition to her; and there was little effort at adaptation until the Reformation brought them together, facing in the same direction, by purifying, not degrading the Church.

Still, by some thinkers, they are put in opposition to each other on the most important questions of the day; and, still, religious impulse is set up against social science, and allegiance is claimed to impracticable ideals. In the science of law, an ideal so remote that it is not possible to attempt to carry it into effect is an injury; for it makes men content with shortcoming. And it is, there-

fore, especially necessary that reform should take a practical and scientific shape. I think it must be confessed that, in the past, Christianity has not identified herself with the principles upon which legal reformation was possible. I am not attacking Christianity or belittling its splendid power. It would be a poor work to ransack the past for weapons to abuse so beneficent an agency, but it is the part of wisdom to become familiar enough with past blunders to avoid their repetition. No doubt, the law needs improvement sadly, and the force of Christianity ought to be of assistance to us in the endeavor to right it; but I think that the lesson of the past is that that force has been often misapplied, and is misapplied to-day.

How, then, are we to get rid of this miserable variance, and use the vast motive power of our faith in God and the right to strengthen and purify legislation? That is the greatest question of the day. If we look around to see how it is now used, the prospect is not encouraging. It is claimed, in business matters, that Christianity requires that speculators should not be allowed to make large fortunes, and that all business competition is illegal, and poor people should be relieved from any compulsion to pay their debts. It is claimed that Christian judges ought to decide cases, not according to the letter of the law, but according to eternal justice; and that Christian lawyers ought not to defend criminals in cases where they know that they are guilty; and that there ought to be no capital punishment, and pardons should be granted upon proof of penitence. It is claimed that soup kitchens and other indiscriminate charities are Christian. It is claimed that war is unchristian,—was ever,—and the private ownership of land, and the scientific law of natural selection. And the mantle of Christ's authority is spread over things as remote as our tariff law and our law freeing frauds committed on Sunday from punishment.

It is easy enough to show that these views are wrong in themselves, and not a part of a wise Christianity. But there they are; and many other cases will readily come to the reader's mind, where Christianity is not urging those things which scientific examination shows to be necessary for our health, and is urging what is mischievous and bad. Unless its direction can be better guided, I fear that the present divorce must continue. How is all this to be helped? If the examination that I have made means anything, it is that neither the Church council nor the Bible nor conscience is sufficient, without some additional illumination; and I submit that there is only one source from which this may be expected, and that is from science. A sound Christianity must, I think, be based on the assumption that all the laws of nature and human nature are from God, and that they must be studied and made use of, so far as they have any bearing on man's progress in civilization, if we would make any sound advance. When Christianity appeals to science for light, and uses the knowledge so obtained to direct our legislation, then, and not before, we may see the true union of religion and law, and give a real shape to Hooker's splendid conception: "Of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power." But, until this is the case,—and there seems almost no prospect of it at present,—we must secularize our courts with the same jealous care that we take to keep the church from our capital and our school-house.

HENRY W. HOLLAND.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

Religious systems are not exempt from the law or the process of evolution, but like worlds, living organisms, languages and governments, the arts and sciences, are continually subject to modification, and with age pass from simple to more complex forms and conditions. The philosophic thinker of these times, therefore, in estimating the character and influence of a religion, does not consider simply its germinal, embryonic, or infantile stage. That would be as absurd as to consider a tree with reference only to the seed or sapling from which it grew.

Christianity is an historic religion; and any just estimate of it must include, not merely the moral teachings and the spirit ascribed to Jesus, but the entire movement which he initiated, or with which his name is identified, embracing the Greek, Catholic, and Protestant Churches.

A complete description and history of a tree would include a consideration of all its successive stages of growth, from its germination to its decay and death. A religious system, long established and widely accepted, is not simply what its primitive teachers taught, but all that has been legitimately developed therefrom. We must consider not only what was taught, but what was omitted, its adaptedness to the needs and capacities of men, its power to make itself felt, its influence on character, on education, on art, science, philosophy, and literature, on social, political, and industrial life; and, as in ascertaining the quality of a species or variety of tree, we must inquire regarding the soil in which the seed was planted, and the climate and other conditions favorable or unfavorable to its growth, so, in judging a religion, we should ever be mindful of the intellectual, moral, and social environment in which it has been developed. We would not affirm of any variety of tree, after ages of natural and artificial selection in the most favorable soil and climate, that its foliage and fruit belonged to the species from the beginning; nor after a variety had through ages, in a most unfavorable medium, become degenerate, would we think of pointing to its condition as a fair test and illustration of the beauty or value of trees of that species. So, in estimating the value of the various forms which Christianity has assumed among peoples widely different in character and surroundings, we have no right to ascribe, on the one hand, all that is best, nor, on the other hand, all that is worst in the Christian Churches or in Christian literature to the teachings of Jesus and Paul.

Extremely unreasonable is the denial that the existing forms of organized Christianity should be regarded as parts of this religion, simply because Jesus established no church, or because these forms of Christianity have not escaped the influence of the environment in which they have flourished. To the first objection, it is sufficient to say that organization was a legitimate result of the teachings of Jesus and his disciples, and began while they were yet alive; and, to the second, it need only be mentioned that an essential condition of the growth of any system of religion is a flexibility that admits of modification, and enables it to accept and assimilate in its organized life the elements of other systems with which it comes in contact, and to adjust itself more or less to the intellectual, moral, social, and industrial changes amid which it lives. It is undeniable that organized Christianity has been compelled to drop virtually some of its originally most distinctive teachings, while there has been gradually incorporated into its system and polity much that has modernized it, and made its continued existence possible in an age like this, in spite of the fact that its Ori-

ental characteristics are utterly alien to Western civilization. For instance, as Strauss observes, "Christianity, in common with Buddhism, teaches a thorough cult of poverty and mendicity. The mendicant monks of the Middle Ages, as well as the still flourishing mendicancy at Rome, are genuinely Christian institutions, which have only been restricted in Protestant countries by a culture proceeding from quite another source."

If Christianity, through its teachers, had continued to inculcate and to emphasize certain teachings of the New Testament, it would long ago have become extinct among every progressive people. Its teachings in regard to the blessedness of poverty, indiscriminate charity, the sufferance of injuries, chastity, and self-denial, to the point of the extirpation of natural instincts, among other teachings connected with the doctrine clearly taught by Jesus and Paul that the end of the world was near at hand, are no part of the Christianity held to-day by its most enlightened adherents.

While it is evident enough that the various forms of Christianity are but so many varieties of the same system, derived largely, of course, from pre-existent systems, modified in adjustment to the various conditions in which they have been developed, the majority of the people, under the influence of theological methods of thinking, insist that their own particular interpretation of Christianity, or that of their Church, is the only Christianity proper; and that all other Churches should, except so far at least as they have adopted this interpretation, be disregarded in estimating the character and computing the influence of the Christian religion. Thus, while theology claims to be a science, and pretends to afford the mind a solution of the great problems of life and destiny, it fosters a sectarian spirit and a narrow view of religion, utterly opposed alike to a scientific conception of the subject and to that breadth of thought and catholicity of spirit which the man of science brings to its study.

The distinction between primitive Christianity and ecclesiastical Christianity is proper enough; but Christianity, as taught by Paul, its first great systematic expounder, and by his successors, in the peculiar environment in which it grew and gained ascendancy, developed into the organized forms of Christianity which appeared as naturally as varieties of plants in different mediums spring from the same seed. And what is called modern Christianity is but a continuation of the same process of development under vastly changed conditions.

They who insist that they will accept as Christianity only the words of Jesus himself forget, in their desire to escape the logical necessity of adding the teachings of Paul, that we do not know with certainty just what Jesus did or did not teach. We have nothing written by him. There is no certainty, no proof, that the reports of his speeches, which have descended to us, were made by persons who heard or saw him. If we were satisfied on this point, still there would be hardly less uncertainty as to the correctness of the reports. When we consider what is now regarded as highly probable by scholars who have carefully investigated the subject, that the authors of the four Gospels simply collected and put in their own different styles the written and oral traditions of their day in regard to Jesus, some idea can be formed of the extreme difficulty of determining the value of the Gospels as records of the sayings and doings of the Judean reformer. Possibly, he never said some of the things ascribed to him and for which he has been criticised, as, for instance, "I am not come but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,"—his promise to his disciples as to ruling over the twelve tribes, etc.; while it is probable

that many of his wisest and best utterances were unappreciated, and escaped all record. Under the circumstances, one who defines Christianity to be merely the words of Jesus in distinction from other parts of the New Testament bases his definition upon an uncertainty not likely to be removed.

In a communication printed in another column, which has suggested these reflections, Mrs. Shattuck says that all are Christians "who try to be what Jesus Christ was and to do what he did." Assuming that we have a correct account of what Christ was and what he did, after divesting the narrative of its supernatural features in order to conceive of him as a man, still, with our present conception of life and duty, we could not hold him up for unqualified admiration or imitation. It is neither possible nor desirable to live such a life in this age. Rather, we admire the man who has a family, and loves his wife and children; who is attached to his country; who is interested in the practical affairs of this life; who is industrious; who endeavors to make life pleasant; who will defend his home and country when they are unjustly assailed; who endeavors to accumulate a competence; who lives, indeed, a life very unlike, in many respects, that which Jesus lived.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

The Index.

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

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

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

DAVID SWING proposes to limit suffrage to those who can show, at least, \$500 worth of property. There is something wiser than wit in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer's* comment: "This would have ruled out Christ and all the apostles, except Judas."—*Christian Register*.

SAYS F. W. Newman: "It is hard to point to anything in the teaching of Jesus at once new to Hebrew and Greek sages, and likewise in general estimate true." With less courtesy, but more vigor, Buckle expresses the same view: "Whoever asserts that Christianity revealed to the world truths with which it was previously unacquainted is guilty either of gross ignorance or of wilful fraud."

A SCHOLARLY writer, who was for several years an orthodox clergyman, and who, we believe, still regards himself as a Christian, writes: "Your views (on which I am glad to see you are somewhat strenuous) as to how much Christianity has done for woman, or rather how little, seem to me just. Organized or historical Christianity has done far less for her than is now claimed generally by ecclesiastics, and far more to hinder that elevation than is commonly recognized. An able arraignment of Christianity on this point is one of the things laid out for you to do some day."

THE communication from "F. S.," which appeared in *The Index* of July 9, in praise of Mr. Davis' *Beyond the Valley*, comes to this office reprinted on a slip,—evidently designed as an advertisement,—with the signature and other words, which in *The Index* showed it to be a communication, carefully omitted. The communication did not give an editorial opinion of the book, which was, however, frankly expressed in the same paper from which "F. S.'s" letter is now reprinted in a manner to convey an impression that is false, and that does injustice to this journal.

A FRIEND writes: "I rejoice that the craze over Gen. Grant does not mar *The Index*, and that such ridiculous extravagance as Robert Laird Collier's and Newman's is properly characterized by you. While Grant was personally a man little to my liking, he had some good qualities; and his actual work, whatever may be thought of his military genius by those more competent than I to judge, was a great one. This entitles him to great honor. But the thing has been overdone ridiculously in public eulogies, in newspaper parades of insignificant circumstances, and, finally, in the site of his burial-place, and the silly outlay on a temporary tomb. When the great monument or mausoleum comes to be built, we shall see how deep and abiding is the sentiment that has delighted to exhibit itself so flashily." This writer takes a sensible view of the subject.

"THE gospel of Jesus," says the author of *The Religion of Philosophy*, "is pathetic, when we consider the conditions of its birth; but it is uninspiring to our age, it is contradicted in the lives of all men and women who can be said to have formed a true conception of the dignity, the opportunities, and the responsibilities of life. . . . The word 'Christianity' has been made to do service for all sorts of mutilated beliefs, until, in these days of scientific and historical criticism, when culture and unbelief have become convertible terms, we are calmly told that Christianity does not necessarily imply a belief in the divinity of Christ, a personal God, heaven or hell, baptism, the scheme of salvation, or the sanctity of the Church; that Jesus and his disciples, the early Fathers, all the Christian councils, the Bible, and every form of ecclesiastical authority, were mistaken; that they gave but symbolic utterance to the great truths of a religion of humanity which is now voiced in the language of science and thought; that, had all these mediums of Christian enunciation spoken more plainly heretofore, they would not have been understood; but, now that the world has been enlightened, Christianity suffers nothing by accommodating itself to the latest inductions of evolution and by preaching, not the gospel of the Nazarene, but that of humanity. Whether this is an utter rout of Christian dogma or a disingenuous method of retaining possession of the emoluments of a church after renouncing its creed, we leave it to the fair-minded to judge. Infinitely more respectable are those Christians who stand or fall by an honest interpretation of the doctrines of Christ."

For *The Index*.

A SHEAF OF POEMS.

BY GEORGE ILES.

II.

Thoreau gives us a poem entitled the "Fisher's Boy," to show how much may lie in receptiveness as well as action, in reflection as well as in the bustle of many tasks:—

My life is like a stroll upon the beach,
I walk as near the water's edge as I can go,
Sometimes I let the waves my steps o'erreach,
Sometimes I wait until they overflow.

My sole employment is, and constant care,
To place my gains beyond the reach of tides,
Each smoother pebble and each shell more rare
That Nature kindly to my hand confides.

I have but few companions on the shore,
They scorn the strand that sail upon the sea,
Yet oft I think the ocean they've sailed o'er
Is better known upon the beach to me.

The middle sea contains no purple dulse,
Its deeper waves cast up no pearls to view;
Along the shore, my hand is on its pulse,
And I converse with many a shipwrecked crew.

In a view of lighter mood, Clough gives this about atheism:—

"There is no God," the wicked saith,
"And truly it's a blessing;
For what he might have done with us
It's better only guessing."

"There is no God," a youngster thinks,
"Or really if there may be,
He surely did not mean a man
Always to be a baby."

"Whether there be," the rich man thinks,
"It matters very little;
For I and mine, thank somebody,
Are not in want of victual."

Some others also to themselves,
Who scarce so much as doubt it,
Think there is none when they are well,
And do not think about it.

But country folks who live beneath
The shadow of the steeple;
The parson and the parson's wife,
And mostly married people;

Youths green and happy in first love,
So thankful for illusion;
And men caught out in what the world
Calls guilt and first confusion;

And almost every one when age,
Disease, and sorrow strike him,—
Inclines to think there is a God,
Or something very like him."

Lowell has no fear that the fount of conscience and aspiration which gave us the religions may not yield us guidance and solace for all new wants and sorrows. He says:—

God is not dumb that he should speak no more;
If thou hast wandered in the wilderness,
And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor;
There towers the mountain of the Voice no less,
Which whoso seeks shall find; but he who bends,
Intent on manna still and mortal ends,
Sees it not, neither hears its thundered lore.

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
And not on paper leaves nor leaves of stone;
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.
While swings the sea, while mists the mountains shroud,
While thundered surges burst on cliffs of cloud,
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit.

Of the conflict between nature, broadly observed, and its finest and last products, the soaring brain and sympathetic heart of man, our poets give us pathetic statements. Tennyson says in "In Memoriam":—

The wish, that of the living whole
No life may fail beyond the grave,
Derives it not from what we have
The likeliest God within the soul?

Are God and Nature, then, at strife.
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life;

That I, considering everywhere
Her secret meaning in her deeds,
And finding that of fifty seeds
She often brings but one to bear,

I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God,

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.

"So careful of the type"? But no.
From scarped cliff and quarried stone
She cries, "A thousand types are gone:
I care for nothing, all shall go.

"Thou makest thine appeal to me:
I bring to life, I bring to death:
The spirit does but mean the breath:
I know no more." And he, shall he,

Man, her last work, who seemed so fair,
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
Who rolled the psalm to wintry skies,
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,

Who trusted God was love indeed,
And love creation's final law,—
Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shrieked against his creed,—

Who loved, who suffered countless ills,
Who battled for the True, the Just,
Be blown about the desert dust,
Or sealed within the iron hills?

No more? A monster then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime,
That tare each other in their slime,
Were mellow music matched with him.

O life as futile, then, as frail!
O for thy voice to soothe and bless!
What hope of answer or redress?
Behind the veil, behind the veil.

Let us turn back to one of the early chapters of poetic literature, and find how the Roman poet Lucretius anticipated our modern nebular theory, and clearly observed how the fittest survive in the struggle for existence:—

For seeds of bodies from eternal strove,
And used by stroke, or their own weight, to move,
All sorts of union tried, all sorts of blows,
To see if any way would things compose;
And so no wonder they at last were hurled
Into the decent order of this world,—
And still such motions, still such ways, pursue,
As may supply decaying things by new. . . .
But more, these years must numerous kinds deface,
They could not all preserve their feeble race;
For those we see remain and bear their young,
Craft, strength, or cunning has preserved so long.

Of the future, he says:—

And, were the soul immortal, would the mind
Complain of death, and not rejoice to find
Herself let loose, and leave the clay behind?

Were souls immortal ne'er began,
But crept into the limbs to make up man,
Why can they not remember what was done
In former times? Why all their memory gone?

Death, in his universal sweep, attacks even the grave:—

For sepulchres themselves must fall
In Time's abyss, the common grave of all.

For the repining he has little consolation:—

Besides what harm had the sun idly ran
Nor warmed the mud, nor kindled it to man?
What harm to us, if we had ne'er began?
True, those that are in being once should strive,
As long as pleasure will invite, to live;
But they who ne'er had tasted joys nor seen,
What hurt to them suppose they ne'er had been?

Of utmost scepticism, he says:—

He that says nothing can be known, o'erthrows
His own opinion, for he nothing knows;
So knows not that ———.

Great poems of the past always seem to have a modern tone. Profound poetic genius, while expressing the thoughts of its own age, has spoken the thought of all ages. Omar Khayyam, the Persian astronomer-poet who flourished in the eleventh century, might have written his quatrains this year, so pregnant are they with the spirit of

our times. I select some stanzas from Mr. Fitzgerald's version :—

Some for the Glories of This World; and some
Sigh for the Prophet's Paradise to come;
Ah, take the Cash, and let the Credit go,
Nor heed the rumble of a distant Drum!

The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
Turns Ashes, or it prospers; and anon,
Like Snow upon the Desert's dusty Face,
Lighting a little hour or two, was gone.

Think, in this batter'd Caravanserai
Whose Portals are alternate Night and Day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp
Abode his destin'd Hour, and went his way.

Ah, my Belovéd! fill the cup that clears
To-day of past Regret and future Fears:
To-morrow!—Why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with Yesterday's Sev'n thousand Years.

For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his Vintage rolling Time has prest,
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

Why, all the Saints and Sages who discussed
Of the Two Worlds so learnedly are thrust
Like foolish Prophets forth; their Words to Scorn
Are scatter'd, and their Mouths are stopt with Dust.

Myself, when young, did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument
About it and about; but evermore
Came out by the same door wherein I went.

With them the seed of Wisdom did I sow,
And with my own hand wrought to make it grow;
And this was all the Harvest that I reaped,—
"I came like Water, and like Wind I go."

There was the Door to which I found no Key;
There was the Veil through which I could not see:
Some little talk awhile of Me and Thee
There was—and then no more of Thee and Me

And fear not lest Existence, closing your
Account, and mine, should know the like no more;
The Eternal Saki from that Bowl has poured
Millions of Bubbles like us, and will pour.

When You and I behind the Veil are past,—
Oh, but the long, long while the World shall last!—
Which of our Coming and Departure heeds
As the Seven Seas should heed a pebble cast?

O threats of Hell and hopes of Paradise!
One thing at least is certain,—*This* Life flies;
One thing is certain, and the rest is Lies,
The Flower that once has blown forever dies.

Strange, is it not, that, of the myriads who
Before us passed the door of Darkness through,
Not one returns to tell us of the Road,
Which, to discover, we must travel, too?

The Revelations of Devout and Learned
Who rose before us, and, as Prophets burned,
Are all but Stories, which, awake from Sleep,
They told their fellows, and to sleep returned.

I sent my Soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that After-life to spell;
And by and by my Soul returned to me,
And answered, "I Myself am Heaven and Hell."

Heaven but the Vision of fulfilled Desire,
And Hell the Shadow of a Soul on fire,
Cast on the Darkness, into which Ourselves,
So late emerged from, shall so soon expire.

We are no other than a moving row
Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go
Round with this Sun-illuminated Lantern, held
In Midnight by the Master of the Show;

Impotent Pieces of the Game He plays
Upon this Checker-board of Nights and Days;
Hither and thither moves, and checks and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays.

The Ball no question makes of Ayes and Noes,
But Right or Left, as strikes the Player, goes;
And He that tossed you down into the Field,
He knows about it all—HE knows—HE knows!

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

And that inverted Bowl they call the Sky,
Whereunder crawling cooped we live and die,
Lift not your hands to it for help,—for it
As impotently rolls as you or I.

With Earth's first Clay They did the Last Man knead,
And there of the Last Harvest sowed the Seed;
And the first Morning of Creation wrote
What the Last Dawn of Reckoning shall read.

And this I know: whether the one True Light
Kindle to Love or Wrath consume me quite,
One Flash of It within the Tavern caught
Better than in the Temple lost outright.

What! out of senseless Nothing to provoke
A conscious Something to resent the yoke
Of unpermitted Pleasure, under pain
Of Everlasting Penalties, if broke!

What from his helpless Creature be repaid
Pure Gold for What he lent us, dross-alloyed,—
Sue for a Debt we never did contract,
And cannot answer,—oh, the sorry trade!

O Thou who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the Road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with Predestined Evil round
Enmesh, and then impute my Fall to Sin.

O Thou who Man of baser Earth didst make
And ev'n with Paradise devi-e the Snake:
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blackened, Man's Forgiveness give—and take!

Employing the old simile of potter and clay, the poet imagines himself listening to voices from a potter's shelves :—

After a momentary silence spake
Some vessel of a more ungainly make :
"They sneer at me for leaning all awry;
What! did the Hand, then, of the Potter shake?"

"Why," said another, "Some there are who tell
Of one who threatens he will toss to Hell
The luckless Pots he marred in making. Pish!
He's a Good Fellow, and 'twill all be well."

And Lyall makes a Hindu king reply to a Christian missionary, who has unfolded his system of theology, in these stanzas :—

"I think till I weary with thinking,"
Said the sad-eyed Hindu king;
"And I see but shadows around me,
Illusion in everything.

"How knowest thou aught of God,
Of his favor or of his wrath?
Can the little fish tell what the eagle thinks,
Or map out the eagle's path?"

"Can the finite the infinite search?
Did the blind discover the stars?
Is the thought that I think a thought,
Or a throb of the brain in its bars?"

"For aught my eye can discover,
Your God is what you think good,—
Yourself flashed back from the glass
When the light pours on it in flood.

"You preach to me to be just;
And this is his realm, you say;
But the good are dying of hunger,
While the bad gorge every day.

"You say that he loveth mercy,
And the famine is not yet gone;
That he hateth the shedder of blood,
Yet he slayeth us every one.

"You say that my soul shall live,
That the spirit can never die :—
If he were content when I was not,
Why not when I have passed by?"

"You say I must have a meaning :
So must dirt, and its meaning is flowers.
What if our souls are but nurture
For lives that are greater than ours?"

"When the fish swims out of the water,
When the bird soars out of the blue,
Man's thought may transcend man's knowledge,
And your God be no reflex of you."

Hindu thought, which regards consciousness as an evil, and a human life as a transient bubble on an infinite sea, has been presented in Byer's recollections of Northern India in a poem entitled "The Circuit of Being" :—

The snowflake that glistens at morn on Kailāsa,
Dissolved by the sunbeams descends, to the plain;
Then, mingling with Gunga, it flows to the ocean,
And, lost in its waters, returns not again.

On the rose-leaf at sunrise bright glistens the dewdrop,
That in vapor exhaled falls in nourishing rain,
Then in rills back to Gunga through green fields meanders,
Till onward it flows to the ocean again.

A snowflake still whitens the peak of Kailāsa,
But the snowflake of yesterday flows to the main;
At dawning a dewdrop still hangs on the rose-leaf,
But the dewdrop of yesterday comes not again.

The soul that is freed from the bondage of nature
Escapes from illusions of joy and of pain,

And, pure as the flame that is lost in the sunbeams,
Ascends into God, and returns not again.
It comes not and goes not, it comes not again.

Very touching is the poem of Richard Realf, entitled "My Slain," expressing the pain of parting with old illusions before the accommodation to newly found truth has become vital :—

This sweet child which hath climbed upon my knee,
This amber-haired, four-summered little maid,
With her unconscious beauty troubleth me,
With her low prattle maketh me afraid.
Ah darling! when you cling and nestle so,
You hurt me, though you do not see me cry,
Nor hear the weariness with which I sigh,
For the dear babe I killed so long ago.
I tremble at the touch of your caress;
I am not worthy of your innocent faith;
I who with whetted knives of worldliness
Did put my own child-heartedness to death,
Beside whose grave I pace forevermore,
Like desolation on a shipwrecked shore.

There is no little child within me now,
To sing back to the thrushes, nor leap up
When June winds kiss me, when an apple-bough
Laughs into blossoms, or a buttercup
Plays with the sunshine, or a violet
Dances in the glad dew. Alas! alas!
The meaning of the daisies in the grass
I have forgotten; and, if my cheeks are wet,
It is not with the blitheness of the child,
But with the bitter sorrow of past years.
O moaning life, with life irreconciled;
O backward-looking thought, O pain, O tears!
For us there is not any silver sound
Of rhythmic wonders springing from the ground.

Woe worth the knowledge and the bookish lore
Which makes men mummies, weighs out every grain
Of that which was miraculous before,
And sneers the heart down with the scoffing brain;
Woe worth the peering analytic days
That dry the tender juices in the breast,
And put the thunders of the Lord to test,
So that no marvel must be, and no praise,
Nor any God except necessity.
What can ye give my poor, starved life in lieu
Of this dead cherub which I slew for ye?
Take back your doubtful wisdom, and renew
My early, foolish freshness of the dunce,
Whose simple instincts guessed the heavens at once.

No perception of the lack of clear evidence in the matter can quiet in many of us the recurring question, If a man die, shall he live again? Stedman finely states this old question in his lines entitled the "Undiscovered Country" :—

Could we but know
The land that ends our dark uncertain travel,
Where lie those happier hills and meadows low,—
Ah, if beyond the spirit's inmost cavel
Aught of that country could we surely know,
Who would not go?

Might we but hear
The hovering angels' high imagined chorus,
Or catch betimes with wakeful eyes and clear
One radiant vista of the realm before us,—
With one rapt moment given to see and hear,
Ah, who would fear?

Were we quite sure
To find the peerless friend who left us lonely,
Or there, by some celestial stream as pure,
To gaze in eyes that here were loveliest only,—
This mortal coil, were we quite sure,
Who would endure?

Shortly after this poem appeared, a response to it was published under the caption of "Hope" :—

We cannot know
Aught of that far-off realm by us named heaven,
Where, in our fancy, lilies, pure as snow,
Fleck all the emerald meadows which are riven
By wondrous singing streams. We cannot know
Until we go.

We may not tell,
If our freed spirit, searching, shall discover
The kindred souls of those we loved so well,
Who, when they passed death's midnight river over,
Passed speechless and alone. We may not tell!
Nor yet rebel.

Have we not left
That grand impulse to every great endeavor
Which swatches the broken heart by partings cleft?
Hope, skyward, burns its beacon-light forever,
Beckoning us toward the truth: this we have left,
Who are bereft.

Blanco White, in his sonnet on "Night," made a notable addition to speculation on this point. He imagines Adam in the garden of Eden on the day of his creation before his first experience of darkness:—

Mysterious Night, when our first parent knew
Thee from report divine, and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame,
This glorious canopy of light and blue?
Yet, 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting flame,
Hesperus with the host of heaven came;
And lo! Creation widened in man's view!
Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
Within thy beams, O Sun? or who could find,
Whilst fruit and leaf and insect stood revealed,
That to such countless orbs thou mad'st us blind?
Why do we, then, shun Death with anxious strife?
If Light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life?

George Eliot, who resigned hope of personal immortality, nevertheless found high impulse within the range of mortal life and duty. She sang:—

Oh, may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.

So to live is heaven:
To make undying music in the world,
Breathing as beauteous order that controls
With growing sway the growing life of man.
So we inherit that sweet purity
For which we struggled, failed, and agonized
With widening retrospect that bred despair.
Rebellious flesh that would not be subdued,
A vicious parent, shaming still its child,
Poor anxious penitence, is quick dissolved;
Its discords, quenched by meeting harmonies,
Die in the large and charitable air.
And all our rarer, better, truer self,
That sobbed religiously in yearning song,
That watched to ease the burthen of the world,
Laboriously tracing what must be,
And what may yet be better,—saw within
A worthier image for the sanctuary,
And shaped it forth before the multitude
Divinely human, raising worship so
To higher reverence more mixed with love,—
That better self shall live till human Time
Shall fold its eyelids, and the human sky
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb
Unread forever.

This is life to come,
Which martyred men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow. May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,—
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible,
Whose music is the gladness of the world.

Among American poets is one who has forsaken the minor key so dear to his fellow-singers and told us in exuberant verse that life is good and that joy is here to-day for all who will see it and take it. I will conclude by giving you Wasson's "All's Well":—

Prophetic Hope, thy fine discourse
Foretold not half life's good to me;
Thy painter, Fancy, hath not force
To show how sweet it is to be!
Thy witching dream
And pictured scheme
To match the fact still want the power;
Thy promise brave
From earth to grave
Life's bloom may beggar in an hour.

Ask and receive, 'tis sweetly said;
Yet what to plead for I know not;
For wish is worsted, Hope o'ersped,
And aye to thanks returns my thought.
If I would pray,
I've nought to say
But this, that God may be God still,
For him to live
Is still to give,
And sweeter than my wish his will.
O wealth of life beyond all bound!
Eternity each moment given!

What plummet may the Present sound?
Who promises a future heaven?
Or glad, or grieved,
Oppressed, relieved,
In blackest night, or brightest day,
Still pours the flood
Of golden good,
And more than heartfelt fills me aye.

My wealth is common; I possess
No petty province, but the whole;
What's mine alone is mine far less
Than treasures shared by every soul.
Talk not of store,
Millions or more,—
Or values which the purse may hold,—
But this divine!
I own the mine
Whose grains outweigh a planet's gold.

I have a stake in every star,
In every beam that fills the day;
All hearts of men my coffers are,
My ores arterial tides convey;
The fields, the skies,
The sweet replies
Of thought to thought, are my gold-dust;
The oaks, the brooks,
And speaking looks
Of lover's faith and friendship's trust.

Life's youngest tides, joy-brimming, flow
For him who lives above all years,
Who all-immortal makes the Now,
And is not ta'en in Time's arrears;
His life's a hymn
The seraphim
Might hark to hear or help to sing,
And to his soul
The boundless whole
Its bounty all doth daily bring.

"All mine is thine," the sky-soul saith;
"The wealth I am must thou become,
Richer and richer, breath by breath,—
Immortal gain, immortal room!"
And since all his
Mine also is,
Life's gift outruns my fancy far,
And drowns the dream
In larger stream,
As morning drinks the morning star.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

Mr. Underwood objects to the definition of Christianity made by "a writer in the *Transcript*." Yet that definition, if rightly understood, must be accepted as the only true one. Christianity, as its name indicates, is "the spirit of the Christ," or "the Christian spirit," if one prefers; that is, Christianity is the animating principle which inspires the life and work of all persons who try to be what Jesus Christ was and to do what he did. Whether they recognize him as their example, or whether they repudiate or misunderstand him, all such persons are Christians. The fact that for fifteen hundred years various sects have called their creeds "Christianity" makes no difference with the truth. These sects are Christian in so far as they manifest Christ's spirit or animating principle, and are unchristian in so far as they depart from his spirit or animating principle. The additional fact that Christianity "is understood by millions of adherents to include numerous theological doctrines" does not prove that it *does* contain these doctrines. If Christ did not inculcate them, these dogmas are no part of Christianity. They only show how an intentional misinterpretation or an unconscious misunderstanding can pervert an original into a counterfeit; and, also, how fatal to truth is the substitution of the "letter" for the "spirit."

Roman Catholicism, that greatest perversion of true Christianity, and the many Protestant creeds that have too often made miserable work in trying to improve the original Christian idea, cannot, any of them, be called "Christianity." Neither can one name as "Christianity" that agglomeration of all creeds which is called the historical Christian Church. That part of any of these creeds which manifests the spirit of Christ's teachings is Christianity, the rest is not; and, if the followers of these various creeds call their religion, and theirs alone, by the name of the great teacher, it is no excuse for our doing so. Let us be exact and honest, and not call that by the

name of Christ which Christ never taught or desired to be taught. We must go back to the originator of the name. We must prune away all the illegitimate excrescences, from those of St. Augustine down, and see what *Christ* was and what he did, in order to find out what "Christianity" really is. And we shall conclude that it is the religion of those who follow the example of Christ in endeavoring, as he did, to manifest "the Father." That universal spirit of brotherly love which joins together persons of whatever creed in the endeavor after the best is the real Christianity, and the invisible, spiritual union of these true Christians forms the true and universal Church.

Whether one joyfully acknowledges Christ as the leader and master, or whether he believes not in him, depends largely upon whether he has been brought up on the *dogmas* of any of the various churches, and has revolted from them, or whether he has gone further and come, through perfect freedom, to see the *truths* of real Christianity. They who have "outgrown belief in" so-called Christianity are very apt to make the mistake of discarding Christ and Christianity, as well as the absurd theological dogmas with which St. Augustine and his imitators have incrustated the original truth. But they who, through an earnest seeking after truth, have *grown into* a belief in Christianity, will not often misinterpret its teachings or repudiate its great teacher. Such as they cannot be said to have "outgrown a belief in Christianity," as *The Index* charges; neither can they be accused of having "reverence for the name" (or letter), when to them the spirit is all.

If the editor is not satisfied with this definition, and will give a better and a truer one, no one will be more ready to accept it than

Yours respectfully,

H. R. SHATTUCK.

MR. SAVAGE'S "INFINITE AND ETERNAL ENERGY."

Editors of The Index:—

Allow me to express through your columns my thanks to Mr. Savage for the great pleasure I derived in reading the address delivered by him before the Free Religious Association, at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, on May 29, 1885. The copy of your journal in which this paper is printed has only just reached me, and has afforded me a very pleasant afternoon. The delightfully clear manner in which Mr. Savage places the facts connected with his subject before his readers is very helpful. One finds this particularly so in the first part of his address. I hope, however, Mr. Savage will pardon me, if I beg of you for a little space in your columns for stating and asking the explanation of one or two difficulties which presented themselves to me in the reading of the two concluding parts.

After carefully laying down his definition of religion, Mr. Savage asks: "What, then, are some of the elements of religion—truths that may well enough be called doctrines—that are capable of demonstration?" And, in answer to this very important question, he says, "I would set down the existence of 'an Infinite and Eternal Energy,' from which all things proceed." This is the first of the "truths"; and, as is seen further in the address, it is the most important "truth."

I would, however, ask here: (1) What does Mr. Savage understand by "an Infinite and Eternal Energy"? (2) How does Mr. Savage *know* it is "Infinite and Eternal"? and (3) If "all things proceed" from this "Infinite and Eternal Energy," by what canon of logic or train of reasoning did Mr. Savage arrive at this "Energy," which did not "proceed" from some other "Energy"?

Further on, Mr. Savage endeavors to justify his use of "Infinite and Eternal Energy" by remarking that "even a partial expression may be more nearly correct than silence or no expression at all." On the contrary, the history of science teaches us in a sufficiently strong manner to avoid what Mr. Savage calls "partial expressions." By their very nature, they are unscientific. If "partial expression" means anything, it means "partial truth"; and what a *partial* truth is I do not know.

And what is this expression a "partial expression" of? Of the "Infinite and Eternal Energy"? Of "God"? If so, then all that Mr. Savage has told us is simply that we do not comprehend the universe. Surely, we do not need the "Infinite and Eternal Energy" to instill in us the amount of religious fervor

and feeling which Mr. Savage thinks is necessary, in order to make us appreciate that fact.

"He who asserts mere force," continues Mr. Savage, "may be as dogmatic as he who asserts God." Certainly, but I do not think he is so unscientific. By calling "force" "God," "the theist" had a special end in view. He intended, by means of it, "to express and interpret the greatest and most inclusive of all human relations." Whether or not a "partial expression" can in any way aid him in this "effort," I leave it for Mr. Savage to determine. At any rate, without some further explanation, I cannot think it could.

My last difficulty, and one which I think the most important as regards the subject upon which Mr. Savage gave his address, I will try to put in as few words as I possibly can.

"Religion upon analysis," explains Mr. Savage, "may be resolved into these four elements: (1) It is thought,—the creed, the theology. (2) It is emotion,—fear, awe, reverence, hope, love, worship. (3) It is ritual. (4) It is purpose,—the endeavor of man . . . to get into the right relation to the Power not himself."

Here, tersely and pointedly stated, we have the *raison d'être* of religion. This is the structure for which we are to find a scientific basis. Truly, it is a fine structure; and many will think a most desirable one. But what is the foundation upon which it is to be erected? What is this scientific basis? Mr. Savage does not answer this directly. He, however, again and again lays it down that "religion is a man's attempt to express and perfect an eternal relation" between himself and the universe; between himself and the "Infinite and Eternal Energy"; between himself and "God." This basis, therefore, is found to be "God"; or, to put it into the modern scientific phraseology, "an Infinite and Eternal Energy." I do not ask Mr. Savage to explain to me what he means by *perfecting* a relation between himself and this "Power," nor do I ask him where is the utility in "expressing," no matter how often, "a partial expression"; but I do ask him, and I ask him this, in all earnestness and sincerity, how can he build up a system of religion which shall impose upon its votaries a theology, a ritual, the expression of the tenderest and sweetest emotions, and a life for getting "into right relation to the Power not himself," by means of "an Infinite and Eternal Energy." If I may be allowed to say so, it is asking too much—or, perhaps, I ought to say, too little—from the men and women of this age. It is as vain a presentation to the human intellect as the idea of Humanity of the Positivists. For the religious emotion to be fully called into play, there must be undoubted realization to the mind of the being that is to be its object. The relation must be one to which we may arrive not *after* a long mental exertion: it must be a relation that is immediate and ever-present. God must be known not *after* a long series of scientific experiments and deductions, but in each and every one of the experiments. He must be known in the first step as well as in the last step. He must not be "above" us or *behind* us. He must be *in* us. "The progressive endeavor," as Mr. Savage very beautifully puts it, "to reconcile man with himself, man with his fellow, and man with the external conditions of his life," cannot prosper, even if we could "fear" or "reverence" or "love" or worship the "Infinite and Eternal Energy." "Energy" it is, and "Energy" it always will be, no matter how we mystify it with our metaphysical adjectives.

I thank you for your courtesy in allowing me the use of your columns.

Yours very truly,
ISAAC ISAACS.

LIVERPOOL ENG., July 3, 1885.

CREATED AND UNCREATED.

Editors of *The Index*:—

The better the life of man realizes the perfect Love, the purer the thought of that life becomes; and, as the life acts according to its thought, the better will the acts be, or the more will man love his fellow-man. When that time shall have come, there will be no evil to restrain, therefore no need for the law, but each man will be a law unto himself or his own judge, knowing—not merely *believing*—that the deeds done in the flesh stand, not to perfect Love, his Creator, but to himself as a judgment against him, if they be evil, and as a proof of the righteousness within him, if they be according to the perfect will of the Creator. The uncreated Love, Truth, and Life is unchangea-

ble and perfect, without outline, and is entirely outside of and distinct from its spiritual creation with form and outline, and must consequently be separate from the products of that creation.

As I have before explained, the soul may, through the comprehension of the perfect quality of its Creator, become like unto it; but it can never become a portion of it.

The created life must always remain a distinct entity in form, outline, and quality from the Creator, even when it shall be in union with the uncreated Will. Nothing can be subtracted from nor added to perfection; but the soul of man may, through realizing that perfection, become a perfect likeness of it.

The uncreated Life is Spirit; and, when the soul of man becomes like unto it, it will be spiritual as it was originally created.

The uncreated Life, or Creator, is the eternal Substance which underlies and sustains all created life. Through it, all things exist. It is perfect and unchangeable, therefore incorruptible.

The substance of man is the life, or soul, of man, because it produces and sustains the matter body. The body, or matter, is formed and sustained in outline through the action of man's life, or soul; for, when the soul leaves the body, the body decays, loses its outline, and, after undergoing many changes, it finally becomes dust. Matter is incapable of independent action, therefore the life of man must be the actor.

The substance (life) of man is, therefore, changeable. It can lie and can speak the truth; it can do good and can do evil. It had a beginning, then it sinned and suffered, and death—the absence of life—has power over it; whereas the uncreated Life, or Substance, is eternal, unchangeable, and all-powerful. Thus, the substance or soul of man is, in quality, the opposite of the uncreated Life, or Substance.

The matter body is the product or coarser fabric of the created life, and is the opposite in quality to it. It must, therefore, be the absence of spirit. No doubt Paul understood the origin of matter, when he affirmed that the things which are seen (material things) are not made out of the things which do appear (spiritual things). All that is seen with the material eye is the lust of the eye and the pride of the created life. It is not created by the Father (the uncreated Life), but is a visible appearance to, and the coarser fabric of, the created life.

The uncreated Life is the Wisdom that knows all things (but not the absence of things,—nothing). It knows itself (Spirit) and its creation which is spiritual (the opposite quality to itself), but has no recognition of its absence, matter, nor of suffering in matter. The wisdom of the creature (soul) is only of and in matter and material things. Sickness and death as well as sin are products of the creature: they are not known to, nor recognized by, the uncreated Wisdom; but, to the creature, they are material facts, and knowledge of them is called by the creature science. All of this so-called wisdom is of this world. It is the invention of the soul, and is no portion of the uncreated Wisdom.

The soul's wisdom is progress in material knowledge, which is changeable and fallible.

Mathematics and music are demonstrable; and they are, therefore, infallible. They are not invented by the soul; but the soul perceives them, and, according to its realization of that perception, demonstrates them. All material science is changeable and destructible, because all materiality upon which it is built changes, and will some time pass away to each of us. In fact, man is not positive in any material knowledge. You may say that man is sure that he exists with a material body. I grant that he is as sure of that as he is of anything; but, if he live after the change called death, it must be without this material body, and, if that be the eternal existence, this existence must be temporal. Therefore, man was mistaken as to his real existence, and even that knowledge is changeable and fallible.

Thus far, I have endeavored to show you that the life of man is a created, changeable life, exactly the opposite in quality from the uncreated, unchangeable Life (the Creator): one is limitless, and the other limited; one is eternal, and the other temporal; one is incorruptible, and the other corruptible; that the changeable created life produced changeable or material thoughts, and that the life acting in accordance with those thoughts proceeded in a direction entirely opposite and away from Spirit, seeking wisdom in

materiality. This material wisdom is what Jesus called foolishness with God; that is, to God, or the uncreated Life, the material wisdom is foolishness,—nonsense,—nothing; that the created life is, and must always remain, a separate life from the uncreated Life, it being an opposite quality to it; that the Creator sustains the created life and its offspring unconsciously to the created life, and, being unchangeable, neither adds to nor takes away from that which he created and completed; that the Creator does not change his plans for the creature, and that he is no respecter of persons; that man is a free agent; that the soul is the soil, and the thoughts are the seed, and that according to the seed sown will the fruit or act be. If the life, or soul, of man have the correct knowledge of the quality of the uncreated Life and of the created life, and realize life to be the cause of all action, it has, as it were, the rule for our problem. But we must not stop here. The rule will not benefit us, unless we make use of it. Our lives must bear witness of our realization of that Perfection. The correct thought sown in the life or soul of man will spring forth, and, if the soil (soul) be prepared for it, will bring forth abundant fruit after its kind. If the thought, or seed, sown be spiritual, then shall the soul bring forth spiritual fruit for the future; but, if the thought, or seed, sown in the soul be material, then shall the soul bring forth material fruit meet for corruption. For, in every case, "as a man" (soul) "soweth, so shall he also reap."

E. J. ARENS.

Be firm! one constant element in luck
Is genuine, solid, old Teutonic pluck.

—O. W. HOLMES.

Thou must be true thyself,
If thou the truth wouldst teach;
Thy soul must overflow, if thou
Another's soul wouldst reach.
It needs the overflow of heart
To give the lips full speech.

—Anonymous.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE orthodox *Congregationalist* says: "We suppose there was no avoiding it,—evidently it was in accord with Gen. Grant's own wish,—but the permitting Rev. Dr. Newman to preach such a funeral discourse at Mt. MacGregor was worse than a mere infliction upon the public. His sermon was more than questionable, in point alike of theology, good sense, and good taste; and no disregard of the proprieties or discourtesy to the family of the dead is involved in expressing the evidently general and deep public regret that the solemnities of the week should have been marred by such a 'spread-eagle' performance."

THE performing preacher Talmage delivered a harangue in Wesleyan Chapel at Finsbury, behind which is the grave of John Wesley, and in front of which is Bunhill burial-ground, where lie the bones of John Bunyan, Isaac Watts, Daniel Defoe, and Horne Tooke. After the regular service, the mountebank came into the church porch, and addressed to the crowd standing in front of the graveyard, says a despatch to the *New York Herald*, "a theological stump speech in full voice, and then with a smiling face he gave out a stirring hymn, after singing which the populace made the police men happy by again freeing the thoroughfare."

M. JULES FERRY, an uncompromising foe of the clericals, has worked faithfully in the cause of non-sectarian and compulsory education. Under the old monarchy, the sums expended for educational purposes never exceeded 4,000,000 francs a year. Last year, the appropriation for public instruction was 131,581,000 francs; and the Minister, in asking for the sum, reported to the Chamber that there was not a child in France who was not learning at least a primary education. In 1873, male and female normal schools were opened in nearly every department; and, in the matter of secondary and classical instruction, the same progress has been made throughout the country.

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Christian Statesman*, who "enjoyed special accommodations in witnessing the

funeral services over the remains of Gen. Grant," expresses regret that the general "neglected to make a formal profession of faith in Christ, and that his baptism was deferred till his last illness, and when he was in a state of semi-consciousness." This writer hopes that Gen. Grant believed in Christ and "trusted alone for salvation in the atonement which he has made," but thinks Dr. Newman "absolutely fails to furnish, either from the testimony of our nation's beloved hero himself or from his own knowledge as his intimate spiritual adviser and chaplain, such evidence as satisfies the candid inquirer."

THE *Cincinnati Commercial*, with more plainness and vigor than elegance, expresses some truth that needs to be told: "The history of the war is being converted to childish myths, and Gen. Grant into as mythical a character as Jack the Giant Killer, by these liars, who think that anything marvellous or goody-goody told of Grant will make the lie a merit, and who think more of glorifying themselves than of honoring him. The goody-goody liars, who are inventing Sunday-school stories about Grant, and are making him out such a good boy that he should have died young, think their lying pious. But pious lies are the worst. They should be gently shot with guns loaded with salt, not to tame them, but to make them smart."

A WRITER in John Swinton's paper, replying to the claim that Paine was the author or, if he were not, that he furnished the ideas of the Declaration of Independence, has this to say: "Jean Jacques Rousseau had presented his famous work, *The Origin of Inequality among Men*, before the academy at Dijon, France, when Thomas Paine was an uninstructed and unheard-of youth of eighteen, learning his trade of a stay-maker. Jean Jacques Rousseau's great work, *The Social Contract*; or, *Principles of Political Rights*, had created a sensation in Europe, and been widely read and profoundly studied in America before Paine had ever been heard of. In *The Social Contract*, Rousseau proclaimed the principles of universal suffrage and popular sovereignty, and declared war against the Church. I do not wish to detract one iota from the merits of Thomas Paine. He was a sincere, courageous, and singularly unselfish lover of liberty, and rendered priceless services to the cause of the American Revolution; but writing the Declaration of Independence, or furnishing ideas for it, formed no part of such services." We may add that the proof is clear and conclusive that the Declaration of Independence was drafted by Jefferson, as he himself positively states and as John Adams testifies. There is no evidence, none whatever, that Paine had anything whatever to do with writing that celebrated manifesto.

THE programme of addresses of the annual meeting of the New York Freethinkers' State Convention, to be held at Albany September 11, 12, and 13, is given in the *New York Herald*, as follows: "On Friday morning, September 11, an opening address by J. J. McCabe, President of the Albany Liberal Association, after which there will be a general discussion and a business meeting. In the after-

noon, Charles Watts of England, Vice-president of the National Liberal League, will speak on 'Secularism, Destructive and Constructive.' In the evening, Elizabeth Cady Stanton will lecture upon 'Religious Liberty for Women.' On Saturday morning, Courtlandt Palmer of New York, President of the Nineteenth Century Club, will speak on 'The Aristocracy of Free Thought.' In the afternoon, Mrs. Mattie P. Krekel, of Missouri, Vice-President of the National Liberal League, speaks on 'The Demands of Liberalism.' In the evening, James Parton, of Massachusetts, lectures on 'Victor Hugo.' On Sunday morning, Mr. T. B. Wakeman, of New York, will discuss 'The Outlook of Liberalism.' In the afternoon, Helen H. Gardener, of New York, speaks on 'Historic Facts and Theologic Fictions.' The Convention concludes on Sunday evening with a lecture by Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, whose subject will be announced at the time."

ACCORDING to London despatches, the meeting in sympathy with the movement for the protection of girls and the suppression of criminal vice was attended by fully one hundred and fifty thousand persons. Addresses were delivered from twelve platforms, one of which was used exclusively by ladies. The temperance, trade, and socialist societies and the Salvation Army were prominent; and banners of almost every organization dotted the vast assemblage. Notwithstanding the fact that Lord Lynton presided at the chief platform, some of the speeches against the aristocracy were most sanguinary; and one account says, "While the procession was passing through Pall Mall, the Carlton and other aristocratic clubs in the vicinity were greeted with a perfect storm of groans and hisses, the bands, meanwhile, playing the 'Dead March.' Denunciatory epithets were hurled into the very windows of these fashionable resorts; and, at one time, the excitement became so intense that the police feared they would be unable to restrain the hot blood of some of the ringleaders, and that the clubs would be attacked. All the routes occupied by the detachments of the procession, which started from ten points, were blocked for nearly an hour. Each contingent contained great wagon-loads of cheering women. The crowds which lined the streets showed an extraordinary sympathy with the participants in the demonstration, all of whom seemed to have both heart and soul in the business in hand." A resolution, put simultaneously from all the platforms at the sound of the bugle, pledging assistance in enforcing the Criminal Amendment Act, was carried amid the wildest enthusiasm. The demonstration did not have the countenance of the leading dignitaries of the Church of England. The Bishop of Winchester said that it was, in his opinion, likely to increase and stimulate the prurient curiosity of the young of both sexes, and rather create a vicious appetite and encourage vicious indulgence than to promote a healthy public opinion; but the general view seems to be that such a demonstration in London was needed, and will result in much good.

FAITH.

In preceding articles, we have aimed to show how credulity and scepticism are mental qualities which are the natural counterparts and correctives of each other. When these two mental tendencies are properly developed together, the reciprocal control and balance resulting between them brings the intellectual attitude of *Faith*.

Credulity represents man's natural predisposition to believe. Scepticism represents man's equally natural disposition, though developed later under the teachings of experience, to inquire, to question, to sound the foundations of belief. Faith represents man's mental attitude when belief rests, beyond a question, on rational foundations. Faith is belief that has been tested by facts, investigation, reason, and yet stands. Hence, it is more than mere opinion: it is the maturity of opinion; it is perception cultured by experience; it is belief founded on knowledge; it is conviction sustained, because penetrated and animated by, reason; it is intuition subjected to the analysis and receiving the indorsement of science; it is man's natural predisposition to credence, searched and sifted under the stern disciplines of life, and adjusted in the court of human intelligence. Faith is knowledge itself become so familiar, such a second nature, that it may be acted upon without thinking of the reason of the action. It is that serene equipoise between the inner and outer forces of existence testified to by instinct in the first stages of human life, broadening into wider ranges as life unfolds, and confirmed by rational judgment.

This is not, of course, the view of faith that is usually accepted. Faith is commonly regarded as synonymous with belief in certain theological doctrines, and with adherence to certain ecclesiastical traditions. Ordinarily, that person is said to have faith who believes in a specific and supernatural revelation of religious truth, and is a strict observer of the outward forms of piety. But faith is not to be confounded with these mere accidents of opinion and practice, which may exist in connection with it or may not. The acceptance of religious views by inheritance or tradition is not faith. To believe merely on the faith of others is not to have a faith for one's self. To believe thus and so because Paul or Jesus or Moses so believed is not faith, but imitation, *parrottry*. The veriest scepticism, indeed, often lurks under the most tenacious adherence to old creeds, and the most rigid observance of old forms. It is no rare thing for a soul that is full of doubts to cling all the more intensely to traditional religious beliefs, from a fear that, if these are not true, there is only blank nothingness beyond. Having no living faith of its own, such a soul thinks to be on the side of safety by professing the faith of the dead. This may have been a very good faith in the prophets and saints with whom it was once vital; but, to a soul thus clinging to it, it is not so much faith as the refuge of despair.

A great faith trusts to *truth* above all things, and it quite as often compels the surrender of old beliefs as adherence to them. It was by faith, according to the Old Testament story, that Abraham went out seeking a country, not staying in one already found. Jesus and Paul were heretics to the Judaism of their day, abrogators of the established religion; yet they were incarnations of a living faith. The popular doctrine of faith puts its eyes in the back of the head, and makes it look only to the past for authority. But it is only timidity and doubt that do not dare to leave old landmarks and trust to present guidance. All the great religious leaders, of all ages, have walked with confident step, their backs to the past, look-

ing to the future. Such a faith goes deeper toward the centre of things than do any traditional beliefs and observances, whether it be associated with them or dissociated from them. It is a force below creeds and organizations and ceremonies, the producer of them and their supporter so long as they have vitality for any soul; but their burier also when they are dead, and the creator of new forms of thought and act to take their places. In other words, genuine faith goes below creeds and ritual, below Church and Scripture and prophet, and clings to that which Church, Scripture, prophet, creed, and ritual have tried in their various ways to express; namely, the principle of Truth and the law of Righteousness.

We hear much in our time about the conflict between reason and religion, and of the danger to faith from the advance of science, and from the scepticism that lurks in the widely accepted philosophy of the day. It is sometimes said that reason and faith are antagonistic terms; that religion cannot even begin until the voice of reason is silenced; that the evidence of faith is something different from, and even contrary to, the evidence of experience; and that it is only when the lamp of experience goes out that faith becomes a guide. But, in all this kind of apprehension and argument, religion and faith are regarded as necessarily identical with certain theological beliefs. The religion is a creed-religion or a book-religion. The faith means acceptance of these beliefs, and trust in certain supernatural agencies. All such beliefs and trusts are in danger from the advance of science. If religion be identical with any now accepted system of theological opinions, then probably it is destined to come to an end. If faith be really in conflict with reason, if its light only begins where the light of experience ceases, then it is most certainly doomed to disaster. Human reason is the great active worker in this world. No belief is safe for which, if its right to existence is once questioned, rational thought has not won the victory, and set the seal of permanence.

But, if we regard faith as the attitude of mind which results from man's native predisposition to accept as trustworthy the reports of his own perceptions, internal and external, after those reports have been thoroughly searched and sifted by reason and experience, then we reach a basis that is beyond the possibility of decay or change, so long as human nature remains what it is and what it has always been. And the net generic result of this attitude of mind, accumulated through all the generations of human existence, when we eliminate the variable expressions from the permanent substance, is that Truth and Righteousness are realities, and that there is a Power in the universe evermore working to give them the supremacy. To this proposition, intuition and experience, religion and reason, conscience and science, the wisdom of the prophet and the common sense of the common people, give their united assent. Whatever amid the struggles of conflicting beliefs has passed away, this has stood. Doctrines once accepted as truth have been one after another announced to be superstitious and been discarded, but this has remained. Religions, philosophies, civilizations, have risen and gone to decay; but this has survived. The human race has passed through many life-and-death struggles with its own ignorance and passions, and over large sections of mankind, and for long periods, error, deception, and wrong seem to have held almost unmolested sway; but man's confidence in the reality of Truth and Righteousness, and in their power, past and future, has outlived all the ignorance and passion and wrong, and grown the stronger by its conflicts with them. And this is the essence of faith.

We are left, therefore, with a view of faith that is very practical. The more faith one has in truth and right, the stronger will be his sense of personal obligation to serve their interests. This faith may be so strong, may rise to such height of power, that all sense of duty, or of compulsory obligation, may be lost in the service, and the work may be done in enthusiastic love. When faith in truth and goodness rises to this height in any human minds, then the great prophets and helpers come, who carry mankind onward by the contagious example of their confidence through great stretches of progress. They are the openers of new realms of thought, the promoters of wider sympathies, the leaders into a finer social order. But it is a kind of faith that all need and all in a measure may have,—a faith in truth and right that no obstacle can dismay nor defeat conquer. It is needed in individual struggles with temptation, to make conquest the easier and surer. It is needed in the discouraging conflicts of politics, in the competitions of trade, in the arena of home life, where ideal standards of right are so often trampled under foot by ruthless selfishness and lust of power. It is needed in all efforts that are attempted for the amelioration of man's social condition,—in all enterprises for the removal of ignorance and oppression, and for the lifting from men's shoulders of the heavy burdens of poverty, intemperance, and licentiousness, and the hundred forms of wretchedness which are the progeny of these evils. It is needed in all problems of education, in all plans and processes for the training of the young. It is needed, in fine, wherever man throws himself into any breach to render any service to humanity. Without it, he is half-hearted, loses courage, and fails. With it, he throws himself into the work with sublime confidence, careless of his own safety or profit, but assured that the idea which asserts itself with such supreme obligation to his own conscience must ultimately mount the throne of human society; and hence he goes on to victory.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CONTRASTED THEORIES OF MIND.

It is not an easy task to decide the question of superiority between two philosophers, who have followed out almost parallel lines of thought, and whose systems have been dominated by a common error.

Herbert Spencer is the greatest modern apostle of the philosophy of the *Unknowable*; while, throughout the writings of George Henry Lewes, the same logical chimera prevails, although it is to a great extent overcome in the culminations of his psychological studies.

Both of these writers have made great strides in the science of psychology. Both have contributed largely to the new science of sociology. As a sociologist, as one who has traced out the causes and effects of social conditions, throwing light upon the true significance of national and personal character, Spencer stands pre-eminent in the world of thought. But, in that delicate analysis of mental procedures, which explains the connection between what are known as natural, vital, and intellectual phenomena, Lewes is entitled, among modern writers, to the first place. It is unnecessary, for the purpose of this article, to review the achievements of Spencer in the field of social science. Here he has patiently accumulated an array of facts which completely removes from the mind of the student the vulgar notion that man presides over the universe, with the assistance of a divine Providence, and that everything happens with reference to his rewards and punishments.

The philosophy of history, of morals, and of the intellect has ever contradicted this belief; but it survives as the most primitive and firmly established of religious tenets.

The sociology of Spencer has made the natural, as distinguished from the supernatural development of society, so patent that this great idea has insensibly taken possession of the age. Christianity is struggling to conform her faith to this broader view of life; and the responsibility of individuals and of nations is visibly broadened and heightened by this new gospel of the nature of man. These things have been accomplished for the most part by the industry and genius of an individual. The age is replete with thought upon these subjects, the materials for the construction of this new philosophy are near at hand; but, as all great reforms have found their instruments in individuals, as all great movements have required their leaders, it is to Spencer that we clearly owe the advance in social science, and the accompanying subjugation of primitive superstitions which is a characteristic of our age.

It has been possible, however, to firmly establish in the mind of our century the true principles of human development, without supplying a satisfactory or original analysis of mind. The data of sociology have been formulated upon lines which lead up to a true conception of mind, but Spencer has not realized that conception. The incompleteness of Spencer's psychology, and the painful confusion which characterizes his manipulation of ultimate terms (or his metaphysics), I have endeavored to fully explain in the review* of his system which has just been published; but so much has been said in opposition to the pre-eminence which I have accorded to Lewes as a psychologist, that a reiteration of the advanced position of that writer may be of interest.

The distinguishing feature of Spencer's system is that he declares the mind to be a mystery. The distinguishing feature of Lewes' system is that he denies that the mind is a mystery. Spencer's is the philosophy of the *Unknowable*. This mystery is enthroned as the great emblem of consciousness. Lewes' philosophy is the unity of life and mind, and aims to bring both of these great facts within the operation of natural laws.

Spencer recognizes no mystery in life. He clearly affiliates vital with natural activities; but, when it comes to thought, or consciousness, he becomes an agnostic, and makes his obeisance to the *Unknowable*. Lewes, on the other hand, affiliates natural with vital phenomena, and extends this harmony to all the operations of the mind, disclosing common governing principles in all orders of activity.

Spencer distinctly tells us that consciousness is unknowable, and that the most general terms of existence, which are space, time, matter, force, and motion, are also unknowable. Lewes, in opposition to this argument, says that "it is doubtless mysterious that an organism can feel and think; but the fact that it does is all that we are concerned with, and it is neither more nor less mysterious than the fact that the organism can live and move."† Here, we have the assertion that, whatever mystery is involved in mind, it is neither greater nor less than that which is involved in the simplest and most familiar fact of all existence, which is motion. Lewes has already shown that life is simply motion; and he now declares that feeling and thought are neither more nor less mysterious, neither more nor less difficult to understand, than the simplest of all

facts, which is motion. What room, may it be asked, is there in this theory of mind for the *Unknowable*?

Spencer, on the contrary, says, in his *Principles of Psychology*, "Mind still continues to us a something without any kinship to other things; and from the science which discovers by introspection the laws of this something there is no passage by transitional steps to the sciences which discover the laws of those other things."* Again, toward the end of the same volume, he repeats: "Mind is known only as an aggregate of states of consciousness, which cannot be conceived as forms of matter and motion, and do not, therefore, necessarily conform to the same laws of redistribution. . . . The development of mind itself cannot be explained by a series of deductions from the Persistence of Force."† Although these assertions are all accompanied with the reminder that the obverse of mind, or its physical aspect, may be accounted for by natural laws, still it is repeated many times that mind in itself is not a natural or comprehensible phenomenon.

If Spencer does not believe that there is an impassable gulf between the subjective and the objective aspects of mind, that mind in itself is something quite different from mind viewed as a physical phenomenon, why does he insist upon the distinctions just quoted, and why does he fortify these distinctions with chapters and chapters of specious reasoning, as all students of his system are aware that he does? Why is he continually reminding us that mind can be understood from its objective side, but never from its subjective; that, physically speaking, the mind is plain enough, but, mentally speaking, it is an impenetrable mystery? To those who have reached a solution of the great enigma of the nature of language, it is evident that we are invariably obliged both to speak and to think *physically*. Is it not evident that Spencer is puzzled by the difference between the objective and the subjective phases of consciousness, and, as has been the case with all great philosophers, is he not making the world pay very dearly for his confusion?

Who can make this charge against Lewes? Who can read his immortal dictum, which is given so many different expressions in his *Problems of Life and Mind*,—"Motor perceptions are condensed in intuitions, and generalized in conceptions,"—without acknowledging that he has brought the activities of the mind within the range of natural laws, without perceiving that he has risen above the confusions and contradictions of the *Unknowable* into the calm sphere of the unity of life and mind?

"I am as fully persuaded," says Lewes, "that all intellectual operations have mechanical principles, both when accompanied by consciousness and when not, as that our reflex and automatic actions are mechanically determined."‡ If we will turn to his luminous exposition of the difference between organism and mechanism, we will at once perceive that, by mechanical principles, he means the universal principle motion, which is the ultimate fact in all phases of activity, whether mechanical, physical, vital, or mental. Spencer recognizes the presence of mechanical principles in the mind; but he says that mind in itself cannot be explained by, or deduced from, motion.

I have gone so thoroughly into this question of the relation of the categories of thought, or the aspects of motion to consciousness, in the review of Spencer's system above referred to, that it would be superfluous to repeat the argument here. There

is no attempt in either Spencer or Lewes to reduce the categories of thought to a single principle. The idea that such a reduction is either necessary or possible does not seem to have occurred to either of them. It is the discovery of the nature of language that has made this solution possible. Language is but a system of metaphors, an endless chain of expressed resemblances. The distinctions between words are purely relative. As all facts are related to a single fact, all words are related to a single word. To retrace this analysis with a synthesis, mind is the product of language. All thought is composite, and is generated from the simple activities of an organism. These activities are joined together, or articulated, by language. Ideas are the result of this articulation. Thus it is that the unity or synthesis of knowledge results from a true analysis of mind. This argument could be indefinitely elaborated by examining the nature of perception, by detecting the initial principle of consciousness in the simple adjustment of the creature to its environment, or the contrast of subject and object. All the metaphors of speech, all the resemblances of which mind is composed, can be reduced to this contrast of subject and object; and this final contrast or difference is lost in the identity of a universal principle.

Lewes has contented himself with identifying the ultimate fact in feeling and thought with that of nature. Spencer has demarcated mind from nature. He has failed to unite subject and object in a single principle: hence, the unreality of religion in his hands. For how are we to give to religion the dignity and simplicity of truth, until God is acknowledged as the most general fact in the universe, the end of every analysis and the beginning of every synthesis? Consciousness, with Spencer, is the *Unknowable*, or God,—an impenetrable mystery. Consciousness, with Lewes, is the function of conditions. It is an individual phenomenon: it is personal, not divine.

RAYMOND S. FERRIN.

POVERTY AND WEALTH.

I.

In the year 1880, the population of the United States comprised fifty millions. Of these, a little more than half were men and boys, a little less than half women and girls. One-half of the entire number were minors, and about one-fourth under ten years of age. About three millions were over sixty, and about one million over seventy years old.

Of course, only a part of these could be occupied: all below ten years (thirteen millions) are too young to bear the strain; those between the ages of ten and fifteen (six millions) should devote this part of their lives exclusively to education. It is a misfortune that necessity compels many boys and girls to contribute to the support of their families at this early age. Such is, however, the case; for, in 1880, nearly one-fifth of this class (one million) were at work. Between the ages of fifteen and fifty-nine (twenty-eight millions), most of the work of life should be done; yet but little more than one-half of these (fifteen millions) are recorded as having been occupied. Among those over fifty-nine years of age (three millions), much feebleness prevails, and many should rest; but, just at this age, also, it is that poverty is most bitterly felt, and the most painful efforts have often to be made to keep the wolf from the door. Hence, we find a full third (one million) of these still at work.

The assessed valuation of the total property held in this country in 1880 was 16,900 millions of dollars. Of this, 13,000 millions was the valuation of the real estate, and 3,900 millions that of the personal property.

* The Religion of Philosophy.
† Study of Psychology, p. 11.

* Vol. I., p. 140. † Principles of Psychology, vol. I., p. 508.
‡ Problems of Life and Mind, vol. II., p. 96.

Comparing these figures with those of the population, we find the average estate of each inhabitant to be 336 dollars; or, assuming an average of five persons to each family, 1,680 dollars would be the average of family property in this country.

Is property in this country so distributed? No. Here it is that we are brought face to face with that portentous fact of the inequalities of fortune. Well enough do we know that certain individuals count their wealth by millions, while others have not wherewithal to buy a crust and a night's shelter. One estate in this community is estimated at two hundred millions. If the balance of individual average property were to remain, so far as possible, undisturbed, six hundred thousand human beings would have to be stripped of all, that this one estate may be enjoyed; or, four dollars—and this is more than one per cent.—must be taken from each individual's average. Eighty-five estates of this magnitude would absorb the entire property of the country, leaving nothing for the toiling millions to call their own; and, though there are not eighty-five men so rich, there are very many more millionaires; but 16,900 individuals possessed of only one million each would own it all.

But to pass from property to incomes: what are their sources and distribution? Many persons possessed of little or no estate are in the enjoyment of large revenues from salaries; others, again, receiving no salary whatever, derive their income from rents, or from interest on loans, or the exchange of commodities. A portion of the community live upon realizations from two or all of these sources; a very large portion, children, many aged and helpless, beggars and prostitutes, are dependent upon gifts, while the true criminal classes subsist entirely by theft, robbery, and fraud.

What the sum total of incomes of the people of the United States amounts to to-day can hardly be estimated, but the highest incomes are well known to amount to fortunes in themselves. A well-founded estimate for the income of the presumably richest man in the country is ten millions. From that, we range down to the smallest sum with which life can be sustained, say one hundred dollars; but this last sum means slow starvation, with less it is more rapid.

The largest salary ever paid has probably been about \$100,000 per annum. At least, this sum some railway managers are reported to have received. The smallest salary is nothing; for at this boys, and even young men, are frequently glad to enter as apprentices to some trade. The average pay of the hands borne on the rolls of large manufacturing establishments, according to the last census, is 347 dollars per year,—less than seven dollars per week.

The rate of interest which may be obtained on the best security is now not over three per cent. per annum.

The questions of the distribution of property and incomes are indissolubly connected with that of the distribution of happiness; for, as our happiness is co-extensive with our liberty to follow the bent of our inclinations, so this liberty is in its turn limited by the boundaries of our possessions. What special form these possessions may assume, whether it be that of money, shelter, knowledge, food, clothing, land, or leisure, is only of secondary importance. So long as our property in any one of these forms is no more than sufficient for the satisfaction of our immediate wants, our needs in other directions may remain unrelieved; but, as soon as the amount of our estate in this one form rises in excess of our immediate requirements, we can generally obtain all other forms by exchange.

The origin of all evil and misery is traceable, proximately, to the present distribution of happi-

ness and the means for its attainment, ultimately to the competition for the latter's possession. This competition is active, not only between what may be termed "individuals of the same order or degree of individuality," such as different human beings, but even between individuals of different orders or degrees, such as citizens and the state, states and the race-organism, and race-organisms and the All.

The happiness of each individual is found in its liberty; that is to say, in the "right of way" of its will to the domain of the objects of desire. Were the desires of all human beings equally intense and directed to the same objects, there would be no difficulty in assigning to each and all their just share of the world's happiness and property. But not only do the desires, wants, and needs of different individuals differ most widely, but those of each individual are, in the course of time, subject to very considerable variations. Indeed, as careful investigation demonstrates that all human desires arise from a sense of want engendered by contrast with the sense of possession, it follows that the range of these desires, though proximately diminished, must always be ultimately increased with satisfaction.

For this reason, it appears certain that the full measure of all the desires of which the human race is capable can never be permanently satisfied; and the full measure of the desires of which any one human being is capable cannot be even temporarily satisfied, except at the cost of the satisfaction of his neighbor's desires. Hence arises the question: "To how much satisfaction of desire—that is to say, how much happiness—is any one individual entitled?" And hence, also, the further question: "What share of the total wealth of the race may each one justly claim?"

Generally speaking, each individual seeks its own happiness, regardless of that of others. Hence, whenever more than one strive for the possession of the same object of desire, there must ever arise that "interference of wills" which constitutes the main source of all those evils of social condition for the existence of which humanity may be justly held responsible. And, hence, it follows that the right to happiness, and its means, of each individual, must be limited by the equal rights of all other individuals of the same order or degree; but, as a part is always less than the whole, so its rights must also always be less, and the title to happiness and wealth of any one individual, however great, can never equal or compete with the title of the social organism, of which the individual is a part. The happiness and power of each human being are only entitled to respect in so far as they tend to increase proximately the happiness of the human race, ultimately that of universal life and being.

True or net happiness is the difference between the sum-total of our joys and pains. But our joys as well as our pains may be the result of the direct satisfaction or non-satisfaction of our own desires, or they may result from our perception of joyful or painful states in others, or from both sources. When our joys are dependent upon our perceptions of the joys of others, and these others' joys upon their perception of ours, it is plain that the happiness of all is increased by each increase of the happiness of one; but, when any one derives joy from beholding pain and suffering in others, the joy and pain increase together, and may involve a loss to the happiness of all.

The thesis that the maximum possible happiness of the All is dependent upon the equality or proportion of its distribution among the component individuals is mathematically demonstrable; for, even as the maximum product which can be formed by the multiplication of a certain number of parts into which any number is divided is greatest when

these parts are equal, so, also, that portion of the happiness of all which arises through sympathy must be greatest when happiness is most equally meted out.

It has been already stated that happiness depends in a large measure upon the distribution of the means for its attainment, property and income. But to this an important element, the intelligence and will to put property and income to proper and legitimate use, must be here added. And here we must ask, "What constitutes legitimate use?" Clearly, that use which is conducive to the happiness, not of one's self, nor of others only, but of all collectively.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

CHANGE.

"The voice of the Almighty saith, 'Up and onward, for evermore.'"—Emerson.

It is the inconvenience attending the breaking up of social incrustations that makes conservatives. This inconvenience is real, and has been considerable; and the progress of society will be most accelerated when the sacrifice of change is reduced to the minimum for the individual. For this, the truth that "passing away" is a law of all social institutions must be kept in mind. "The changes which break up at short intervals the prosperity of men are advertisements of a nature whose law is growth. Evermore, it is the order of nature to grow; and every soul is by this intrinsic necessity quitting its whole system of things, its friends, and homes, and laws and faith, as the shellfish crawls out of its beautiful but stony case, because it no longer admits of its growth, and slowly forms a new house. As insurrection is giving way to revolution, so must evolution take its place in the method of social affairs.

As the light brightens and vision clears, the bridges the fancy spanned to solid beyonds are found to be floating gossamers, and the thoughts of man are coming back to earth to deal with the realities that surround his actual present being; and, when he has enough considered these, he will be convinced that human nature is prone to good, because it is a part of nature, and that its real uplifting and glorification consist in striving to comprehend the whole. When this process begins, the wistful gaze turns forward, and the "unconscious will" of society no longer drags on the resisting individual. Happily, it is becoming common; and, at the same time, men are making new estimates of their effects, and with truer calculation. Instead of using terms of the absolute, they are distinguishing the more from the less absolute.

The minimum of individual hardship will attend social change, when this comparative method becomes universal. "The good time coming" will be when men shall live their lives, and be in harmony with their times, intelligently watching for their demands, and cheerfully and honestly conforming to them. Such times will come to a generation that is self-reliant, earnest, and not meanly selfish, one that could know no sectional politics, nor cherish policies born of tribal jealousy and a spirit of social non-intervention, suitable for the ages when incursions for plunder were the only means of securing the desired commodities of other nations. That generation is not, I fear, near akin to the present; for, though the moral balance is quivering, and events are hastening for great changes soon to occur, so much, yet strong and venerable even in its injustice, must first be swept away, that, though "time be no longer slow" under the most favorable conditions, much will be required. But labor on. Between the present and that time there intervene vast gulfs of evil to be filled and smoothed away.

Whoever champions the cause of conservatism will find friends in plenty, and among them many who will be glad to have him maintain what themselves would be ashamed to assert. Such champions, then, will be men, either of lopped faculties, unconsciously disingenuous, or of abnormally developed faculties, who would seize upon the whole world, and make of it for themselves a huge eye. Such there will be while great individual interests exist, and are being furthered without regard to the demands of the social system that is, while the relations between the individual and the social unit are artificial; and this, be assured, will always be. The gap will narrow down, only to be more closely discerned.

All men think nowadays,—the delver in his hole, the chopper in the wood, the prisoner in his cell, the tramp on the highway, even the lord in his palace. When this appalling volume of thought is pulverized,—and most of it, “shining dirt” that it is, washed away,—it will be found that the difference between men is not great. Let this be perceived, and material regalia will be less held of value. When men throw aside their artificial distinctions, and go on together with an honest purpose, new experiences afford mutual explanations. Thus, each individual feels the good of his neighbor; and they are drawn together. And this is the socialism that men desire, the individual brain kept vigorous by the pulsations of the social heart.

H. F. BERNARD.

MR. EMERSON'S ANTI-SLAVERY POSITION.

The *Index* has several times referred, with just disapproval, to the view taken by Dr. Holmes, in his memoir of Emerson, as to the latter's connection with the abolitionists. As a farther proof how thoroughly Emerson was identified with that body, then despised and hated, I will call attention to this extract from a speech of one of their ablest and most determined opponents, Caleb Cushing. The extract is from a speech delivered by him in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Dec. 8, 1859; and I am indebted to Albert C. Perkins, Esq., of Brooklyn, N.Y., for calling my attention to it:—

I say, in this Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the adjoining State of New York, there is a handful of men of highly intellectual mind, of the highest culture, literary and scientific,—men who would seem to be born to bless their day and generation, such as Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and Gerrit Smith,—who by constant brooding upon one single idea—that idea, if you please, a right one abstractly—have come to be monomaniacs of that idea [applause], and so have become utterly lost to the moral relations of right and wrong.

This deliciously paradoxical sentiment—that it was the opponents of slavery who were “utterly lost to the moral relations of right and wrong,” and Caleb Cushing alone who stood for the moral sentiment—is made to include Emerson as one of the parties to the indictment.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

You see, it's this way. You have a mind,—yes. Well, you go to the Boston mind cure, and they cure you of it.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

THE death of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, better known as “H. H.” and “Saxe Holm,” gives special interest to two connected stories, among the last of her literary work, which will be published in the October and November numbers of *Wide Awake*.

THERE are a hundred deer forests in the highlands of Scotland, varying in size from a few thousand acres to seventy thousand, the rental ranging

from £400 to £4,000 per annum. In all, it has been estimated that over 2,000,000 acres are devoted to the maintenance of deer in Scotland, and that about 5,000 stags are annually killed.—*Exchange*.

SAYS the Pittsburgh *Despatch*: “The cholera would not be so fatal in Spain, were the people to substitute cleanliness for fasting, and a little spunk for prayer. Fasting reduces them to the worst possible physical condition to resist disease, and it always was doubtful whether heaven helps those who pray heartily only when in a pinch.”

GEN. CLINTON B. FISK relates this anecdote of Gen. Grant: “I was sitting with the general and a number of others, when an officer high in rank rushed in, shouting: ‘O boys, I’ve such a good story to tell you! There are no ladies present, I believe!’ ‘No, but there are gentlemen present,’ was the curt reply of Grant.” The story was not told.

A UNITARIAN minister having “expressed himself in an uncomfortable way about the ‘motley collection of people’ who pass for ‘religious liberals,’” and make up Unitarian congregations, the *Christian Register* is moved to remark: “Something in the tone of all this recalls the story told of Rev. Dr. —, who, on entering the heavenly world, looked about for a moment upon the throngs of spirits, and exclaimed: ‘A very common lot, seems to me. Where’s Dr. Channing?’”

IN averting what the London tattlers would have exaggerated into a sensational breach of promise case, the New York *Herald* says that Lord Coleridge has displayed that tact which has done so much to raise him to his exalted condition. The only precedent it is able to recall is the conduct of the presiding officer in Mr. Gilbert's operetta, “Trial by Jury,” who during the hearing grew enamoured of the fair plaintiff, and suddenly stopped the case, crying:—

“Barristers, and you, attorneys,
Go upon your homeward journeys;
Lay your briefs upon the shelf:
I will marry her myself.”

The *Herald* scents danger to the legal profession. Meanwhile, the Lord Chief Justice, with his bride, it is announced, will spend their honeymoon on the Lake of Lucerne, where, in the intervals of wooing, he will be able, it is suggested, to inquire into the authenticity of the beautiful and romantic story of William Tell.

THE Misses Bush, principals of the Belvidere Seminary, located at Belvidere, N.J., announce that they have added to their institution a department which they have called, with the permission of the widow of Wendell Phillips, the Wendell Phillips Memorial Industrial School. Their plan embraces practical methods of teaching, the cultivation of the physical and moral as well as the mental powers, and preparation of the students for pursuits or occupations that will enable them to be self-sustaining. Connected with this school is a kindergarten, which combines the pleasing and useful occupations of the school-room and garden. Leaving the kindergarten, the children are grouped in companies under the care of guardians and teachers, who daily instruct them in habits of industry, economy, order, temperance, and kindness to one another. There is a library, scientific and commercial department, a school of art and design, including music, painting, illustrating, modelling, and the ceramic art, and a department of printing and journalism, besides other important features. The school is entirely unsectarian. Full information can be obtained by addressing Belvidere Seminary, Belvidere, Warren County, N.J.

THIS word of comment is from a thoughtful critic: “Gunning's article is unique. He meant it to be striking, and it is so. Its pessimism,

more apparent than real, consists in some detached expressions which he would not render tame by qualifying. Nature is *not*, however, man's enemy, in my apprehension, when viewed *largely*. But she is certainly no cossetting nurse. What men see in her depends more upon what they are, I think, than on anything else. Years ago, I read an article from the orthodox (nominally) Prof. Stowe, an introduction to a book at whose title you will laugh, *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*, by Rev. Walker, in which (the introduction) this fact was ably illustrated in a dialogue between two men, one genial and sunny, the other cynical and gloomy. ‘Nature’ and ‘God’ and *omnia cetera*, if *cetera* there be, fared very differently in the two men's mouths. While I certainly believe in an objective world, its *color* is largely ‘in our eye,’ considerably in our liver. The main point of Gunning's article is excellent,—‘What are we here for?’ if not to make the evolving and of course imperfect creation better, if we can? and we can.” The work mentioned above, *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*, is an ingenious and original work, whose arguments, Joseph Barker stated, had a powerful influence in restoring his belief in Christianity. The work, years ago, was translated into several languages, and was, if it is not now, used as a text-book in many theological schools in Europe and the United States. Some ten years ago, we had a public discussion with the author, which was continued through five evenings, his notes of which appeared in one of his late volumes. He was at that time a professor in Wheaton College, Illinois. We were forcibly impressed with the dignity and nobility of his personal character.

For The Index.

THE PAST.

There it lies in shadow,—the outworn Past:
No more it sways the Present from the urns
And charnels of its storied dead, no more
Repeat its creeds and consecrated myths
The generations of to-day with servile,
Parrot-like, unquestioning iteration.
Men's ancestors, forefathers, are no more
As household deities adored; no more
Their customs, usages, are sacrosanct.
The hearthfire's gods, Penates, Laræ, are
At length dethroned. Reason is paramount.

To sunlike beams and breezes fresh of Truth
Men's minds, like vernal lawns, lie open wide.
The foul breath of the Past no more will breathe
The generations of to-day. Each age will soon
Construct its own environment, its shrines,
Abodes to suit its current mood, refusing
To be housed in structures long ago upreared,
Unventilated, dark with stains of blood.
The palaces of kings, the monstrous shrines
Of hierarchies old, which Europe's soil
Incumber, will ere long in ruinous heaps
Be strewn, because they symbolize the Past,
Its tyrannies and superstitions foul.

Happy art thou, America, because
Thine unpolluted acreage, where bloom
The virgin blossoms of the wilderness,
The sealike prairies' golden flowerage,
Ne'er groaned beneath the architecture huge
Of priests and kings, upreared with tears and sighs
By drudges guerdonless, that loathed their toil.
The forms putrescent of the dead will soon
To earth and air by purifying flames
Be given, no longer life empoisoning
With fetid exhalations of decay.
Thus in the living Now will life be lived,
With Reason like the Morning Star aloft,
The torch to more and more enlightenment,
To final justice, that shall lift from slough
Of want and woe all wearing human shape.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?*

BY EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

The question here proposed is a timely one. It ought to receive a prompt and decisive answer. After so much accurate research into the constitution of things, modern science ought to be able to tell us whether it rightly leads to the conclusion that all natural occurrences are manifestations of one and the same eternal power. If this is its legitimate outcome, then we may safely rejoice that the long conflict between science and religion has at last ended in peaceful union; that modern science and modern Christianity, in spite of so much ostensible enmity, have, nevertheless,—each by its separate road,—reached the same haven of truth and repose. For impartial judges will hardly deny that modern Christianity, freeing itself more and more thoroughly from authoritative decrees, trusting more and more implicitly the dictates of rational self-consciousness, has come in its inmost heart to avow the transcendent unity of all that is essentially real, and therewith its identity with the one eternal power, from which everything is believed to originate, and in which we ourselves are said "to live and move and have our being." Indeed, the rationale of modern Christianity, in its esoteric formulation, has become one with the philosophy now taught in our foremost Christian universities,—a philosophy endeavoring to prove the reality-constituting efficiency of thought, and the resting of all such reality in one supreme, universal Intelligence.

It is an historical fact that human thinking, whenever it has been free to expand to its utmost, has all but invariably reached pantheistic conclusions. From whatever manifold data it may start, it generally ends by identifying and unifying everything. The manifest interdependence of all natural phenomena, and their unitary wielding from a hidden sphere of efficiency, has always impressed

* Read before the Concord School of Philosophy, July 31, 1885.

contemplative minds with a keen sense of its paramount import.

In the Vedas, the great Power underlying phenomena is made to exclaim: "I am the light in the sun and moon; I am the brilliancy in flame, the radiance in all shining things, the light in all lights, the sound in the air, the fragrance in earth, the eternal seed of all things that exist, the life in all; I am the goodness of the good; I am the beginning, middle, end, the eternal in time, the birth and death of all."

An ancient Egyptian hymn thus addresses the same unitary Power: "Thou art the Lord of lords, who revealeth himself in all that is, and hath names in everything. Thou art Youth and Age. Thou givest life to the earth and its streams. Thou art heaven, thou art earth, thou art fire, thou art water, thou art air, and whatever is in the midst of them."

It is universally felt, the world over, that the essence of reality is acting-power, which to us means phenomena-producing efficiency. And it is a natural tendency of our human comprehension to unify such power, to regard all phenomenal revelations as the manifestation of one and the same eternal efficiency.

In its early poetic rapture, the mind of world-dependent man, intoxicated with pantheistic veneration and awe, finds divine presence and fulfillment in every natural object and event. But, sooner or later, ripened experience, with its miseries and disappointed hopes, causes it to relinquish its youthful faith in temporal facts and aspirations. Sickened at all the cruel happenings of this delusive and transitory realm of sense, it ends in yearning toward deliverance from the insufficiency of time-mutations through reunion with the eternally One.

The transcendent enlightenment that in the solitude of Bohimanda filled the ardent soul of Gautama with blessed peace, and the message of deliverance to all men; that in the Judean wilderness entered the compassionate heart of Jesus, bracing it with unwavering fortitude to show—in opposition to all the killing powers of this earth—the way to the kingdom "which shall never be destroyed," there to become "perfect, as the Father in heaven is perfect"; the enlightenment that, with ineffable satisfaction, has entranced the mystics and saints of all ages and climes,—that beatific enlightenment has ever consisted in the penetration of the dreamlike evanescence of this whole checkered display of sense, urging the undying life in us to draw near and nearer the unbroken light of eternal Perfection, renouncing for evermore the delusive allurements of this temporal scene of passionate strife.

Manifest existence, restless shifting in Time,—it is only an unreal semblance, a phenomenally estranged emanation from eternal All-Being. This is the conviction that has ever formed the central incentive to saintly life.

Now, is it true that modern science, assiduously testing such phenomenal existence, following it up in all its intricate relations with rigorous precision,—that genuine objective science has actually arrived at the same ancient pantheistic conclusion? Does it, in all verity, likewise teach us that the things and events of this world are but transient manifestations of one and the same transcendent and eternal Force, Energy, Power, or whatever name may be given to the inferred cause and substratum of all apparent existence?

If—as now claimed by eminent philosophers—science has positively shown that all natural phenomena are but so many modes of manifestation of one persistent Force or Efficiency, all such modes being mutually convertible, so that new phenom-

ena only arise through metamorphosis of previous modes of manifestation,—if such is really the verdict of modern science, then assuredly its outcome is full-fledged Pantheism.

I have no desire whatever to contest any legitimate outcome, and if it were Buddhistic Nirvana or even the place where Dives received his compensation. But let us scrutinize somewhat more attentively the great principle of the Conservation of Energy, or Persistence of Force, which seems so suddenly and strangely to have landed modern science in the mystic realm of transcendental Pantheism. I say *transcendental* Pantheism, because natural science has often before been tempted to acknowledge, in the common material substratum, a pantheistic One-and-All, differing altogether from the transcendental source of immaterial energy here assumed.

Natural science has reached the principle of the Conservation and Transmutation of Energy by detaching, from the constant quantity known as matter or rather mass, all modes of motion, and therewith all activity in nature. To such activity it gives the name of energy, and maintains with regard to it, that it is likewise a constant quantity, never diminishing nor augmenting, but undergoing transmutations from one mode into another.

Mayer, of Heilbronn, the illustrious discoverer of this great magistral and potent abracadabra of modern science, explains that matter, the passive half of nature, being notably a ponderable object, activity or energy is distinguished from it by being an imponderable "object"; and that this immaterial object is the cause of all effects, at once producer and product, at once *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*,—effect of itself, veritable *causa sui*. One mode of energy, kinetic energy, for example, is the cause of another mode of energy, heat, for example; and the kinetic energy causes the heat-effect simply by converting itself into it. Mayer says, "Since *c* becomes *e*, and *e* becomes *f*, etc., we must regard these various magnitudes as different modes, under which one and the same object makes its appearance."

Modern science, however, while playing such surprising juggling tricks with the immaterial "object" called energy, refrains from doing the like with the material object called mass. And here it is that our pantheistic imagination encounters its first serious check. Never, by any means, does modern science contrive to make it plausible that one kind of mass becomes converted into another kind of mass,—a pound of oxygen into a pound of hydrogen, or a pound of carbon into a pound of sulphur. And no alchemy of art or thought can avail to make different masses result from the varied manifestation of one and the same unitary power. For, even if we admit that our present chemical elements are really compounds, consisting of multiples of one and the same primordial unit of mass, such original homogeneous substratum science looks upon, and is in fact compelled to look upon, as made up of discrete elements of stuff,—of such stuff, we may philosophically add, as matter is likely to be, independently of our perceiving it. As far as natural science can at all proceed with its analysis,—and, by dint of its newly acquired appliance of spectral analysis, it can proceed very far,—it everywhere detects persistent, individuated units, as the original material of which all things in nature are composed. It finds elementary separateness, primordial multiplicity, and by no means indiscernible Oneness, invariably underlying that reality which we perceive as the objects of this world. These are, evidently, compounds of definite given units, not differentiations of a conjectured unity. They are gradually elaborated combinations of primitive particles of world-stuff, not

particularizations within the identical perfection of pre-existent All-Being. Further into the mystery of creation science cannot penetrate. But such is its ultimate, veritable, legitimate outcome,—an outcome utterly and uncompromisingly unpantheistic.

And now to revert to the energy by which the natural compounds are moved to display their various modes of activity, it is, indeed, only a whimsical fiction, a conceptual trick of our abstracting and unifying mind, to conceive such energy as one and the same immaterial, indestructible entity, entering in and out the inert masses, and metamorphosing itself into all manner of modes. A motion cannot possibly exist independently of its moving mass. It cannot detach itself from such a mass, and become a separate thing, in order to enter some other mass. Energy is avowedly a product of mass and velocity. How then can energy, leaving its mass behind, nevertheless remain quantitatively equal?

Modern science, so naïvely proud of this its will-o'-the-wisp conception of natural efficiency, has obviously—here at the very starting-point of its deductions—lost itself in fancies as erratic as any dream of speculative philosophy. With deeply felt humiliation, be it confessed that the notion of an immaterial agent, playing in mid-air, in free space, a complicated game of billiards with elements of mass, is not a very edifying cosmological outcome of our much vaunted modern science. And this outcome is certainly not Pantheism.

But, perhaps, by allowing full swing to conceptual Thought, that arch-juggler, by force of some dexterous dialectical handling of the stubborn results of science, may, after all, succeed in bringing about a pantheistic outcome. Indeed, accepting the notion of Energy as formulated by modern science, if the stolid *caput mortuum* of things called mass could only itself be somehow converted into such energy, then we should have in our world but one single immaterial entity, metamorphosing itself into every known mode of manifestation; and that would evidently be Pantheism.

Nothing easier, says our juggler; for, if mass were not energy, how could it affect our own being so as to become conscious to us? In fact, when the matter is reconsidered, it will become clear that mass, instead of being effectless inertia, must itself constitute a very centre of efficacious energy. Mass exists, and is known to us by its resistance; and what is resistance but energy? It is measured by means of its weighing pressure; and what is weighing pressure but again energy? Obviously, in whatever way we may ascertain the existence of mass, and by whatever sense we may realize such existence, energy, and nothing but energy, is found as the whole essence and substance of it. Mass, then, is no effectless *caput mortuum*, as assumed by philosophically unenlightened science, no inert plaything of a disparate immaterial power, but is itself identical with that power, forms itself part of the energy-emanating potency, through which our phenomenal world issues into manifest existence. I think our dialectical juggler may confidently challenge any one within hearing distance to disprove the truth of these assertions,—assertions which undoubtedly have the genuine pantheistic ring.

But now arises the supreme puzzle in the world problem; and that is to fix the veritable seat of the nature-constituting power, of the phenomena-producing efficiency. Here, again, our consummate juggler steps in, seizes upon the only reality which his art has left in existence, and with a facile turn of his dialectical skill shows us that this sole efficiency in nature can be nothing but mental intelligence. For is it not true that the subjective sen-

sations of resistance and pressure, or other subjective sensations standing as signs for these,—is it not true that such mental facts are the only actual data from which our conscious being, our understanding or intelligence, constructs that phenomenon of solidity which we call mass? And are not all other properties of this intelligence-constructed nucleus of objective phenomena, its motions included, likewise put together by our constructive intelligence from other data of sense, which are also only purely mental facts? Resisting, extended, shaped, visible, tangible, audible, tastable, scented objects, and all their sundry relations to each other within that system of phenomenal existence which in our consciousness constitutes the world we know,—is it not all in all the work of our constructive intelligence? And, this being so, is it not undeniable that all objective world phenomena are intellectual constructions, products of synthetic thought; that Thought is thus the veritable, universal power, the great and sole creator and artificer of phenomenal existence? No reality whatever, no world, external to thought.

If mental philosophy be admitted into the system of knowledge here designated under the name of "modern science," then this its Eleatic, neo-Platonic, neo-Kantian, transcendentalistic outcome is outright Pantheism, whatever theistic twists may be given to it in some quarters. It does not essentially affect the pantheistic character of this outcome, whether the all-efficient, reality-constituting power be conceived by human understanding as eternal Reason, or creative Will, or all-embracing, supermental Perfection: the universal meaning of it all is an entity infinitely transcending all modes of phenomenal existence, being the common, identical source and origin of them all.

On various occasions, whilst propounding and defending my own naturalistic views, I have endeavored, to the best of my ability, to enter into the spirit of this profound and venerable system of thought that from old has inspired so many noble minds, and from which all other philosophy has emanated. In the light of a new science of vitality and organization, I have sought to give a different explanation to its truths and to lay open its deficiencies and fallacies. Here I will only reassert that the ethical aims of genuine Transcendentalism and the ethical aims of genuine Naturalism are diametrically opposed to each other, and can never be reconciled. If supreme reality and truth are indeed pre-existent facts, securely resting in a universal Intelligence, and our phenomenal world means only the inadequate rethinking on our part of such eternal reality and truth, then, consistently, our final aim must necessarily be the dissipation, through adequate thinking, of the illusive phenomenalism which differentiates our individual intelligence from universal Intelligence. Our inmost striving can only be for deliverance from the sensewrought confusion of temporality, leading to complete reidentification with the eternally One.

Asceticism and Quietism are the necessary outcome of all lofty Pantheism; and Pantheism, the necessary outcome of the religion of self-questioning consciousness, as well as of that of an *ens amplissimum*, or Absolute.

The central belief of Naturalism, on the other hand, is the conviction of the extra-mental existence and veritable reality of powers actually affecting our sensibility. It firmly maintains, as a steadfast basis of all its reasoning, that individual perceptions are compelled by powers not forming part of our own consciousness, and that these perceptions signify representatively, but with minute precision, the true characteristics of the compelling powers. All doings of natural life, all investigations of natural science, are, in fact, prompted by

this fundamental belief, and find their realization and verification in the world of perceptual compulsion. It follows therefrom that what we consciously realize as our own body is likewise only a group of such compelled perceptions, and that not these perceptions themselves, but the powers compelling them, are constituting our real bodily existence,—an existence forming part of the great system of extra-mental powers, of which our whole perceptual world is but a more or less faithful symbolical representation.

Naturalism further recognizes that this our extra-mental being is standing in most manifold and complicated relations to other extra-mental existents, and that it has been gradually, phylogenetically moulded and intimately organized through constant interaction with these existents. In consequence of this, its vital reactions are found to constitute pre-organized responses to the actions of the other power-complexes, and its own actions show themselves capable of influencing in pre-established ways the existence of other power-complexes.

Veritable reality then, the reality phenomenally represented in consciousness, is found to consist of a system of definite, interdependent, interacting, extra-mental power-complexes. These efficient existents, compelling the perceptual objects of our consciousness, have to be looked upon as of complex nature, because analysis proves them to be composed of constituent parts. The dreamlike phenomenality in nature, the transient appearance and evanescence of perceptive realizations, is evidently due to the nature of our consciousness, and not to the nature of the power-complexes, compelling its perceptions. Our consciousness, or mind, represents in fitful gleams, under varying conditions and temporal intermissions, the incomparably more steadfast existence and nature of the extra-mental power-complexes. And the natural phenomena or perceptive objects of our conscious world are therefore by no means manifestations of one and the same Force or Unknowable, but, on the contrary, manifestations of an extra-mental, non-phenomenal nature, at least as diversified and specialized as its mental representations. Pantheism is consequently no legitimate outcome of Naturalism, the genuine philosophy of natural science.

The utterly erroneous conception, that manifest existence consists of nothing but phenomena which are mutually convertible, has given rise to this pseudo-scientific revival of the pantheistic philosophy of the Absolute. But not even within the world of phenomena, which exists only in individual consciousness, does one phenomenon or mode of manifestation become really metamorphosed into another. Physical modes, which as such are only peculiar conscious phenomena, do not become transformed into other such physical modes, or into any other kind of conscious phenomenon whatever. The preceding mental state, whether objective or subjective, whether physical or purely ideal, whether extrinsically compelled or intrinsically arising, does not itself produce the following mental state, as Fichte once tried to make us believe. Much less does an extra-mental power-complex become transformed into its mental representation; for example, that definite power-complex steadfastly abiding out there into that occasionally appearing conscious object which I call a tree. And still less are the changes in phenomenal manifestations caused by one power-complex being metamorphosed into another power-complex. The action and effect of one power-complex on another does not consist in their being mutually transformed one into the other. And neither is the change perceived by us, during activity, as motion, itself an efficient entity, passing over from one power-com-

plex to another. Changes in nature, while occurring, affect our sensibility, and are realized by us through the shifting of the whole or of parts of our perceptual objects. It is this sensible shifting which we call motion. Quite obviously, such motion is a mere mental sign of the changing influences which the extra-mental complexes exert on each other. But, by illusively objectifying and fictitiously endowing with independent efficiency this mere mental sign of veritable change, modern science arrives at its false conclusion concerning the persistence of Force and convertibility of its modes. It mistakes motion, the perceptual phenomenon, for an actual and direct manifestation of objective extra-mental Force. And as changes manifest themselves to us as motions, and one mode of motion seems to produce or to transform itself into another, it rashly concludes that motion, which thus stands for all activity in nature, is itself the causative force; that its various modes are therefore modes of efficient power, and that the unitary entity, thus metamorphosing itself into all manner of modes, is an all-efficient Unknowable. This pantheistic conclusion is—as has been here clearly shown—the outcome of illegitimate reasoning, and not of genuine modern science.

The results of modern science point to a gradual elaboration of abiding and diversified power-complexes, not to the metamorphosis of fleeting modes of manifestation of one and the same eternal Power. The philosophy of Evolution is quite incompatible with the philosophy of a Protean, all-powerful Unknowable. Evolution, which conceives "every kind of being as the product of modifications wrought by insensible gradations on a pre-existing kind of being," cannot be brought in harmony with the convertibility of one mode of an Unknowable into another.

The extra-mental power-complexes with which modern science actually deals modify each other, mostly very gradually, through intricate modes of interaction. They are therefore slow results of complicated elaboration, which process is altogether operated in the non-phenomenal sphere of extra-mental subsistence.

Our own personality we are justified in regarding as the most consummate outcome, within our own ken, of this natural process of development,—a development wholly inscrutable in its origin and efficiency. The mental phenomena of our personality are certainly not produced by motions within the perceptual body, which constitutes for us and others its sensible realization. But they are the outcome of transcendent activities, occurring in that mysterious entity which beyond all consciousness is carrying on with unremitting faithfulness the wondrous functions of life.

In our being are consolidated the hard-won results of endless vital travail. Wrought from insentient chaos, our world-harmonized existence, with delicately sensitive throb, now answers to most subtle and far-reaching influences. Sympathetically, with ever-widening comprehension, it echoes the thrill of connatural existence. But—how precarious this precious, toil-wrought inheritance of high-pitched, consentient vitality! Within this very moment of actual presence, we here on earth, sole-surviving embodiment of ever-struggling, victorious life, only through the unrelaxing effort of uplifting efficiencies are snatched, from instant to instant, from the grasp of all-engulfing Time and Death; a dizzy whirl of creative commotion, significantly shaping and livingly sustaining our being. And, on this restless foil of incessant formative stir, in self-luminous glory the transcendent import of our time-conquering, world-responsive nature stands revealed within the phenomenal repose of our all-realizing mental presence.

Actual living existence, thus recognizing its transcendent indebtedness to the Past and its sacred duty to a Future wholly dependent on it,—can it have the heart in self-indulgent renunciation to abandon its creative trust and task, giving itself up to the quietistic aims of Pantheism, by which it may well enough succeed in losing its own being in the eternal nonentity of Nirvana, but by which it will also most assuredly cause surviving human life to drop from its cultured height, and swiftly to fall a prey to the hideous miseries of mere instinct-driven savagery?

A creed which, universally and consistently lived up to, involves the voluntary extermination of the human race, leaving our fair dwelling-place one vast arena of murderous brute passions, and which, lived up to only by the better part of mankind, would lead to degradation of social existence,—such a creed is not the one fostered by science. Nowise is the legitimate outcome of modern science Pantheism.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHARITY WORK.

Editors of The Index:—

Having spent much time during the past fifteen years or more in charity work, I would like to make a few suggestions based on this personal experience, as your writer in the last issue invites.

I. Intemperate use of stimulants among the poorer classes can be combated with fair success only by instructing all, old or young, in the average evil results of such excesses, both physical, mental, and legal. High price for liquor licenses, prohibition, temperance pledges, missionary work, not using the average results as facts to argue from, but exaggerations or misstatements, are worse than useless in getting the desired reform, as human beings can best be turned away from a certain course by fears of actual suffering in themselves. Cases of true dipsomaniacs of either sex—and there are many such—should be confined where they can do the minimum amount of harm to the community.

II. Extravagant living is hard to argue against, since the so-called upper classes continually set the pernicious example for others to follow, who may lack that strong individuality which is needed wisely to shape their lives. Still, something can be done with this evil surely by the persistent striving to encourage economy from purely selfish grounds, as giving, on the whole, the greatest sum of happiness.

III. Church tribute, under its many guises, is another great cause of much poverty among the middle and lower classes; and education of the masses is the only hope for real permanent relief from stupidity and superstition. Far too little weight is given to this matter by charity organizations, whose agents must needs be aware of the fact, if ordinary discretion and insight alone are but used by their investigators; and, knowing it, there can be no valid excuse in concealing it.

IV. Sickness, involving expense of physicians, drugs, and appliances at home or elsewhere, is to some degree provided for in the larger cities; but, in small places and country districts, a system of co-operation might easily be made, which would, at small total expense, insure some medical care to the sick, and a small fee to the physician, who now is so often unpaid and so freely called. Neighbors could agree to pay so much regularly from their earnings to a sick-fund, which would not be onerous, and yet would provide for emergencies of this sort.

V. Charity aid consists of two kinds: the giving needed temporary aid, in money or otherwise, to proven worthy cases promptly and cheerfully; the getting employment of a reliable character for good unemployed. To indulge a morbid form of curiosity in the rich in favoring the visiting the poor in their homes is simply weak, as it gains no good object. Poor people can see and judge of what a visitor seeks quite as well and correctly as any one else; and undeserved insults or assaults in such circumstances are not the rule, it may be depended on. It is not charity to visit a poor person, provided he be honest, and furnish him with some platitudes, theories, or lay

sermons, and forthwith depart to make a record more or less correct for the inspection of many. Poor have their rights as well as rich, and it is as much an impudent trespass to enter uninvited the home of the former as that of the latter.

VI. In all other affairs of life, experienced workers are the most desirable. So should it be invariably in charity work. The inexperienced, timid, over-nice, over-sympathetic, even, are not the proper persons to select to visit for the purpose of aiding the poor; for poverty, vice, dirt, disease, violence of all kinds, are closely wedded in all poor localities, and cannot be seen separately, except in extremely rare cases. From the very nature of things, therefore, women are not as proper to become promiscuous visitors to the poor as men. Neither are young or very old men suitable; but kindly, sensible, middle-aged men of experience are the best for the work.

VII. If each person would but deny himself considerably in luxuries, the object being to contribute from such savings to those less fortunate and in distress in his immediate neighborhood, the need of public charities would be much less than now; and such self-denial can be as easily learned as any much more fashionable habit by any one, if only the courage to face ridicule at first is mastered.

VIII. In *The Index* of March 6, 1884, there was published a short article bearing on the contributing evil of a falsely stimulated pauper immigration here. This evil has since then met with some considerable opposition, and a resulting decrease is noted. Let us hope the good will continue.

IX. Parents should be forced always to contribute to, if not wholly support, their children,—not, as now, to be able to be rid of them far too often by simply abusing or neglecting them,—legally as it were, for the cases are so settled in the courts. This crowding many children into institutions for years together is quite as bad a practice as that of imprisoning older people of both sexes with many other criminals, if ever they are to be decent citizens again later.

X. Politics and true charity cannot live together, hence the constant troubles and scandals at our State House here in regard to State charity, not to speak of the great expense involved in maintaining such department.

JOHN DIXWELL.

BOSTON, MASS., Aug. 14, 1885.

A LETTER FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

Editors of The Index:—

The women of the North can have little conception of the hindrances which their sisters of the South encounter in their efforts to accept new and progressive ideas. The other sex, in a blind sort of way, hold fast to an absolute kind of chivalry akin to that of the renowned Don Quixote, by which they try to hold women in the background, as a kind of porcelain liable to crack and breakage, unless daintily handled. Women here see the spirit of the age and the needs of change far more clearly than the men, and act up to this light, but with a flexible grace that disarms opposition. They see the necessity of work, and are turning their attention to methods for remunerative labor, far more difficult to obtain at the South than at the North.

Soon after my arrival at my son's house, Mr. Appleton Oaksmith, I was gratified at receiving a visit from Mrs. Mary Bayard Clarke, a poet of the South, and well known as a fearless advocate of progressive ideas, but so winsome in her advocacy and clear in her arguments that few have the courage to withstand her. We passed a happy period together, and I learned from her much of the state of opinion South, with cultivated men and women. Her husband is a distinguished judge on the bench, and her accomplished daughter took the initiative in the Dignity of Labor (I quote the title of one of my lectures of forty years' standing), as you will see by the following, which I cut from a New Orleans paper: "In the North Carolina State exhibits is a large collection of mounted fishes prepared specially under the direction of the State authorities. These are mounted by Davidson's method of ichthy-taxidermy, are properly classified, and have been examined and commended by Prof. Jordan and other ichthyologists. They are the work of the firm of Clarke & Morgan, of New Berne, the junior member, Mrs. Mary D. Morgan, having prepared about one-half of the collection. The firm have also a collection of aquatic fowls on exhibi-

tion. They do a fair business in scientific and millinery taxidermy, and have a contract to duplicate the collection of fishes for the North Carolina State Museum. Mr. Clarke does the field work, Mrs. Morgan attends to the shop work, and thus solves the question of a living for herself and two fatherless children."

It is further stated that Mrs. Morgan not only mounts her birds in a beautiful, artistic manner, but is a good shot, and brings down her own birds. I am soon to visit her room, when I shall be able to speak with better understanding in the matter. In the mean while, I trust these birds are for scientific purposes, and do not go for the decoration of ladies' bonnets. Every woman ought to set her face against the cruel, wicked vanity of ornamenting her hat with these rare and beautiful creatures. The practice, if persisted in, will soon deprive us of birds of song, and most especially of the lovely humming-bird, the winged gem of our aerial denizens. If we are rightly informed, Mrs. Morgan's birds are of the aquatic kind. And she does not confine herself to birds. She is now preparing an alligator eight feet in length, which was ordered for a museum in Berlin. You will see by this that North Carolina women are fully up to the times.

Mrs. Mary Bayard Clarke is a graceful, accomplished woman, and a fine conversationalist. She writes courageously, expressing opinions in advance of those around her with fine poetic inspiration and good, sensible prose. She is a great favorite, and the centre of the intelligence and grace of New Berne. She tells a story with admirable taste and spirit. On the mother's side, she is allied to the Bayards of chivalric memory, as also to the Cabinet minister of the present administration. The Polks, also, the president and archbishop, are her relatives. Bishop Polk, the friend and neighbor of Gen. Andrew Jackson, was an uncle of hers, by whom is told the following characteristic story of the hero of New Orleans; and the bishop used to say it ought to be told to the general's fast friend, Major Downing (Seba Smith):—

Bishop Polk was always a welcome guest at the Hermitage, often walking in the garden in company with Gen. Jackson, and continuing the practice of meditating there after the death of its brave owner. One twilight, being thus employed, he was joined by a young acolyte ambitious of ecclesiastical honors; and the conversation naturally turned upon the character of the departed hero, when the young man asked,—

"Well, Bishop, do you think Gen. Jackson was a good man, and when he died that he went right into heaven?"

This was a home question, but the bishop was equal to the occasion. Turning to Michael, who for thirty years had been gardener at the Hermitage, he replied:

"Here is Michael, who knew him better than any of us. What do you say, Michael? Do you think the general was a good man, and, when he died, he went right into heaven?"

"I don't know, your Reverence, so much about what your honor calls good; but this I know,—if the general took a notion to go into heaven, all hell couldn't keep him out!"

Is not this a refreshing piece of positivism, putting our flimsy agnosticism quite to shame?

Mrs. Clarke uses a writing machine, which it would seem is not well known in this part of the country. Having occasion to write a business letter, the person addressed very considerably wrote her back: "Do not be at the trouble of printing your letters to me. I am not an ignorant person. I can read writing very well."

Yours cordially,

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

HOLLYWOOD, N.C., Aug. 11, 1885.

CHRISTIANITY.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Strictly speaking, it may be true that "it would be absurd to consider a tree with reference only to the seed from which it grew"; but it is truer still that nothing can be evolved into a tree that was not first involved into the seed from which that tree has grown. The whole tree is contained *potentially* in the seed-germ, and nothing can be called a part of the tree that was not implicitly in the germ. Devices for keeping off canker-worms, fancy seats or towers, birds' nests, etc., are not parts of the tree. So that only is Christianity which has been developed from, is the natural and legitimate outgrowth of, the original Christian idea or germ; i.e., the teaching of Christ, the meaning of his spiritual life. Anything

that is not the legitimate outgrowth of the Christian idea is not included in Christianity. All such are excrescences. We should distinguish between the real tree, that which is growing from the germ, and the additions that have in different forms been attached to its outside, and form no part of its life. One who knows trees will recognize what is tree and what is paraphernalia, and so one who knows Christianity will recognize what is Christianity and what is paraphernalia. What Christ stood for, what his life meant, is the germ. All that has developed from, has its origin in, that germ, is Christianity. All that has been tacked on is something else. (1)

Again, since it is the letter that killeth, and the spirit only that giveth life,—in other words, since we should seek the inner spiritual meaning of a teaching, and not take it literally,—the teachings of Christ regarding poverty, chastity, etc., which are objected to, must be taken in the light of the spirit with which they were uttered. Why were these things to be done? What did Christ mean by these injunctions? We may be sure that in these, as in all else that he said, there is a meaning not on the surface, and only to be seen by the eyes of the spirit; for it was to man *as spirit* that Christ was talking. The world too generally, whether so-called "orthodox" or so-called "liberal," takes the letter for all, mistakes the physical for the spiritual, matter for mind or soul; and, while it does this, it cannot understand Jesus, nor recognize the germ of Christianity from which the tree has sprung,—a tree often very nearly hidden, it is true, but yet flourishing among us to-day, and visible to those who have eyes to see. (2)

What Christ came to earth for was to manifest God as the Father of mankind, to proclaim to all men that they are brothers, equal in the eyes of a common Father. This was what he stood for, distinctively, and as distinguished from other great teachers. In him "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female": all men are equal, children of one Father. It was the spiritual life that Jesus lived and taught, and all that he said must be taken in its spiritual and not in its pragmatical sense. Regarded thus, there has never another lived who is so great a teacher and example as he. (3)

Further still, it was only with Christianity that man came to the consciousness that *as man*, as a personality, he is a free being. This consciousness of freedom in its full realization is the ultimate end of man's progress. Toward this realization, he has always been tending; and all history is nothing more than the progress of this idea toward fulfilment. To this conception that man (i.e., spirit; for man is spirit, and not matter) is free, the Orientals have not attained. They only recognize that one is free; and, since only that one is free, and the rest are not free, the one is a despot. The Greeks were the first to perceive the glimmer of this truth; but they only saw that *some* men are free, not all. It was the German nations, under the influence of Christianity, that first attained to the consciousness that man, all men, is free; that is, that the essence of spirit is freedom. Ever since then, this idea has grown and grown, slowly, as all good things grow, until here in America it comes nearer realization than ever before. The germ, the spiritual idea of freedom for all, was planted eighteen hundred years ago. The tree of freedom is not yet full grown; but "let patience have her perfect work," and we shall one day see the realization. (4)

Finally, it is true that we admire, and justly, the man who faithfully performs the common duties of life; but we must also admire that man who loved the whole human race as his family, whose country to defend and protect was the whole world, who was perfectly pure in life and heart, and whose religion was morality and philanthropy in such perfect accord that all the every-day man or woman need do, or indeed has done, is to try to follow his example in the way that is determined by their own peculiar environment. We cannot understand Christ by abstracting particulars from his teachings, and taking them according to the letter. The *spirit* of his life, the *universal* meaning of his words and acts, will alone teach us the lesson of his coming, and the true import of the religion that bears his name. (5)

H. R. SHATTUCK.

[1] Our critic seems to have been misled in the above reasoning by the old and exploded notion of

potential powers. The potentiality of the seed germ, precisely stated, is its capability of reaching successive stages of development, aided by a definite series of conditions, which, co-operating with it, constitute one of the prime factors of which the seed germ is the other in producing the result. Given an acorn and atmosphere and soil, and an oak tree will be evolved from them. The tree is not in miniature either in the acorn or in the medium: it is produced by the co-operation of both. Conditions initiate variations, which in time change the *structure and quality* of the tree. What is evolution but a process by which, in changing environments, the most complex have been evolved from the simplest forms of life? In unfavorable mediums there has been degeneracy. In both cases, the organisms have been "the natural and legitimate outgrowth of the original" germs *under different conditions*. This is as true of religious as of vegetal and animal life. With its Messianic claim as a dominant idea, with its doctrine of allegiance to the Christ and salvation through his mediation, Christianity, in the peculiar environment in which it took root and grew, developed into the Greek and Romish systems. In a different age and under different circumstances, it would have assumed a different form and character. To the "excrescences" of Christianity, the additions attached to it, unassimilated, and forming no part of its life, we do not here allude.

(2) The spirit of an utterance does not change it, if it be erroneous, into a truth. Sincere and well-meaning error is often the most dangerous. If language has any definite meaning, Jesus taught that which, if reduced to practice, would be condemned and opposed by the best men and women of this age.

(3) The doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was taught by philosophers and poets ages before Jesus lived. Did not Paul, in his address to the Athenians, quote from one of their poets, "For we are all his offspring"? The doctrine was not uncommon when Jesus lived.

(4) If we understand the main statements in this paragraph, they are not, in our opinion, just to the ancients, and they make claims for Christianity that cannot be sustained. The Greeks had a passionate love of liberty, conceptions of which, however, have become broader with decline of belief in the Christian system and the development of the arts and sciences, commercial intercourse, and a thousand secular agencies that have brought nations together and interlinked their interests. But what were the people's idea of liberty in *this* country, even where "it comes nearer realization than ever before," when, within the memory of men who still live, the pulpits, the courts, and the sentiment of the nation supported a system that kept millions in slavery; and when to-day women are disfranchised, and laws exist discriminating against men on account of religious opinions and making support of churches compulsory?

(5) We try to interpret the life and character of Jesus, as we would any other man, from his acts and his words. In so far as he encouraged poverty, discouraged marriage, enjoined non-resistance and disregard of this world, and neglected to give any exposition of human rights or any ideas of government, or to say a word in favor of science and the industrial pursuits of life, all of which are of vast importance to intellectual and moral as well as to physical progress, we do not see how he can fairly be held up as a perfect example to follow in this world. Only by ignoring his errors and shortcomings, idealizing him, and making him therefore an unreal character, is it possible to regard Jesus as a model man. This implies no inappreciation of his real excellences. The assumption of esoteric or hidden spiritual meanings in absurd doctrines is no proof of spirituality in any exalted sense of the word; and they who thus deal with the palpable errors of the New Testament give no evidence of a spiritual insight superior to the wisdom of those who judge Jesus of Nazareth as they do Socrates, Epictetus, and Emerson.—B. F. U.]

THE following extracts from the two best known expositors of the doctrine of the correlation and conservation of forces have a bearing on a subject to which Dr. Montgomery gives prominence in his essay printed in *The Index* this week. Grove says: "The evolution of one force or mode of force into another has induced many to regard all the different natural agencies as reducible to unity, and as resulting from one force, which is the efficient cause of all the others. Thus, one author writes to prove that elec-

trictly is the cause of every change in matter; another, that chemical action is the cause of everything; another, that heat is the universal cause, and so on. If, as I have stated it, the true expression of the fact is that each mode of force is capable of producing the others, and that none of them can be produced but by some other as an anterior force, then any view which regards either of them as abstractedly the efficient cause of all the rest is erroneous. The view has, I believe, arisen from a confusion between the abstract, or generalized, meaning of the term 'cause' and its concrete or special sense, the word itself being indiscriminately used in both these senses." The following is from Dr. Mayer's "Remarks on the Mechanical Equivalent of Heat": "It is plain that the expression 'equivalent' is here used in quite a different sense from what it bears in chemistry. . . . There is no thought here either of the quantitative equality or the transformation of the bodies in question."

M. A. G. (who is a most estimable woman) writes: "The article on 'The Rights of Animals' in *The Index* of January 29, and the reply to Mr. Savage in the number of April 16, I have read with the deepest interest and pleasure; and I want to thank the writer personally. It is the clearest, most decided, and most powerful and satisfactory plea in behalf of what man is usually pleased to call the lower creatures that I have ever read. This is a subject in which I have been greatly interested for years. Greater protection for animals is greatly needed, and more sympathy with their sufferings and wrongs. All other rights have been recognized, save only the rights of animals. I have long been a believer in their immortality; and what is said in these articles has done me good, and comforted me not a little. I could not believe in a loving God who would create beings with every capability of suffering mentally as well as physically with ourselves, and then forsake them at the last, and give them over to death, with no future recompense for the sufferings, the terrible wrongs, and the burdens borne so patiently and meekly here, with no better life, no happiness beyond. Oh, no! that he would not do. Christ has said, 'In my house are many mansions.' They who speak with scorn of the inferior beings here may be much surprised some day at the position which their silent progress here has gained for them in another world. Heaven will doubtless be full of surprises."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE August number of the *Andover Review* opens with a study of the life and leading characteristics of Cardinal Newman, by Rev. Francis B. Hornbrooke. Rev. Newell Woolsey Wells, of Brooklyn, follows with a comparison of Mr. Froude's *Becket* with Lord Tennyson's. E. A. Meredith, LL.D., for several years inspector of prisons in Canada, points out the evils of our jail system, and advocates their reform in an article entitled "Compulsory Education in Crime." Ex-President Woolsey contributes an elaborate examination of the passages in the Fourth Gospel which speak of "The Disciple whom Jesus loved." The personality of the Apostle John and the peculiar relations subsisting between him and Jesus are strongly depicted. The editorial space is given up to the fourth paper in the series on Progressive Orthodoxy, and treats of certain questions which are now under discussion, and will be read with keen interest. The number concludes with book reviews and notices. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE contents of the *Freethinkers' Magazine*, which we are glad to observe improves with every number, for July are as follows: "The Church and Slavery," by Oliver Johnson (reprinted from the *Commonwealth*); "Mrs. Stanton Criticized," by Hon. A. B. Bradford (reprinted from the *Truth-Seeker*); "The Past and Present," by J. J. McCabe; "Antiquity of Sacred Writings," by William D. Coleman; "Free Religious Festival," by F. M. Holland; "Free Religion," by B. F. Underwood (reprinted from *The Index*); "Who are Freethinkers?" by Charles Weil, M.D.; "Lo, Here," by J. D. Curtis; "Extracts from Letters"; and "Editorials," among others entitled "The Free-thought Movement," "The Freethinkers' Convention," and "The Freethought School," to which are added book reviews, notes, etc., making the reading offered in this number varied and of more than usual interest. Mr. H. L. Green, the publisher and editor, informs us that the magazine will be published monthly after this year. (Salamanca, N.Y.)

"MIND" for July contains a great variety of articles of absorbing interest to those whose aspirations are toward a better comprehension of the mysterious realms of sentient existence and its multifarious relations. B. Hodgson has an important and lucid essay on our "Consciousness of External Reality," in which an advance on the conclusions of previous great thinkers is attempted. E. H. Rhodes treats of the "Measurement of Time" in an essay of great scientific importance, in which he shows that "it is not time itself that we measure, but the duration of events, just as it is not space that we measure, but its material limitations." I. A. Macdonald discourses on the "Science of History," criticising the view of the evolution of human consciousness held by Spencer and many others on the ground taken by Prof. Green,—that consciousness is entirely diverse from all evolutionary and successive events, in the fact that, in realizing these successions, it must hold them in one indivisible moment independent of time. Hence, in consciousness itself, time is not. But Dr. Edmund Montgomery has shown in previous numbers of *Mind* that, as all our consciousness is momentary and not successive, it never in itself persists, but must be newly created from moment to moment; and whatever is remembered of the past is newly reproduced from extra-conscious sources. He continues his profound and thorough investigations into the nature of our realization of "Space and Touch." By the closest reasoning, he refutes many metaphysical and psychological theories of our cognizance of space, and shows it to be given in the very nature of feeling itself. Henry H. Donelson, of the Johns Hopkins University, contributes a valuable scientific paper on the "Temperature Sense." The discussions in this number are on "Mill's Propositions and Inferences of Mere Existence," by J. H. Levy, and an able and interesting paper by H. M. Stanley on the much-mooted question, "Is the Design Argument Scientific?" Among the critical notices is a lengthy one on Dr. James Martineau's great work on the "Types of Ethical Theory," lately published, and of other new English and foreign works. There are notices of most of the new books bearing on topics coming within the scope of this review.—F. S.

THE *Art Amateur* for August is quite a rich and varied number. "My Note Book" contains many interesting and suggestive paragraphs, which are stimulating to thought, if we do not always accept them as wholly true. It describes the almost unrelieved dullness of a Royal Academy exhibition in London in terms which recall the "Academy headache" which one generally brings away from it, although it is put in contrast with the more offensive horrors of the Paris Salon. It is a misfortune for national reputations that the best artists often keep their works in their own studios, and allow the general public no chance to see them. Those who like gossip about art will be interested in the account of "Two Curious Sales," and the description of the luxurious home of the painter Gérôme, "an improvised paradise of the Eastern World." There is an interesting paper on Jewish art, illustrated by some woodcuts of pictures by Frank Moss, of Philadelphia, and a statue by the Russian Antoloski. They are all Christian subjects. The statue of "Christ" bound "before the people" appears to be simple and severe in style and realistic in treatment. Another surprise is "Victor Hugo as an Artist," and the sketches here given certainly have a weird and impressive effect; but we could easily spare the view of the poet lying in state,—an artificial heightening of the ghastliness of death not to be perpetuated in art. The account of "A New-Port Nursery," some pretty figure designs, and two good drawings from Annibale Carracci will please those who look for decorative art. There are also articles on bric-à-brac, old china, and amateur photography.—K. D. C.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, in his paper the *Present Day*, refers to *The Index* in very complimentary terms, and says it is a journal "of which we have no counterpart in England."

AMONG the speeches published by Victor Hugo in 1851 is one translated in the *Friedenker*, which declares, in the strongest language, his conviction that the priests should not be allowed to have anything to do with the schools or the instruction of children.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH has issued a manifesto to his Northampton constituents, commending to them the example of the Middlesex voters who continued to return John Wilkes every time the Commons declined to receive him, until at last Wilkes was admitted to his seat. The principle for which Mr. Bradlaugh and his supporters are contending is one of such importance that Northampton can afford to go unrepresented in Parliament a while longer, in order to secure its triumph.

A WRITER in the *Boston Transcript* says that Dr. James Martineau, in a preface to one of his books, issued some years ago, "confessed to having felt and shown 'a certain secondary sympathy with the beliefs' to which, primarily, he was opposed," and adds, "The secret of Dr. Martineau's career the last forty years lies in this 'secondary sympathy,' holding him back from his professed task of progressive leadership, and causing him, in fact, to lend himself more to the system which he was outliving (as he believed) than to that for which he was professedly living."

The following paragraph is from a letter received lately from a gentleman who is eminent as a philosophical writer: "The most urgent problem right before us is that of labor and capital. The slave question was nothing to it. Justice has to be done here also. Drafts on eternity, demand and supply, market wages, *laissez faire*, will answer no longer, especially in this new world of equal political rights. An enormous store of inorganic work-

ing power and efficacious mechanical appliances inherited by all, but wholly controlled and utilized by capital accumulated in the hands of a few! It will work no longer. Society has to be reorganized on a new basis of equity. *The Index* is helping to prepare the new era. Let us votaries of the naturalistic creed loudly and clearly proclaim the justice of this greatest of practical causes,—not dominion of the poor, but their fair share in the inheritance of our race."

STOECKER, the court chaplain and Jew baiter, was recently convicted of libel. The trial attracted much attention; "for the jurors had to decide not only whether the particular utterance named was libellous, but also, it would appear, had to satisfy themselves as to the larger question, as to what constitutes a lie,—the prosecution being permitted to introduce an unlimited amount of evidence to show that the clerical defendant was an habitual liar, and part of his defence being in substance (not, of course, in terms) that, because he was this, his utterances could not afford ground for action; could not, that is, damage the character of the party assailed. There appeared to be literally no end to the false statements he had made; but, he argued, they were not lies, for they either were such errors as the most honest of men occasionally make, or else were so notoriously and easily proved false that formulating them could hurt nobody."

THE *Christian at Work*, referring to the Roman emperor who used to gratify his pampered appetite anew on a dish composed of the brains of singing birds, exclaims: "The fiend! Think of his slaughtering dozens of canaries for one mouthful of their precious little brains! Think of his gulping down a heaven full of song and joy, so to speak, at one swallow, as the cerebra of a whole district of these rare and beautiful birds disappear down his all-capacious throat! A feeling of horror creeps over us as we endeavor to imagine how much feathered music was quenched, and how much of daintiest life, arrayed in what splendors of plumage, was extinguished, in order that the imperial monster might have surfeit at an unnatural feast! But, really, is our fashionable young lady any better, who encourages the wanton and wicked killing of the most wonderful little creature the Lord—it seems to us—ever made, just to add its lustrous but dead form to her bonnet?"

THE notices of Thompson's *Psychology* (Trübner & Co., publishers), which have appeared in first-class English periodicals, have been numerous, full, and favorable. The author, Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, has been warmly received by English thinkers; and, at the instance of Prof. Alexander Bain, Herbert Spencer, Prof. Spencer Baynes, and Prof. Robertson, he has been elected an honorary member of the Athenæum, which is the first club in London, and is composed, it is said, of the "most distinguished people at home, and less distinguished people abroad." Mr. Thompson is a thinker and author of whom his countrymen ought to feel proud; but the *Popular Science Monthly*, the *Springfield Republican*, the *Brooklyn Union*,

and the *Chicago Times*, besides *The Index*, are, so far as we know, the only papers that have contained any adequate notices of his work. This has been due in part to the fact, probably, that but few copies were sent to the press in this country, the author thinking evidently that such a work was not likely to receive much notice from our journals, and that it would make its way in America anyhow, if it succeeded in England. Some time ago, the author, in a letter of thanks for the notice of his book in *The Index*, wrote, "I do not think the work can be of much interest, even to the educated general reader; but I do know that it represents ten years of faithful, critical work issuing from a very thorough early education, and it ought to be worth something." It is, without doubt, the most profound, extensive, and original work on psychology that this country has produced; and its value will yet be appreciated here, as it is already by the best English thinkers.

THE pulpit demeanor of Rev. Mr. Downs, of the Bowdoin Square Baptist Church of this city, recently arrested, and now awaiting trial for improper relations with the wife of one of his parishioners, has been not simply devoid of dignity and good taste, but of common decency. He may be innocent of the charges made against him; but his low pandering to the prurient tastes of the large and motley crowds that have filled his church, out of curiosity to see and hear a minister who is charged with adultery, is most reprehensible, and shows him to be a man utterly unfit for a moral teacher. The exhibition he is making of himself is a public scandal, and nothing but his profession saves him from the severest censure from every quarter. His vulgar harangues are reported and published in the daily papers for the same reason that accounts of slugging matches, dog fights, the details of trials for seductions, etc., are given to the public,—because the mass of newspaper readers revel in this unwholesome sort of reading. Mr. Downs last week received an invitation to speak at Cottage City, Mass. The invitation was from the "general committee chosen to entertain the people here during the season," who wrote to the minister charged with adultery: "Knowing of your recent publicity, ability, and future acquittal, they will deem it an act of generosity on your part if the people of Cottage City can be favored with your presence on this occasion. . . . Our season ends here on Saturday, September 5, on which day we have our annual illumination; and we think it only proper to end up the festivities of the season with something substantial on the Lord's day." This invitation has been accepted; and it is certain, whatever be the weather, that the exhibition will draw a big crowd. Meanwhile, Mr. Downs' ministerial brethren who have not acquired distinction by their brains, and who have not been charged with any criminal offence, remain in the same obscurity from which the Bowdoin Square Church parson suddenly emerged a few weeks ago. Mr. Downs' success, which can be only temporary, will not, it is hoped, lead others to emulate his scandalous conduct.

CONDITIONS OF HAPPINESS.

For several weeks, a large portion of the people of the United States have been specially seeking pleasure; but now the time approaches when regular work must be resumed. Desirable, however, as are these seasons of recreation, it is doubtful whether those whose lot in life allows the privilege secure more solid enjoyment than do those who, from habit or necessity, remain at home all through the summer weeks, pursuing their ordinary vocations, and seldom have an opportunity to take a mere pleasure jaunt. Certain it is that they do not secure such enjoyment, if they labor under the delusion that the happiness of life consists in the vacation-season and not in the vocation work. There is a tendency in these days to seek recreation for its own sake, to pursue entertainment as if that were the main object of existence; and too many thoughtless young persons are disposed to envy the position of those whose circumstances enable them to pass a great part of the year in going from one pleasure resort to another. To have a "good time" seems to them the foremost purpose in life; and a very good purpose it would be if the "good time" did not too often mean merely mental and physical—not to say moral—dissipation.

But the truth is that, leaving aside those occupations of such constant and wearing physical toil that they tend to brutalize the mental faculties and allow no time nor disposition for anything but physical rest, there is really little difference among the various employments in which mankind are engaged in respect to the main object of life or the essential conditions of happiness. That main object is the development of personal character to its highest capabilities of virtuous activity and usefulness, and genuine happiness can only be obtained through such development. Neither happiness nor character can be given with one's vocation, nor with one's social position and circumstances. Employment itself, any honest employment, is an excellent shield against moral temptations; but the humble employment as well as the lofty furnishes this safeguard. Moral principles and pursuits, mental and affectional enjoyments, override all distinctions of class or calling, and find entrance into obscure homes quite as often as into conspicuous and costly dwellings. The mechanic, the clerk, the school-teacher, the saleswoman, may have as much time and taste for a book or for art or nature as does the high magnate of trade or of the stock exchange, who counts his wealth by millions. Once get above poverty and its physical distresses, and there is no occasion for any one class of people to look upon another with envy because of supposed superior opportunities for happiness or for the formation of noble character.

Indeed, if there be in this country any class of people who are to be congratulated because of the natural advantage of their position, it is not the rich nor those who are anxiously seeking to be rich, nor the fashionable, and pleasure-seeking class, with their ceaseless round of amusements and travels; but it is the quiet, inconspicuous people, who have a moderate but adequate income from their own labor, and are content with the quiet pursuits and pleasures which their own homes afford them. This class of people have few ambitions beyond those objects and pursuits in which their daily vocations consist. They live in honest and kindly relations with their neighbors; they are good citizens; they have books enough, but not so many as to become a weariness to flesh and mind, suggesting a constantly augmented task unfulfilled; they are satisfied with their lot and

its natural opportunities, finding in it ample room for mental and moral growth, and for all the achievements which make life worth living. It is the simple tastes, temperate desires and habits, sound sense, moral clear-sightedness and fidelity of this class of people, which furnish the sure reliance of this country in any political or social emergency which is likely to befall it.

But, whatever his lot or position, every person has his own work to do, his own problem of character to work out; and success forbids that he should spend any time in gazing with vain envy at his neighbor's field. Envy is a vice which gnaws with fatal result at the very heart of happiness. Contentment is a condition of both success and happiness,—a contentment which does not antagonize any healthful ambition. There is a passive contentment, and there is an active contentment. A merely passive contentment may accept a hard lot placidly, gracefully, but sink, perhaps, under its burdens. An actively contented spirit is one that studies its lot to learn all the possible good involved in it, and exerts itself with the express purpose of extracting all the good which the lot, whatever it be, can possibly yield. A mind thus content is always master of the situation. At home or abroad, in recreation or work, it finds all needed opportunity for those simple fidelities and enjoyments in which it has discovered the secret of life's felicity; and it knows that there is no power outside of itself which can rob it of these satisfactions. Let the pagan philosopher, Epictetus, teach us,—who, though poor and infirm, and only a freed slave in position, could say: "In whatsoever condition I am, wherever I go, it will be well with me there; for it was well with me here, not on account of the place, but of the principles, which I shall carry away with me,—for no one can deprive me of these. On the contrary, they alone are my property; and their possession sufficeth me wherever I am and whatever I do."

WM. J. POTTER.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

The able editorial in *The Index* of August 20 on this question, though certainly valuable in showing the inadequacy of some answers to it, seems to me, after all, to conduct us to a point where the impossibility of a just definition of it is plainly to be seen.

And this appears in the necessity under which the writer lies, in common with all writers, of using qualifying adjectives, when he would have us know just what is meant. Thus, he speaks of "primitive Christianity," of "organized Christianity," of "ecclesiastical Christianity," of "Christianity as taught by Paul," and of "the various forms which Christianity has assumed." Every fair and definite writer will find himself under the same necessity; for what has been and still is called Christianity has never been at any two periods, or in any two regions of the world, precisely the same thing. Acute scholars have long been accustomed to distinguish between Christianity as taught by Jesus himself (assuming that we have an entirely correct account of this in the Gospels,—a tolerably large assumption, and one in the face of considerable difficulties) and "Pauline Christianity," or as taught by Paul, and "Johannean Christianity," or as taught, or said to be taught, by John.

And after the apostolic times came "Patristic Christianity," or as taught by the Fathers, embracing various marvellous and childish things, before which the New Testament legends pale,—itself no unit, but varying with its date and teacher. How much of all this ought properly to be included under the title "Primitive Christianity" writers are

not agreed, especially when discussing church government. Christianity is indeed "a historic religion," changing its aspect in some of its most conspicuous features with the centuries. The concrete or embodied Christianity among us to-day is certainly not much the same thing with that of our fathers on this soil only a century ago. Nor is it the same with that prevailing in parts of Europe to-day. The Christianity of Scotland is not that of Spain, and neither is that of Russia. The two or more Christianities side by side in Germany and most of Western Europe, Popish and Protestant, "evangelical" and "liberal," Calvinistic, Arminian, Lutheran, Trinitarian, Unitarian, High Church, Low Church, Broad Church,—and the catalogue of differences might be greatly extended,—in what sense are all these the same? The "various forms of Christianity," indeed! Then there is doctrinal Christianity and practical Christianity, schemes of belief and rules of ethics; also theoretical Christianity, as set forth in its standards of doctrine and practice, and concrete or actual Christianity, as really held in the minds of the people and illustrated in their lives. Patently, these are not quite the same thing among us now. Are they anywhere? Have they ever been?

That there is something in common in all these forms is probably generally believed. But will it not require no small ingenuity to tell us just what it is? *How much is held by all Christians in common, and not held by others than Christians?* Will some one undertake to make this plain?

If the question be asked, What is true or pure Christianity in distinction from what has been corrupted? it is to be feared that most people would reply, as the editor suggests, "That of our church or sect," or, possibly, each for himself, "My own private interpretation." On second thought, however, they would probably fall back on this, "True Christianity is the teachings of Christ." This would be a capital definition, if there were full accord as to what those teachings were. But now, as in Paul's day, "there are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world" on this as well as other points.

The question, "What is true Platonism?" would be properly answered by a reference to the Republic, the Gorgias, Timæus, Dialogues, etc. So the question, "What is true Christianity?" is properly answered by a reference to the accounts in the earliest records of what Christ taught, with this great disadvantage, however, that he committed nothing to writing himself. But if, in any way, we can ascertain just what he taught, that and that only is strictly Christianity. As neo-Platonism is not exactly Platonism, so the modifications which Christianity received at the hands of its earlier or later expositors are not strictly a part of Christianity. But, as one may be essentially a Platonist without accepting all that Plato taught, so it would seem that one may rightly be said to accept essential Christianity without receiving all that is claimed to be Christ's teaching. How much he might reject—either on the ground of insufficient evidence that it was taught by Christ, or on the ground that, if taught by him, it is, nevertheless, untrue—and yet hold essential Christianity is too hard a question for any very exact answer.

The attempt to answer it by asserting that we have an infallible record, by the letter of which all opinions must be tried, is an assumption too monstrous for respectful attention.

That every honest or benevolent man may properly be called a Christian is a proposition that few probably will maintain. One may be just, humane, forgiving, patient, humble, self-sacrificing, devout, and "go about doing good," may manifest

in short, the eminent virtues of Christ, and so be a Christian *in spirit*, while repudiating much that he is told Christ taught. (Indeed, would it not be hard to find the man who holds *everything* that is recorded in the New Testament as Christ's teaching?) In other words, there is such a thing as a Christian spirit, and there is furthermore such a thing possibly as Christian doctrine. Why may not one cherish heartily much of the former, and reject as heartily much of the latter?

In such a case—and perhaps the number of such cases is immensely greater than at first may be thought—should it properly be said of him that he holds or that he rejects “Christianity”? So far as the aim of Christianity is the moulding of his spirit or character, he is in accord with it. So far as it is the teaching of problems in theology or philosophy, and it may be incomprehensible or incredible statements respecting God and man and their mutual relations, he rejects it utterly. So different may be the two things that pass commonly under the same name, Christianity.

JOSEPH D. HULL.

HARRIET MARTINEAU'S RELIGION.

When Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* first appeared a few years ago, I think the following passage made the deepest impression on me of anything in it: “Amidst many alternations of feeling,” she wrote, a score of years before her death, “I soon began to enjoy breathings of the blessed air of freedom from superstition, which is the same thing as freedom from personal anxiety and selfishness; that freedom under a vivid sense of which my friend and I, contrasting our superstitious youth with our emancipated maturity, agreed that not for the universe would we again have the care of our souls upon our own hands.”

Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller's new biography of “the good lady of Ambleside”* contains much fresh information, chiefly of an autobiographical nature, concerning Harriet Martineau's religious, or, as her enemies would say, irreligious views. Mrs. Miller gives us many excerpts from Miss Martineau's heretofore unpublished correspondence with Mr. Henry G. Atkinson, the dearest friend of her maturity; and we are thus enabled to see that as late as 1876, the year of her death, she still held the same opinions on religion as in 1855, when her *Autobiography* was hurriedly penned, under the very shadow of the King of Terrors, as she then supposed.

But before the preparation of the *Autobiography*, and long before the writing of the letters which Mrs. Miller has selected from the correspondence with Mr. Atkinson, Miss Martineau had declared to the world in *Eastern Life*, published in 1848, that she had ceased to have a theology. Her belief then was as follows: “The best state of mind was to be found, however it might be accounted for, in those who were called philosophical atheists. . . I knew several of that class, some avowed, and some not; and I had for several years felt that they were among my most honored acquaintances and friends. And, now I knew them more deeply and thoroughly, I must say that, for conscientiousness, sincerity, integrity, seriousness, effective intellect, and the true religious spirit, I knew nothing like them.”

And what was Miss Martineau's conception of “the true religious spirit”? Doubtless, Bulwer expressed her own views, when he says, in *Ernest Maltravers*, “I would rather make people religious through their best feelings than their worst, through their gratitude and affections rather than their

fears and calculations of risk and punishment.” Miss Martineau would probably also have said Amen to these words of Montesquieu, when he asks the Lord, in one of the *Persian Letters*, what he is to do in order to please him: “I do not know whether I am wrong, but it seems to me that the best way to accomplish this object is to live like a good citizen in the society where you have placed me, and like a good father in the family that you have given me.”

In her letters to Mr. Atkinson, Miss Martineau tells us as distinctly as Bulwer or Montesquieu what she understands by “the true religious spirit.” Four years before her death, she writes her friend as follows: “I mean to try to do justice to what I think and believe, by avowing the satisfaction I truly feel with my release from selfish superstition and trumpery self-regards, and with the calm conclusions of my reason about what to desire and expect in the position in which each one of us mysterious human beings finds him or herself. It is all we have to do now (such as you and I), to be satisfied with the conditions of the life we have left behind us, and fearless of the death which lies before us. Nobody will ever find me craving the ‘glory and bliss’ which the preachers set before us, and pray that we may obtain. Some of them are very good and kind, I know; but they will never create any longing of the sort in me. But why should I scribble on in this way to you? Perhaps because our new evangelical curate has written me almost the worst and silliest letter of this sort that I ever saw.” In January, 1876, she writes, “I am fully satisfied with my share of the interest and amusement in life, and of the value of the knowledge which has come to me by means of the Brain, which is worth all the rest of us.” A month before she died, and when she was convinced that her dissolution was near at hand, Harriet Martineau wrote as follows: “I cannot think of any future as at all probable, except the ‘annihilation’ from which some people recoil with so much horror. I find myself here in the universe,—I know not how, whence, or why. I see everything in the universe go out and disappear, and I see no reason for supposing that it is not an actual and entire death; and, for my part, I have no objection to such an extinction. I well remember the passion with which W. E. Forster* said to me, ‘I had rather be damned than annihilated.’ If he once felt five minutes’ damnation, he would be thankful for extinction in preference. The truth is, I care little about it anyway. Now that the event draws near, and that I see how fully my household expects my death pretty soon, the universe opens so widely before my view, and I see the old notions of death and scenes to follow to be so merely human,—so impossible to be true, when one glances through the range of science,—that I see nothing to be done but to wait, without fear or hope, or ignorant prejudice, for the expiration of life. I have no wish for further experience, nor have I any fear of it. Under the weariness of illness, I long to be asleep; but I have not set my mind on any state. I wonder if all this represents your notions at all. I should think it does, while yet we are fully aware how mere a glimpse we have of the universe and the life it contains. Above all, I wish to escape from the narrowness of taking a mere human view of things, from the absurdity of making God after man's own image,” etc.

But Mrs. Miller's sympathetic memorial is not confined to the religious aspect of Harriet Martineau's noble character. We are given a complete and yet condensed account of that whole long and remarkable existence. Mr. Ingram, the well-known

biographer of Poe, who is editing this “Eminent Women Series,” could not have selected a better person to whom to confide the difficult task of depicting the mind and heart of Harriet Martineau; for Mrs. Fenwick Miller is a prominent and active member of the school of which Miss Martineau was one of the founders, and which, in spite of man, society, and the devil, is determined to renovate and innovate old-fashioned and old-fogy England.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, August, 1885.

POVERTY AND WEALTH.

II.

What circumstances are responsible for the present unequal distribution of happiness? How is this difference between the fortunes of rich and poor brought about? Do we not all come into the world in like nakedness? When and where, then, does this inequality in our lot have its beginning?

Children are not born equal, but with an unlike inheritance of undeveloped mental and bodily qualities; and, without question, were all children started in life with the same external advantages, the greatest differences in wisdom and worldly surroundings would soon arise between them. A teacher in this city (New York), a year or two ago, for the purpose of instructing his pupils in business methods, started a school bank; but not many months had passed before the stock of this bank was virtually controlled by a very few of the sharpest boys.

Unfortunately for the happiness of mankind, the inequalities of advantage with which the young are launched into life are by no means confined to the limits of inherited differences in bodily and mental capacity. The superior quality of the rich child's food gives it large physical odds, the superiority of its education large mental odds, in the race, which are but partially balanced by the lack of necessity for exertion. Later on, when the rich man's children have arrived at man's or woman's estate, the assistance of powerful parents or friends still attends their side to smooth their way until the time when the parents' death, putting a princely income at their command, renders further progress mere child's play. For, although it may be indeed objected that the credit of the wealthy frequently leads them to hazard enterprises by which a fortune of assets is almost at one blow converted into one of debts, yet it is nevertheless also true that, when a fortune has grown to certain proportions, so long as merely ordinary caution is observed, its advance is almost more difficult to check than to accelerate.

The inequalities of fortune of this world are maintained by the spirit of inertia which prevails in all things pertaining to human life, as well as in the phenomena of the inorganic world. We are loath to disturb or permit the disturbance of those conditions to which we have become accustomed; and no sooner is a demand for change advanced than society unites to defend existing conditions, merely because they are existing, and utterly regardless of the question of their good or evil character. This is the spirit of “divine right,”—the right of that which has been and is, to continue to be,—which ever opposes progress. In its name, the despot gives battle for the inheritance of his throne, the nobleman for his titles and privileges, the planter for his slaves, the landlord for his estates, and the tenant for his leasehold.

It is often said that the law by which we are governed is a law of the rich. But is this view correct? We cannot afford to be unjust, for by being so we wrong ourselves no less than others.

It is, indeed, true that the power of legislation is

* “Eminent Women Series”: *Harriet Martineau*. By Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place.

* The well-known English Liberal leader and Member of Parliament.

mainly in the hands of the wealthy, and is applied by them, when and where they dare, unscrupulously enough, for the exclusive protection of the social interests of their class. But it must not be forgotten that, while the few have the power thus to subject the great mass to any enactment, yet, whenever the multitude refuses to be bound by any ordinance, the legislative few are impotent to enforce obedience. Nor is this all; for whenever this great multitude, virtually the "poor," have assumed a threatening attitude, the few have always paled, and trembling worked their will; and, hence, we perceive that, while the great body of the law unquestionably consists of enactments for the protection of the privileges of the wealthy and the maintenance of existing inequalities of fortune, there also already exists a smaller portion of mostly recent legislation tending toward the elimination of these inequalities and the protection of the interests of the poor.

The law of the rich is a law for the defence of those who possess against the aggressions of those who would acquire. For this reason, it is very emphatic in prescribing and variously limiting the modes in which property may be acquired.

Besides title founded upon discovery and that based on unquestioned possession, the law of the rich sanctions acquisition by inheritance, gift, exchange, and purchase. The absolute freedom of commercial exchange is both a recognition and a consequence of absolute title through actual possession. Gift is an exchange of property for the love and good will which it is in the power of the one who receives to bestow upon the giver. Inheritance may be interpreted as a posthumous gift.

As a necessary consequence of its origin, title to property under the rich man's law is limited only by defects in the mode of its acquisition, such as robbery, theft, and fraud. The true inwardness of the rich man's condemnation of these modes is to be found in the fact that they set at nought the theory of the absolute or divine right of the rich to the property which they control.

That portion of the law of property which protects the interests of the poor derives its title from the use to which property is put. At present, this portion is still chiefly in the undeveloped condition of public opinion out of which all law arises.

The limitations to title which the poor man's law of property seeks to draw must logically be based upon defective use—misuse or nonuse—of property. Fully developed, the poor man's law will either limit absolute property to that amount which equal distribution of the world's wealth would accord to each, or it will entirely abolish it. It neither can nor will abolish inequalities of control, but will replace absolute ownership by trusteeship for the public good.

All law is founded upon the notions of right and wrong prevalent among a people. Our notions of right and wrong spring from a root of religious beliefs: the outward tie which binds together those who own to the same system of religious beliefs is the church. Hence, as there is a law for the rich and a law for the poor, so, also, there must be a church for the poor and a church for the wealthy.

The church of the rich teaches that this world was made by a God-Creator for his own pleasure and glory, and was by him at the beginning approved: therefore, then, it was perfect. In that perfect state, man was given absolute, irresponsible dominion over creation: it was his property by divine right. Hence it is that at this day all title to property must depend upon the mode of its acquisition in the past. When this is faultless, the title is absolute, of God-ordained origin, and may not be questioned.

But, even to this day, the heart of man is bent

on change. Had there been no change since the beginning, the perfect state would still exist. Hence, all change is evil, and who lusts after it vile and sinful. Property justly acquired is sacred. Woe to him, here and hereafter, who dares to dispute the rights of the God-ordained owner.

At the end of time, the world will be again destroyed; and, then, all who have persisted in sinful desire for change will go to everlasting torments in hell, all who have yielded obedience to God's ordinances, and respected the divine right of property, will enter upon the joys of a heavenly kingdom.

The church of the poor teaches that we live in an uncreated world; that we are but parts of an eternal, universal, living being, having neither a beginning nor an end, animated by an immortal spirit of change, a God within it. As we believe that this spirit of change is good, so our desire for change is good also. The purpose of this world is the happiness of all that breathe; and, so long as misery exists, a perfect state can only be expected in and from the future. Our actions are righteous, in so far as they make the world happier; and the only divine right to property is that of its use in the service of all. A time will come, not in the mystical beyond, but in this world, when all shall be happy. Then and here shall we enter, not as subjects into a celestial kingdom, but as citizens into the republic of heaven.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

THE MINISTERIAL FUNCTION.

There can be no disputing that the masses do not ask, *What is true?* but desire that which growth and usage have made agreeable. The preaching of Moody gives satisfaction. From the learned reasoning of Huxley and Tyndall the common mind turns away without edification or interest. The scholars' studies are too recondite and abstruse, and require too great preparation and effort of mind to be comprehended: they appeal to the educated and thinking classes, with no attempt at effect, no concern for results.

The popular minister has his province and mission in popular effects, successful appeals to feelings, traditional bias, and the concrete sentiment of the hour. He stands between the men of ideas, the great thinkers, who determine the final trend of thought, and the people; and his real work is that of the teacher, to ascertain and bring into common understanding and practice the abstract truths and principles which science reveals and establishes. Only by facing the light and elucidating it to the people, as Mr. Beecher is now doing with the doctrine of evolution, can his work be fairly done or fully realized. Permanent results must take hold of the thoughts of the people. Feelings and habits are at last determined by ideas; and the true teacher is he who dares to set forth new and radical truth, so as to awaken and revolutionize the thoughts of men.

Wonderful changes in philosophy and religion, in mechanics and art, in church, school, society, and home, are taking place. He is a dull man, and an unfit teacher or leader, to stand between the high and the holy, the abstract and the absolute, on the one hand, and the common people, on the other, who does not see and magnify his opportunity, who does not move forward in the great avenues of progress, and arouse humanity with a fresh, earnest, and loving enthusiasm for that which is both true and good.

Not as formerly is the minister's word "both law and gospel" in his parish. Neither church, priest, nor Bible has that sanctity, authority, and influence which, only a few years since, these all possessed in the most intelligent community. While so-called sacred things are becoming secularized, the so-called

secular, the common life of society, business, and home, all things natural, human, material, useful, are becoming sacred, divine. Life of man, animal, and plant is being lifted into a new aspect, a new order, a better appreciation; and men are learning that it is an abuse of nature as much as of God not to live and act nobly, grandly, lovingly, in the great brotherhood of all animated life. There is no theological devil, and the theologic God is nothing apart from nature.

But imperfection exists, else there would be no room for progress and improvement. Is it the minister's sphere to deal in fiction? Certainly, it has ever been so. And, until humanity shall have taken on a more intellectual caste, no doubt it will continue so, and perhaps, if religion is to continue, it must always be; for religion is admittedly and universally a subtle something in human relation to the unknown, about which there is, and can be, no possible universal agreement, no fairly scientific statement. It is likened to mind, to "spirit," to intangible matter, a persuasion of the mind and heart, an affection of nervous sensibility with an infinite relationship in hope and fear. Shall the minister be only a priest to turn the crank of ritualistic praying machinery? or may he be also the poet and prophet, and more the latter than the former?

Yea, verily, he must be true poet and prophet, but can be so only as he is more the philosopher than the priest; and the tendency of things is toward a synthesis of the philosophic and poetic functions. Fiction must conform to truth; poetry and music must be truthful, conformed to knowledge; and science must make room for emotion, must show the worth and beauty of morality, the imperishable nature of duty, and the highest possible good of love regulated by reason.

In short, morality and the love of the true, the beautiful, and the good, must become the religion of the world.

A. N. ADAMS.

SPIRITS TWAIN.

For The Index.

Through paths unfrequented,
All noiselessly, and as the lightning fleet,
By airy fancy or by sweet charmed,
We pass, on winged feet.

By day, aloft we soar,
Piercing the heaven's limitless, blue dome;
By night, its glittering, starry splendors o'er,
Close, closer still, we roam.

Then to the sapphire sea,
Where liquid emeralds and rubies glow,
Down into coral depths and treasures, we
Close, close together go!

Sometimes, a darker spell
From saddest Memory lures us with its trend
Past the dark Cypress in the Yew-tree dell,
Where over graves we bend.

We heed nor bolt nor bar,
But enter at our will the palace gate,
With no credentials, but as guests from far;
We neither stand nor wait.

We know no bond nor mete,
In sky, in cloud, in sea, in air, at home;
On mountain peaks, afar, with silent feet,
O'er all the earth we roam.

Close, close, how close we cling!
Nor marriage rite, nor thou, O child most dear,
Nor friends, long tried and ever true, can bring
Soul unto soul so near.

How finely tuned are we!
We know true hearts below the forms of speech.
Between us twain is subtle sympathy,
Closer than love can teach.

Yes: where have we not been
On land, on sea, on cloud or sunny sky?
What places dark, what spots so fair, we've seen,
My thought, my thought and I?

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

FUNK & WAGNALLS have in press a volume by Miss Kate Sanborn, entitled *The Wit of Women*, which will be dedicated to the late George W. Burnham, the gentleman to whom she was engaged to be married at the time of his death, and from whom she received a legacy of \$30,000.

AMONG the "comments" in the September number of the *North American Review* is a brief letter from Mr. M. J. Savage, in which he says: "I will not open up the larger question as to whether it is a good thing or a bad thing, but it seems to me unquestionably a true thing that Christian monasticism is not an exotic. It roots itself not only in the words of the apostles, but is the teaching of Christ himself."

THE priest, Roman or English Episcopal, wears in the street a uniform by which he is recognized; and once the Congregational minister did the same, wearing a black coat when all others wore blue or fancy-colored. This separation by dress betokened a peculiar sympathy of the clerical class among themselves; but it also showed, as it still shows, an exclusiveness of feeling toward society at large.—*Christian Register*.

THE Bruno statue fund increases hopefully. The first instalment of \$200, which was completed by Mr. Photius Fisk, who made up the deficit of \$14.27, has been sent to Rome. The second \$200 is being raised. Among the contributions, we notice \$18.30 from attendants at the Concord School of Philosophy. T. B. Wakeman, 93 Nassau Street, New York, is the authorized agent; and to him all subscriptions to the fund should be sent.

AFTER stating that without leisure there could be no art and science, and without wealth no leisure, Strauss points out that the love of acquisition, which should, like every other impulse, be kept within reasonable bounds, and subordinated to higher aims, is entirely ignored in the teachings of Jesus, and adds: "It [Christianity] only prolongs its existence among the enlightened and commercial nations of our time by the emendations which a cultivated and profane reason has made in it; and yet this Reason is so magnanimous, or perhaps so weak and hypocritical, as to impute the good effect, not to itself, but to Christianity, to whose spirit it is nevertheless entirely opposed."

"We are perpetually reminded of the evils produced by wealth and the sinful love of money," says Buckle; "and yet, assuredly, no other passion, except the love of knowledge, has been productive of equal benefit to mankind. To it, we owe all commerce and industry: industrial undertakings and trade have made us acquainted with the production of many countries; have aroused our curiosity, enlarged the field of our vision by bringing us in contact with nations of various ideas, customs, and languages; accustomed us to vast undertakings, to foresight and prudence; taught us, besides, many useful technical crafts; and, lastly, endowed us with invaluable means for the preservation of life and the alleviation of suffering. All this we owe to the love of money. Could theology succeed in extirpating it, all these influences would cease, and we should in a measure relapse into barbarism."

THE Hartford *Daily Times* of August 22, referring to Raymond S. Perrin's work, *The Religion of Philosophy*, says: "The secular press, as a rule, eulogized the book. The *Times* pointed out what it thought the best things in it. The religious press, as a rule, denounced the book, which was expected from that quarter, since the book boldly

assails some things which the Churches uphold. Even some of the secular journals in which the chair of literary criticism is filled by clergymen treated this elaborate work in a purely sectarian spirit. This falls short of the true requirements of good literary criticism. . . . It is evident that literary criticism, if made at all, should be adequate to the subject; and the book in question is a work of great care and long and able thought." The *Boston Post* gives an outline of Mr. Perrin's main views in a lengthy notice, which concludes as follows: "Such is the essential thought of Mr. Perrin's book, which is marked by an independent spirit and a scholarly style, and contains evidence of years of research and patient study. However much we may differ from the author in some of his conclusions, his work is one that invites us to high intellectual attitudes, and deals in a philosophical spirit with the profoundest problems that can engage the attention of man."

TO THE question, "What was the supreme thought in your mind when eternity seemed so near?" put by Dr. Newman to Gen. Grant after his recovery from his seemingly fatal collapse, the General replied, "The comfort of the consciousness that I had tried to live a good and honorable life." Commenting on this, the *Independent* calls attention to the gospel plan of salvation in the following style:—

The honest effort "to live a good and honorable life" may well be a source of comfort at any time, and especially so in the hour and article of death; and we see no impropriety in referring to it as such. But it would be a great mistake to make such an effort, or such a life, even though the best that any man ever lived, the basis on which sinners are to rest for their peace with God and their hope of salvation. Sinners are saved, if at all, through grace, and by the suffering and death of Christ, and upon the condition of their repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

The honest effort "to live a good and honorable life," "or such a life, even though the best that any man ever lived," which involves repentance or sorrow for every departure from the right, and a constant desire to realize the ideal moral life by personal purity and working for others as well as self, is no sufficient basis for the hope of salvation!—a hope which the vilest and meanest may cherish, if it is based on belief in Jesus Christ and salvation by his sufferings and death, upon the condition of repentance before death, or, as some hold now, perhaps after death. There is evidently still need of iconoclasts like Ingersoll to go before the people, and expose the demoralizing as well as the absurd doctrines of the orthodox theology, which some of the editorial writers of the *Independent* are defending of late in a manner that gratifies even the *Congregationalist* of this city.

HOW SHOULD Christians behave toward agnostics? Are there any honest agnostics? or is it safe to assume that every man who sincerely looks into the Christian religion, desiring the truth in his heart, will inevitably become a believer? If there are unbelievers of honest hearts and open minds, what is the best practical word we can say to them? The Church that rests in ancient formulas has no word for such men, since they can neither repent nor believe.

What would *Unity* think, if an Agnostic should write in this style of Christians: "How should agnostics behave toward Christians? Are there any honest Christians? or is it safe to assume that every man who sincerely looks into the Christian religion will inevitably become an Agnostic? If there are Christians of honest hearts and open minds, what is the best practical word we can say to them?" Leaving the writer of the above to think out what is the best word that can be said to Agnostics, if among them are any "of honest

hearts and open minds," we will say the best word that occurs to us just now to such as the writer of the paragraph quoted above: Consider whether it is modest or wise to assume that your doctrinal belief is certainly right, and that the Agnostic's position is certainly wrong, whether it is reasonable to doubt that Agnostics are as honest and sincere as Christians, and, if it is not, whether it is charitable and just to raise the question "Are there any honest Agnostics?" The writer of the paragraph and such as he might, since they assume their own intellectual integrity and moral honesty, leave unquestioned the same qualities in a class of thinkers, among whom are men like Darwin and Spencer, and women like George Eliot and Harriet Martineau. Come up, *Unity*, on higher ground, and treat this subject rationally and philosophically, and not like an orthodox preacher who has always regarded "infidels" with horror, and is but just beginning to suspect that there may be found a few honest men among them, and is wondering as to the best way to make them realize their ignorance and folly.

THE facts pointed out by Helmholtz in regard to the defects of the eye as an optical instrument illustrate that the process of evolution is not keeping pace with the requirements of modern times, that the artificial development of the human faculties has outstripped the natural evolution of portions of the human body. But man's ingenuity serves him well here as elsewhere; for, with the help of the lens in microscope and telescope, he is possessed of an organ with which he can study objects infinitesimally small and penetrate the immensity of a solar system. Meanwhile, the eye is probably losing in strength and capacity, and gaining only in discrimination. In some directions, the improvement is marked, as in the hands which have gained wonderful delicacy of touch, reaching its greatest perfection, however, only by careful training. It has been pointed out that, in using the keys of an instrument or in working the strings of a harp, no amount of practice enables the player to overcome the weakness of the third finger. It is almost impossible, when the middle and little fingers are pressed upon the keys so as to produce a continuous sound, to bring the third, or ring, finger into intermittent use with sufficient strength to produce equality in the tones. The reason is that the muscle by which this finger is moved is connected by lateral accessory tendons with the muscles of the fingers next to it; and, when these are held down, the tendons prevent freedom of action in the muscular fibres of the third finger. The accessory tendons are sometimes found in one, sometimes in both hands. As its recurrence is not constant, it is, without doubt, of a rudimentary nature, and not improbably the last vestige of a former webbed formation of hand and foot, as the downwardly projecting point on the helix of the ear is regarded by Darwin as the remnant of a once pointed ear. Within the past few years, it has not been uncommon to remove the restriction, and liberate the third finger by a surgical operation, dividing the accessory tendons, which admits of the elevation of this finger an inch higher above the plane of the hand, and entire freedom in its use. Dr. Forbes, demonstrator of anatomy at Jefferson College, has performed numerous operations of this kind, and in each case with success. The operation is so simple and easily performed, and gives the third finger such delightful freedom without diminishing power in any other direction, that it promises soon to become a part of every conservatory course. In the distant future, it is probable that the student of music will know of a binding tendon only as an occasional recurrence illustrative of reversional heredity.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

X.

CHRISTIANITY THE STATE RELIGION.

Divorce between the Popular Faith and Scholastic Theology.

The student of the ethnic religions, in the earlier periods of their development, must often have noted the fact that their dogmatic and ritualistic peculiarities, as reported in their sacred literatures, are frequently artificial accretions—the speculative and formal productions of an established priesthood—rather than genuine presentations of the spontaneous and natural faith of the people. The beliefs and practices of the masses often have very little in common with the dogmas and ceremonies of the established religion. In India, for many generations, all save the priestly caste were forbidden the study of the Vedas; and recent investigations of able scholars, like Barth* and Haug,† would assign to these sacred writings a priestly rather than a popular origin. In China, Confucianism, with its remarkable freedom from supernaturalism and its pure morality, has always been the religion of the State and of the educated classes, far removed from the superstitions of the majority. Zoroastrianism was confessedly a religion of the priesthood. Buddhism has its esoteric philosophy, its refined system of metaphysics, remote from its popular dogmas and from the noble ethical teachings of its founder. Greece and Rome had their secret rites and doctrines for the few; while the many cultivated the religion of the domestic altar, and fed their religious natures upon superstitions such as are connected with all primitive animistic beliefs. The religion of Egypt also presents like phenomena. We may well pause a moment to inquire whether there are any evidences of a similar divorce of the thought of the educated few from the lives and opinions of the many in the history of primitive Christianity.

* *The Religions of India.* By A. Barth.

† *The Religion of the Persians.*

Testimony of the Patristic Literature.

If we were to look for evidence solely to the literature of the Fathers, we would discover no indications of such a divergence between the popular and scholastic beliefs. These writings present only one side of the question,—that of the dogmatic theologian. Here, we observe a steady tendency toward the condemnation and elimination of heresies, and the consolidation of that hierarchical system which finally triumphed in the supremacy of the Catholic Church. In Irenæus, writing during the last quarter of the second century, we find nearly all the Christian dogmas fully developed. The divine incarnation, the miraculous birth, the sacrificial eucharist regarded as the actual flesh and blood of Jesus, the belief in the second coming of Christ, the vicarious atonement, apostolic succession, and the eternal punishment of unbelievers,—all these doctrines are plainly set forth in his writings. Origen, writing about the middle of the third century, did indeed suggest the possible salvation of all men; but his belief, borrowed probably from Oriental sources, was exceptional and heretical. The teachings of Christian scholars tended more and more to a consensus of agreement upon the principal articles of their faith. The supreme emphasis came to be placed upon "right belief," upon intellectual dogma, rather than upon the ethical quality of the daily life. In defence of these dogmas, the leaders of the Church were ready to anathematize and persecute the heretics of their own communion, or to offer up their lives as martyrs rather than accede to the demand of the State that they should renounce their creed, and offer sacrifice to the gods of Rome.

The Catacombs: their Significant Testimony.

It is, nevertheless, true that we have conclusive evidence that the belief of the majority was widely different from that which is revealed to us in Christian literature. As the Egyptian tombs, with their sculptures and paintings, testify to the habits and ideas of that ancient people, correcting the long prevalent opinion derived from their later theology that they were of a gloomy and ascetic disposition, so in the sculptures and mural paintings of the catacombs we discover the natural historical corrective of the one-sided evidence presented in the writings of the theologians.

The catacombs were subterranean places of burial of great extent. From a single central hall, or chamber, radiated labyrinthine passages containing many places of sepulture, each of which, when occupied, was sealed up, and identified by mural paintings or sculptures and suitable inscriptions. This use of the catacombs by the Christians dated from the beginning of the second century, and continued until early in the fifth century. In their central halls and subterranean passages, also, for many generations, they were accustomed to meet secretly for religious purposes. Later, when there was no longer any need of secrecy connected with the ceremonials of burial and religious meetings, the catacombs fell into disuse; and from the sixth to the fourteenth century they were buried and forgotten. Even our modern historians have in general neglected to note the remarkable and invaluable testimony of the catacombs to the popular beliefs of the early Christian centuries.

This testimony, it will be observed, is contemporaneous with the period of the development of the dogmatic theology, with the contest of Christianity with Orientalism and the Gnostic heresies, and with the Christian martyrdoms; yet we find here few evidences that these circumstances and ideas materially affected the lives and thought of the masses of the people. A remarkable inscription at the entrance of the catacomb of St. Sebastian

in Rome affirms, indeed, that one hundred and seventy-four thousand martyrs repose there in peace; but the absence of other corroborative testimony, and the conflicting evidence of the inscriptions on the tombs themselves, justify us in regarding this as a theological exaggeration of a later period. All the Christians who died during the time of the persecutions appear to have been regarded subsequently as "martyrs," though they did not personally suffer the punishment of death. The estimate of Gibbon, referred to in our last lecture, is doubtless much nearer the truth of history than this pious exaggeration.*

Character of the Mural Paintings.

One familiar with the patristic literature is at once struck by the apparently incongruous fact that paintings and artistic representations are to be found at all upon Christian tombs of this period. The early Fathers of the Church almost without exception followed the Jewish prejudice, and condemned art as impious and sacrilegious. The general character of these burial-places is Jewish rather than Pagan, but the artistic development connected therewith is distinctively Pagan. "It is as if the popular sentiment had not only run counter to the popular theology," says Dean Stanley, "but had been actually ignorant of it."† The subjects of these artistic representations, though frequently drawn from Hebrew or Christian legends, are almost wholly ignored by contemporary Christian writers. The prevailing character of the early theological writings is arid, gloomy, and repelling; but the art of the earlier catacombs is uniformly cheerful and joyous. In the oldest mural paintings, we find neither the cross of the fifth and sixth centuries, nor the crucifix or crucifixion of the later Catholic period, nor the cypress, skeletons, and death's heads of a still more recent time. In the place of these "sad emblems of mortality," there are wreaths of roses, vines and clusters of grapes, winged genii, and playing children.

Of Old Testament subjects, we find representations of the creation, the salvation of Isaac from sacrifice, the stag panting for the water-brooks, Moses smiting the rock for water, Jonah and the whale, Jonah and the gourd, Daniel in the lions' den, the three children in the fiery furnace, and Susanna and the elders; of New Testament subjects, the raising of Lazarus, the adoration of the magi, the feeding of the multitude, Zaccheus in the sycamore tree, the healing of the paralytic, the washing of Pilate's hands, and the denial and seizing of Peter. A figure representing the deceased in the Oriental attitude of prayer, standing erect, with hands outstretched to receive the gifts of heaven, and with open eyes, is of very common occurrence. Even more perfect representations of this posture in adoration are found in heathen art of this period. The description of one of these might equally well be applied, says Dean Stanley, to the painting on the catacomb of St. Priscilla: "His eyes and arms are raised to heaven; perfect in humanity, beneath the lightsome vault of heaven he stands, and prays,—no adoration with veiled eyes and muttering lips, no prostration with the putting off of sandals on holy ground, no genuflexion like the bending of a reed waving in the wind, but such as Iamus in the mid-waves of Alpheus might have prayed when he heard the voice of Phoebus calling to him, and promising to him the twofold gift of

* For an interesting account of the catacombs of the earlier period, see Stanley's *Christian Institutions*; for a general description, see also article "Catacombs," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Milman's *History of Christianity*, etc. The inscription above alluded to was manifestly engraved after the catacomb had been fully occupied, and had fallen into disuse. Its use of the word "martyr" does not indicate that all or any considerable portion of the inmates suffered a violent death.

† *Christian Institutions.*

prophecy."* The conception of prayer herein typified, so different from that which pessimistic asceticism transmitted to us through the Roman hierarchy, is one among many evidences which the catacombs present to us of the close relation which the popular phase of primitive Christianity bore to the milder forms of Paganism in the midst of which it had its being.

Heathen and Christian Symbolism commingle.

Many of the decorations of the Christian tombs were borrowed directly from heathen sources. Here we find Orpheus playing on his harp to the beasts, the infant Bacchus represented as the god of the vintage, and the winged Psyche, symbol of the soul. The soul itself is often pictured escaping from the body in the form of a bird. Christian and heathen symbolism are frequently mingled in the same picture: e.g., the Good Shepherd appears surrounded by the three Graces; Apollo with his pipes often seems to have served as the model for the gracious figure of the Man of Nazareth. More frequently than any other impersonation that of the Good Shepherd appears in the paintings of the catacombs,—a graceful form in the bloom of youth, with pipe or crook, strikingly similar to the Hermes Kriophorus, "Mercury with the ram,"—a common figure in the heathen art of the time. Sometimes, he is represented as bearing a lamb in his arms. Once even, in defiance, not only of the orthodox dualism, but in apparent ignorance of the sharp distinction conveyed in words attributed to Jesus himself, instead of a lamb we find pictured a young goat, a kid. This incident, and the divorce which it indicates between the theology of the polemical writers and the simple beliefs of the people, are beautifully treated in the familiar poem of Matthew Arnold:—

"He saves the sheep, the goats he doth not save";
So spake the fierce Tertullian.

But she sighed,
The infant Church. Of love she felt the tide
Stream on her from the Lord's yet recent grave,
And then she smiled, and in the Catacombs,
With eye suffused, but heart inspired true,
She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew,
And on his shoulder not a lamb, but kid."

Inscriptions: Summary of the Evidence of the Catacombs.

The character of the earlier inscriptions of the catacombs harmonizes with their artistic symbolism. Of dogma, we find absolutely nothing. Of purely religious phrases, two notable expressions frequently recur: *In pace*, "In peace"; and *Vive in Deo*, "Live in God." Sometimes, we find *Vive in Bono*, "Live in the Good." Most frequent of all the inscriptions, however, are simple expressions of natural affection, exhibiting no theological bias whatever: "My most sweet wife"; "My most dear husband"; "My well-deserving father and mother"; "My most sweet child"; "Innocent little lamb." In one place, we read that a husband and wife "lived together without any complaint or quarrel, without taking or giving offence." The simplicity of these inscriptions is evidence of a sincerity and truthfulness that it is to be feared are sometimes wanting in the elaborate eulogies of our modern churchyard literature. Of the heathen monuments of this period, Prof. Allen declares, "The inscriptions sometimes express a pious and humble trust in terms curiously like those of the Christian monuments."† In the presence of a great and impressive event, a common human nature stands revealed behind the masques of the most varying creeds.

To sum up this testimony of the early catacombs, it may be said that we find here no elaborate

Christology, no deification of Jesus, no trinitarian dogma, no horror of eternal punishment, no theology even, save the simplest expression of theism. We find evidence of a Christianity scarcely differentiated from the surrounding Paganism, save in its disuse of polytheistic symbols; but little affected by theological controversies or state persecutions; cherishing gladly a simple trust in the leadership of that Good Shepherd in whose fold there was no distinction of birth, of riches, or of social position.

Differentiation of Christianity from Paganism.

There thus seem to be many points of agreement between the popular conception of Christianity and the contemporary Paganism, the chief difference, superficially noticeable, appearing to be that from the former all polytheistic implications were excluded. Wherein, then, shall we find the secret of their divergence? Wherein, the motive of the impulse which led the devotees of the new faith to forsake and condemn the old? What elements can we discover, held in common by all the Christian believers of this period, which will account for the rapid progress of the new religion, and for the general favor with which it was greeted by the common people?

Evidently, the distinguishing characteristics of the growing faith were not those of notable moral superiority. The careful student of this period can hardly fail to confirm the conclusion of Dr. Hedge, that the primitive Church did not aim primarily at good behavior. "Had this been the end," he declares, "there would have been a rapid and marked improvement in the morals of society. But no such improvement appears."* The admonitions of Paul and of the Fathers prove, on the contrary, that the worst of social conditions were not uncommon within the bosom of the Christian communities. That feature in the teaching of Jesus and the apostles which avoided conflict with the constituted authorities by inculcating the doctrine of non-resistance; which regarded a temporary submission to social injustices as preferable to active protest and forceful opposition, in view of the speedy destruction of the existing order of the world,—lent itself readily to the methods of designing theologians, and retarded the practical application of the ethical principles of the Gospels in the reorganization of society. One principle there was, however, which was so interwoven with the fundamental universalism of the new faith that it could not be kept wholly in abeyance,—the new and radical social doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, the foundation of the Christian socialism of the Gospels, which was so mighty a power to bring hope and better promise for the future to the poor, the weary, and the heavy-laden. Where, if not in this new social doctrine, shall we look for the impulse which carried the new faith onward through this troubled period of its infancy to its final triumph? The practical communism of the earliest generations † was indeed modified by the necessities of living and laboring in the midst of an antagonistic social order, but the great hope for the future endured.

* Article "Christianity in Conflict with Hellenism," in *Unitarian Review*. By Frederic Henry Hedge, D.D.

† "The early Christian communism was an expression of the essential spirit of original Christianity, not an accident, as many students of the Bible would have us believe. Other incidents of this story are unintelligible, except as they presuppose this curious state of things. In that dreadful legend of the early Christian community which is embodied in the Book of Acts, we find Peter exercising his supposed supernatural powers to strike dead Ananias and Sapphira for their lies. Apart from the miracle involved, the feeling of Peter is ethically incomprehensible, until we remember that their lying words covered actions which involved disloyalty to the fundamental institution of that early society. They had vowed their goods to the little Christian commune, and had kept back a part of the price. Their action was a fatal blow to the essential life of the community. Therefore, a singular manifestation of the effect of the first outpouring of the divine Spirit in the Christian Church was communism."—Rev. R. Heber Newton, in discourse preached May 24, 1885.

The kingdom of heaven was yet anticipated upon a regenerated earth. Here and there, the new doctrine reacted upon existing social conditions, tending to reduce the barriers between classes and to improve the condition of the toiling poor. We may instance such evidences of this tendency as are presented in the story of one Hermas, a wealthy convert of the time of Trajan, who received baptism at an Easter festival, with his wife and children, and twelve hundred and fifty slaves, upon whom he subsequently bestowed their freedom, and gifts of money and property. One Chromatius, also, in the reign of Diocletian, is said to have had fourteen hundred slaves baptized with himself, after which they were emancipated.*

The new faith, sustained by the hope of the coming recognition of human brotherhood, presses onward to its secular triumph. We are now to follow it, under the lead of Constantine, its great protector, to the throne of the Cæsars. But, in this immense secular gain, how much is involved of loss, how much of this primitive simplicity, this freedom from dogmatism, this capacity for assimilating the better elements of the existing social order! The spirit of equality will retire yet further into obscurity, giving place to the rule of a despotic hierarchy. Heathen art, at first popularly welcomed to express the feelings of a common humanity, will be condemned and prohibited as impious. The Good Shepherd, the joyous and beautiful figure of the earliest Christian conception, will give place to the Man of Sorrows, "with marred visage." The "life in God," after the death of the body,—the peaceful rest for the weary,—will give way to the pictured horrors of eternal torment. Dogmatic theology, at last triumphant, will touch and blight even the lives and hopes of the common people. Slavery of the body will give place to a profounder enslavement and degradation of the intellect and reason,—a mental bondage for ages so complete that no Christian Epictetus shall arise to assert, "Although I am a slave, I also am a man." Europe, held in the iron embrace of an omnipotent ecclesiasticism, will hurry forward to the gloom of the Dark Ages.

"'Tis true 'tis pity,
And pity 'tis 'tis true."

From Marcus Aurelius to Constantine.

The period from the time of Marcus Aurelius to the final secular triumph of Christianity under Constantine, though it included the era of persecution, was marked by a steady increase in the number of Christian communities, by a growing boldness of the polemical writers in defence of the new theology, and also by certain notable indications that the new faith was coming to be regarded as a possible factor of strength to the imperial government, in case it could be assimilated and directed to its support. For good or ill, Christianity had become a recognized political power. It must either be systematically opposed and undermined, or accepted, and placed, if not above, at least upon an equality with the existing Pagan cultus. Considerations of state policy rather than of moral or religious principle appear to have actuated the successive wielders of the imperial power in their treatment of the growing faith. If any among them were influenced by higher motives than those of selfish aggrandizement, it was the great Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, and

* One can hardly wonder that the poor were ready to make any change in their religion which promised to improve their social condition. This wholesale baptism of slaves, however, throws a curious light upon the methods by which Christianity was so rapidly extended. It recalls the story of an army officer during the War of the Rebellion, who, on hearing of the conversion of thirty men in a rival regiment, under the exhortations of a revivalist, not to be outdone, ordered his corporal to detail at once a file of forty men for baptism! The incidents above narrated are recorded in Dr. Philip Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*.

* Quoted by Dean Stanley in *Christian Institutions*. Those who listened to the discourses of the eloquent Hindu, Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, during his recent visit to this country, will remember that he assumed this Oriental posture during prayer.

† *Christian History*. By Joseph Henry Allen.

Julian, whom Christian prejudice has named "the Apostate," but whose attempt to revive and purify the Pagan religion appears to have been actuated by a sincere abhorrence of what he deemed the errors and superstitions of Christianity.* Neither Constantine nor those earlier emperors, who vouchsafed a quasi-recognition of the government to the new faith by attempting to fuse it with Paganism, give evidence of a tithe of the sincerity and high-minded patriotism which impartial history concedes to Marcus and to Julian.

The limits of this discussion forbid a detailed examination of the relations of the individual emperors to Christianity. We must hasten on to the period of its secular triumph. Maximin, the predecessor of Constantine and Maxentius, was a man of dissolute and tyrannical character, whose early attitude toward Christianity was that of a persecutor. He prohibited the Christians from meeting in the cemeteries and catacombs, as had long been their custom; he confiscated the property of the churches, waged war with the Christian State of Armenia, and even attempted to reorganize the Pagan religion upon the model of the Christian episcopacy. Toward the close of his life, however, he apparently became convinced, not indeed of the moral error, but more probably of the impolicy of this course of action. He issued an edict of toleration, and commanded a cessation of all violent methods of persecution, recommending only the milder measures of persuasion to win back the Christians to the faith of their fathers. His last imperial act was the promulgation of an edict which restored to the churches their confiscated property, and proclaimed complete liberty of conscience in matters of religion throughout the empire. The subsequent course of his successor was therefore no abrupt and revolutionary change in the policy of the government.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A LETTER FROM MILWAUKEE.

Editors of The Index:—

A sermon preached here on a recent Sunday by Rev. Charles Stanley Lester, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman, rector of St. Paul's Church, is such a remarkable outbreak from ecclesiasticism that it merits the attention of the readers of *The Index*.

The subject of the sermon was Public Schools. The text was from Proverbs iv., 7,—"Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom."

After explaining that the wisdom so much praised in the Book of Proverbs had no reference to intellectual acquirements, but rather to the discretion and prudence which shall guard one against the pitfalls of life, and to a knowledge of the world and the folly of evil conduct, and that the maxim of ancient time adapted to the circumstances of the present should be understood as meaning wisdom to be the best results of intellectual and moral training, Mr. Lester asks, "How shall we train our children that they may be furnished for the work of life?"

He mentioned the three established agencies, the family, the church, the school, the family and the church being the agencies which co-operate for the child's religious and moral training. The intellectual nature must be left for the school to unfold the reasoning and perceptive powers. Mr. Lester here paid an eloquent tribute to the public schools of our country. "But, side by side," he continued, "with these there has grown up a multitude of private schools, in which the special tenets of the various churches and sects are made a prominent part of the regular instruction, and which advertise as their chief claim to public favor that they are established for the sake of imparting Christian education. This term is misleading; for, properly construed, this should mean a training into the like-

ness of Christ, the subjugation of selfishness, and a cultivation of the sweeter graces of life. This would be Christian education; but it is for this purpose that the Church exists. If the Church is not doing its work, it is a pity; but the school cannot usurp the work of the Church without neglecting some of its own proper functions. Nor can the name Christian be properly applied to education, when the proper work of the school only is meant; for there is no such thing as a Christian alphabet. The alphabet is entirely pagan. We teach children to count in Arabic numbers. We teach them Arabic algebra, Greek geometry, and Latin grammar. These things are entirely pagan, and by no possibility could we Christianize them. The only suggestion ever made toward a christianizing of education was that the boys in the high schools should read the bad Latin and Greek of the Church Fathers instead of the good Latin and Greek of the pagan orators and poets, but it was only a suggestion. In view of the facts, the term Christian education, as it is used in religious newspapers and conventions, becomes an absurdity. But it is not only Christian institutions as such which bid for the support of the country. Every church and every denomination is multiplying schools of its own, and recommending its own superior form of Christian education. One would think there ought to be a special Baptist arithmetic, a superior Roman Catholic geography, a Presbyterian history, a Quaker Latin, a Protestant Episcopal chemistry. The perfect folly of all this is apparent on the face of it. Therefore, why must so many millions of dollars be spent to establish these sectarian schools as rivals to the public schools? We find, when we examine into it, that the real object is that children may be drilled into a certain ritual or taught some especial form of dogmatic theology. These schools are established to widen and strengthen the differences between Christians, to prejudice growing minds, to intensify bigotry; and this narrowing of the intellect is called Christian education. It is to be presumed that a school established for the sake of imparting a bias will make the matter of education secondary,—a means really of gathering the children for the sake of imparting the bias. With some rare exceptions, a comparison of these religious schools with the public schools will show that this presumption is true, and that the standard of scholarship is invariably lower.

"There is danger, too, to the institutions and freedom of this land in encouraging rivals of the public schools. By and by there will be an effort to divide the school fund; and every church and sect in America will clamor for its share of public funds, that it may impart its one-sided education to the children of the land. The success of American institutions depends upon the gradual breaking down of prejudices, upon the obliteration of dividing lines, upon the culture of a real broad-mindedness; and every true parent and citizen will guard his children against the cramping influences of prejudice in their early years. It is not education these sects are interested in. What they want is an opportunity to mould the plastic minds of children in a certain way, which is an act of intellectual injustice to the children. The public schools are called godless. Of course, they are, and ought to be. The alphabet, the multiplication table, geography, are all secular things, with which religion has nothing to do; and, as for history, it is so easy to color it, to suppress part of it under the specious pretext of the glory of God, that no church in Christendom may be safely trusted to teach it. Those countries in Europe which have had long experience with ecclesiastic supervision of education are taking it resolutely out of the hands of the Church. We in this country, caught by the glamour of prospectuses, fascinated by the sound of piety, are in danger of falling into the same old trap. It is time to take warning. The danger is not from Catholic schools alone, but from every school which professes to supply Christian education."

In making these notable extracts from Mr. Lester's sermon, I find a peculiar satisfaction. They have proved refreshing to me from the fact that only a few days since I was "riled" at a religious farce called the laying of the corner-stone of a new Episcopal school building in the village which is my temporary home. There was no hint in any part of the ceremony that the edifice was to have anything whatever to do with the intellectual side of the nature of children. There was a procession of right reverend Fathers in purple velvet and fine linen, and a brother-

hood of young priests in cassocks and girdles, with the head master of the school in white surplice, carrying a cross. The children of the school closed the procession. There was a solemn church service, with singing of hymns, concluded with remarks by the different clergymen. In these remarks there was no point whatever, save the setting forth the superior advantages of a Christian education as compared with the education to be obtained in "godless" schools, with the customary denunciation of public schools.

In that large assemblage grouped upon the grounds, I doubt if there was one besides myself who saw any incongruity in laying the corner-stone of a school building with strictly church ceremonies. It seemed to me very much like the "missed opportunity" mentioned in an article I had just been reading in *The Index*, called "Orthodoxy at Sea." "Fancy" here, too, "the grandeur of the opportunity." It was a perfect June day. The surroundings were beautiful; for nowhere in Wisconsin has nature, with a "cunning hand," created a more idyllic spot than in the lake region in Waukesha County. The spot selected for the school building is on an eminence in a grove of natural trees; and seated about in picturesque groups were the bright-faced children of the school, intent and quiet, eager, not only to see the "show," but to hear some word that could reach their understanding, some special word for them, which was their right. What a field for a preacher to sow good seed! What an opportunity to point toward some attainable ideal of intellectual integrity, some attainable ideal of manly and womanly "grace of life"! But no such word came: the only one approaching to it was when a right reverend Father, with enthusiastic eloquence, pointed to the possibility of some boy from that school becoming a foreign missionary! This was the climax of his hopes from a Christian education. There were men and women, too, listening with devout attention, possessed of the culture and refinement which would make them amenable to breadth of thought, clothed in graceful diction, upon the theme of education. But they heard only the same old story: "God has raised up the means to build this school. He has prospered the work of your hands. Let us give God the glory. Amen." What an opportunity thrown away! Orthodoxy was more than ever offensive in that charming open-air scene. The occasion savored of the cloister and the days when there was a priestly monopoly of education. It did not fit this enlightened era, when a beggar's child has the chance of a free education, and through it to become the equal in position and intelligence of the highest in the land.

Nature, however, was eloquent with unvoiced words, proclaiming the rare possibilities that lay in the opportunity offered these children of "getting wisdom" in contact with this lovely out-door world. Unawares, they will be benefited through the recreations which enter into the school curriculum; but that higher good, which comes of a close study of natural objects and laws, will not be theirs. This study has no place in "Christian education" schools.

MILWAUKEE, August, 1885.

A LETTER FROM LAKE PLEASANT.

Editors of The Index:—

Responding to your kind request, I will give you a few points regarding Lake Pleasant. The Spiritualist Association having this camp in charge organized about ten years ago, and it grows in interest constantly. There are about three thousand campers or citizens, and perhaps fifty thousand persons on the ground at different times during the season. It is claimed that speakers have had an audience of ten thousand, which is indeed a large crowd. Three hundred homes nestle under the soft foliage of this lovely pine grove on these beautiful green hills, and a more enchanting spot does not exist. The place is laid out in regular streets, named and numbered; and the homes range in size from a tent with one or two rooms to good-sized handsome houses, three stories high. Every foot of ground adjoining these cosy homes is ornamented with something to gladden the eyes. Vines, sod, flowers, foliage, pot-plants, vases of growing plants, hanging baskets, shells, lawn chairs, rockeries, and various styles of adornment are seen at every step. Flags are draped in various ways so as to be useful as well as pretty. Every place here looks so cool, fresh, and restful, and withal so dainty

*"The Emperor Julian's watchword was, 'The worship of the gods: no worship of dead men.'"—*Seeley, Roman Imperialism*.

and so much like a miniature city, that I can compare it with nothing else. I am constantly on the lookout for a veritable fairy,—the only suitable inhabitants for such a charming place.

When tired of other amusements, the young people dance, swing, boat-ride, or gather around the music-stand, and listen to the Fitchburg brass band. It is engaged for the season, and is a source of pure delight to all lovers of real first-class music who hear it.

Liquor and fire-arms are not permitted here, and one of the results is good behavior and safety. The people are very sociable with each other, and goodwill seems to prevail. Excursion trains are constantly coming and going, bringing people of almost every class in contact with each other,—orthodox, heterodox, and the out-and-out "ungodly."

To people who attend church, and believe the place in which they assemble to be "consecrated," "holy," it must seem strange to see an audience here. With that thought in my mind, I confess my risibles were excited one day, as I looked around and noticed gentlemen reading tracts or newspapers, ladies doing fancy work, and—oh! worse than all—a man passing through the audience saying, "Pop-corn!" as he offered his harmless refreshments to the crowd. Perhaps some thought of human depravity entered the speaker's mind; for she arose, and offered an unusually long and, no doubt, effectual prayer. This act, in connection with the other things transpiring, only added to my inward amusement, as I have the unfortunate faculty of seeing the ridiculous too frequently.

I have listened to some excellent lectures here, among the best being that of Mrs. Byrns, of your city, Mrs. F. D. Smith, Miss A. M. Beecher, J. Clegg Wright, and Mr. Tisdell. The gentlemen are said to be trance speakers, their subjects given them after they take the platform. Mr. Tisdell is totally blind, and has been for sixteen years, and entirely and deplorably illiterate; yet a grander, stronger speech, more flowing language, or better argument, it seems to me, are not to be found. Mr. Wright is also a wonderful and powerful speaker, and so radical in his views that I was quite delighted to hear him.

There are mediums and so-called mediums, some giving manifestations of spirit power and some manifesting nothing but the workings of their own ignorant, vicious, and depraved natures, and doing this in the guise of mediumship. Among the genuine spirit mediums, and first in interest, I place Dr. Henry Slade. We had some writing from him a couple of times while the slates were on the floor under our feet, the doctor not touching them. He surely does establish the fact of invisible intelligence,—call it what you will; and I beg of you to see him in the interest of truth. Dr. Slade's seances are always given in the day-time, in a perfectly well-lighted room.

Fearing I have trespassed upon your space, I close.

Yours truly,

AMARALA MARTIN.

WALKER'S "PHILOSOPHY OF THE PLAN OF SALVATION."

Editors of *The Index*:—

It is true, as stated in the "Editorial Notes" in *The Index* of August 27, that Mr. James B. Walker's *Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation* is "ingenious and original"; but it ought also to be said that it is utterly unsound, sophistical in much of its reasoning, erroneous in much of what it represents as fact, based on assumptions perfectly groundless, and contradictory in some cases to that Bible which it represents as the Word of God. All these allegations can be substantiated by the contents of the book; but such proof is not needed by the readers of *The Index*, and would not be admitted into any orthodox paper, even those which pretend to liberality of sentiment and freedom of discussion.

C. K. W.

[What is affirmed by C. K. W. of the work named is true; but it is also true of every book with which we are acquainted, written to prove the divine origin and authority of the Bible and the supernatural character of Jesus.—B. F. U.]

In a letter from Stuttgart to Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, dated August 7, Mrs. Clara Neymann, who has been in Germany the past year, writes: "I have read with great interest and pleasure *The Index* through this year, and it seems to me to be better than ever. I would like to give some information as to the Free Religious movement in Germany, but I was so deeply

engaged with all that pertains to the Woman's movement that I found no opportunity to look deeper into its workings. I can only give you some general impressions, and these are not favorable as to the progress of Free Religious thought in Germany. The movement is everywhere hampered by the State authorities, the police, the cowardliness and indifference of the people. Of course, when imprisonment, loss of business and social position, is the result of openly acknowledging one's conviction, there is not much room for the development of sincerity; and hypocrisy is the result. But there are also a great many sincere adherents to the old religions. There are still more believers than I had thought to find in a country where science and philosophy have had such a firm stand in the past, and where scientific investigation is encouraged from above. What a contradiction! On the one side, the government induces and stimulates disbelief in Orthodoxy by the free spirit of its universities and the higher schools in the country; and, on the other hand, it forces parents to have their children educated in some one religion in their special faith throughout all the primary classes and in all the public schools of the country. Respect is paid to every faith, be it Catholic, Protestant, or Hebrew. Separate religious instruction is also given in all the girls' schools. The Jewish rabbi, the Catholic priest, the Protestant minister, give separate lessons to their adherents. In this way, religion is fostered in the juvenile minds; and free thought has a much severer and harder struggle here than in America. Women who can nowhere attain a university education generally remain unenlightened; and, when married, the husband in but exceptional cases takes the trouble to influence their views, and submits to their church attendance and the education of their children in the old faith. There are a number of influential Free Religious and free thinkers' associations that have a difficult task and little encouragement. Last Sunday, I gave a lecture here in Stuttgart before the Free Thinkers' Association, on the 'Free Religious Movement in America.' It was very well received. I spoke therein my conviction that the new religion which is to bless humanity will celebrate its resurrection upon American soil. We in America have free access to the best European and Asiatic thought, we live in the midst of a highly developed civilization, we experience its shortcomings, and we have entire freedom of expressing and exchanging our views and opinions. Thus, hampered in nothing but in our own shortcomings, may we not hope that America, which is the home of the free, may also become the home of the true? Let us at all events strive for it, for alone in this ardent struggle is contained the germ for future salvation."

AFTER writing the paragraph relating to Rev. Mr. Downs' public demeanor, printed on another page, we received a letter from a clergyman, from which the following is an extract: "Rev. Mr. Downs' pulpit service has already risen in the market in proportion apparently as his character is called in question. See the unctuous note from the secretary of the 'committee chosen to entertain the people here'; i.e., in Cottage City. The committee 'have the best interests of Cottage City at heart,' and so deeply that they 'are in quest of an able man to deliver a discourse' there. Nothing but ability could reach the case, the high case of 'the best interests of Cottage City'; and the discourse must be accordingly 'on the Sabbath day,'—not on a Sunday, that would sound too secular. But the committee immediately rises to a far higher plane, taking a seat on the very supreme bench of human judgment, if not a trifle higher. 'Knowing,' they say, not believing in or confident of, but 'knowing of your recent publicity, ability, and future acquittal (I), they will deem it an act of generosity on your part if,' etc. The subject of discourse the committee will not presume to prescribe, nor even to express its secret hope. It probably is sure enough about what it will be,—something not remote from Mr. Downs and his recent experiences. Nor do they limit the expense, as this is not customary 'when on a spree.' We simply 'should be glad to know your terms.' And they intimate that they can pay well; for 'we have secured one of the two large tabernacles here which will accommodate several thousand people, as the place of holding the services.' The committee further intimate to the clergyman thus invited to make a show of himself for staring thousands that this will be his last chance, as then the season ends. 'We think it only proper

to end up (*sic*) the festivities of the season with something substantial on the Lord's day.' And to this has the dignity of the pulpit of to-day come! Many cheeks will mantle with shame over it, and especially the honest and single-minded and decorous ministers of the gospel. Probably, if the real veridancy and vulgarity of the source of this letter could be known by them, it would take off some of the edge of the insult. But the fact that Mr. Downs himself could furnish such a letter for publication, as it would seem he must, would restore that edge, and more than restore it, at once."

MR. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, in the September number of the *North American Review*, after stating that the writers of the New Testament and Jesus "never once speak of the Christian disciple as a citizen and a law-maker," says: "If we hold Christianity to mean the rules of life contained in the Christian Scriptures, I do not see how Mr. George can find confirmation there for his doctrine above stated. Certainly, there is much in the New Testament to conflict with that doctrine. The writers of that book and Jesus never once speak of the Christian disciple as a citizen and law-maker. He is always addressed as a subject, and a subject bound to render obedience (except in matters of faith) to whatever the ruling power may require of him. Neither does Christianity (so defined) at all 'assert the natural rights of man.' On the contrary, it enjoins on the disciple submission and non-resistance, even when the ruling power is as oppressive as Nero and Tiberius were. The reason for this absence of inculcation of civil and political duties seems to have been that Jesus, and therefore the apostles, really expected a winding up of human affairs, and the establishment of new heavens and a new earth, within the lifetime of their own generation. But, whether this reason or some other induced the policy in question, the fact remains that the New Testament rule for Christians is non-resistance and patient submission to injury; and, this being so, the French and American Revolutions and our late war against rebellion and slavery were violations of that rule. People that write about Christianity rarely define the particular sense in which they use that word, and seem to assume that their readers will understand it as they do. But the popular conception of Christianity is a heterogeneous mixture, including sometimes more, sometimes less, of the following things: the teaching and example of Jesus and the apostles recorded in the New Testament; the teaching of Moses, the prophets, and the other writers recorded in the Old Testament; the doctrines of the creeds; the customs of the Churches. Since Christianity is so differently understood and interpreted by different people, he that writes about it would do well to state clearly his own view of its meaning and scope. I hold Christians to be those who, accepting Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies of Hebrew Scripture, acknowledge him, therefore, as Christ and Lord, and acknowledge the duty of conforming their lives to his precepts."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE DÆMON OF DARWIN. By the author of *Biogen*. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1885. pp. 64.

We have here a work prepared originally as a memorial address to be delivered from the Chair of Anatomy of the National Medical College at Washington, at the opening of the session, Oct. 2, 1882. The first part is devoted to the death and burial of Darwin, and contains an extract from Huxley's memorial address on the great naturalist, in which he is likened to Socrates. In part second, Darwin is represented in hades, the underworld, where, instructed by his Dæmon, he witnesses the many transformations of matter from chaos to worlds, from matter to man; and the transubstantiation of matter from the corporeal to the spiritual state, being the evolution of the human soul. This Dæmon is finally recognized as Socrates, who says: "Who else should greet thee here than he whose spirit guided thine earth-life through? Thou knew'st it not, but all men saw thy method was Socratic. Thy natal star was mine, that beamed upon thee in the Abbey Church. Thy Nemesis and I am one. 'Twas my familiar spirit speaking through the course of nature's evolution from the moner to the man, pointing the way of truth through mundane matter to the substance of soul, that clothes thy spirit in brightness. This, thy Dæmon, is the Love of Truth." Part third consists of a dialogue between

Socrates and Darwin in the overworld, testing the theory of the latter by the Socratic method. The main idea is that the process of evolution is unchecked by death; that the "spiritual body is evolved from the grosser states of matter which compose the earthly body, and thus fitted to survive." "No thau-maturgy this, the growth of soul," continues Socrates, "but natural law, which operates on matter to a defined result, yielding soul substance in the process: matter still, but altered in the aggregation of the atoms and their modes of motion, sensed by the rational soul in terms of thought. So doth thy new philosophy confirm the old. So mayst thou, from thy lofty station with the stars, disseminate thy fruitful spirit everywhere, that earth-born man, his feet the solid ground of nature treading, firmly may cross the threshold of the unseen world to view eternal verities." Although fanciful, this little work is thoughtful, suggestive, and interesting. B. F. U.

HISTORY OF THE ARGUMENTS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD. By Aaron Hahn, rabbi of the Tifereth Israel Congregation, Cleveland, Ohio. Cincinnati: The Block Publishing and Printing Co. 1885. pp. 205.

The aim of this work is to state the arguments which have been adduced in support of the theory of an intelligent Deity, author and governor of the universe. The unity of Nature "with regard to its origin," "its aims, plan, products, and means," "that sameness of the human mind that makes comparative psychology possible," and "the organism of history, as a whole," afford strong proof, Rabbi Hahn thinks, of the existence of a Supreme Being of infinite attributes and perfections. The work is by an earnest thinker and a devout theist; and, while it contributes no new thought or argument to the discussion of the subject, it shows the efforts that have been made to solve the problem of the universe by ascribing it to an intelligent Maker, and is a brief and comprehensive statement of the reasonings which theistic thinkers have employed. The style of the author is clear, and his spirit good. U.

A BUDDHIST CATECHISM ACCORDING TO THE CANON OF THE SOUTHERN CHURCH. By Henry S. Olcott, President of the Theosophical Society, etc. Edited, with Notes, by Elliott Coues. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1885. pp. 83.

Mr. Olcott's purpose is to give the facts in the life of Gnatama Buddha and the essential features of his doctrine as held by the Sinhalese Buddhists. It is, the author says, largely a compilation from the works of T. W. Rhys-Davids, Bishop Bigandet, Sir Coomara Swaney, R. C. Childers, and Revs. Samuel Beal and R. Spence Hardy. Its fidelity as an exposition of exoteric orthodox southern Buddhism is avouched by the certificate of the high priest, Sumangala, of Ceylon. Mr. Olcott says that seventeen thousand copies of the work in the Sinhalese language have been distributed throughout the schools and homes of Ceylon, and that a Burmese edition of fifteen thousand copies in the vernacular and in English are now going through the press.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By Rev. Joseph Miller, B.D. The Ninth Article, "Harmatology." London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. pp. 345.

This volume is a useful manual for those who desire to know what has been the historical development of the doctrine of sin. It lays no claim to originality, but keeps within the limits of a brief but orderly exposition of what has been thought on the subject, accompanied by criticisms. The work shows considerable philosophical acumen as well as theological lore.

THE August *Century* opens with a lively account, by Henry Eckford, of life at "Camp Grindstone," the summer meeting-place, for games and races, of the American Canoe Association, in the Thousand Islands. It is profusely illustrated by W. A. Rogers. Howells, in his picturesque series on Italian cities, writes of his walks through Siena, illustrated from Pennell's etchings and pen-and-ink sketches. A portrait of William Lloyd Garrison, engraved by T. Johnson from a life-size photograph in the possession of the Garrison family, is the frontispiece of the number. There is also an interesting group portrait of Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and George Thompson. His birthplace and other places of interest are shown in the pictures which accompany the text. His son, Wendell Phil-

lips Garrison, describes the origin of the great anti-slavery advocate; and his son, Francis Jackson Garrison, recounts his boyhood. These papers are introduced by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who characterizes the agitation which preceded the Civil War, and gives his views of Garrison's personal qualities. The fiction of the number embraces "A Story with a Hero," by James T. McKay, the concluding part of "Silas Lapham," by W. D. Howells, and the seventh part of "The Bostonians," by Henry James. A paper "On Hotel-keeping, Present and Future," is contributed by George Iles. Of a timely nature also is Henry King's suggestive paper (with map), on "The Indian Territory,—What it is, and What it should be." The August contribution to the *Century* War Series contains papers by Gen. Fitz John Porter on Malvern Hill, "The Last of the Seven Days' Battles," and another chapter from the "Recollections of a Private," both being illustrated.

THE September number of the *Popular Science Monthly* opens with an able and elaborate discussion on "The Relations of Railway Managers and Employés." The paper is very important. Dr. W. G. Thompson considers "The Present Aspect of Medical Education," and gives much information upon the subject. The "Insect Fertilization of Flowers" is a beautifully illustrated article by the German botanist Behrens, and is full of nice points on this curious topic. Prof. E. D. Cope treats of the "Origin of Man and the Other Vertebrates." Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi concludes her essay, "An Experiment in Primary Education," in the present number. It is a practice with her own child, and is full of originality. "The Fauna of the Sea-shore," by Moseley; Dr. Brehm's "Siberia and the Exiles"; "How Spelling damages the Mind," by F. A. Fernald,—are readable articles; while that by Prof. Langley, on "Sunlight and the Earth's Atmosphere," is a brilliant and striking performance. Dr. Ray Lankester makes report on "The Recent Progress in Biology," J. G. Frazer expounds "The Primitive Ghost and his Relations," and Mascart contributes a most interesting article on "The Physiology of Colors." "Science versus Immorality," by the editor, is most timely and suggestive. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE July number of the *Revue de Belgique* shows how much good will be done, not only in encouraging commerce, but in checking war and slavery, by the formation of the free state of Congo. There are also some important facts about Egypt, and some curious speculations on the condition of men after death. The able argument in favor of confining the study of Greek and Latin to a late period in education meets the plea that we cannot understand our own language, if we know nothing of its forerunners and parents, by reminding us that the Greeks wrote better than has been done since, but without even being aware how much they owed to Sanskrit. The author says he once asked a classical scholar, who boasted of being enabled by his knowledge of Greek and Latin to understand any new word, what was to be understood by the news of the recent discovery of a "hexastyle péripète." The linguist answered that classic etymology showed that this term meant an insect with wings large enough to form a complete covering, and a sting divided into six parts. "Your explanation is extremely learned," was the reply, "and I cannot but be provoked at the 'hexastyle péripète'; for it is not the insect it ought to be, but a temple of Jupiter, called so because it has six columns in each of the encompassing aisles."

IN the *North American Review* for September, "Grant's Memorial: What shall it be?" is discussed by Launt Thompson, Karl Gerhardt, O. L. Warner, and Wilson McDonald, sculptors; W. H. Beard, painter; Calvert Vaux and Henry Van Brunt, architects; and Clarence Cook, art critic. The same number of the *Review* contains a consideration of the question, "Shall our National Banking System be Abolished?" by George S. Boutwell, F. J. Scott, S. Dana Horton, and Edward H. G. Clark. "Ouida" contributes a spicy essay on "The Tendencies of English Fiction," and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps writes on "The Great Psychological Opportunity." A very readable article is ex-Sergeant-at-Arms French's "Reminiscences of Famous Americans," which is a series of delightful anecdotes about the famous war senators. The comments are, as usual, interesting.

IN the *Atlantic* for September, Henry James begins a new story, "The Princess Casamassima." Mrs. Oliphant's new serial is interesting just now, and Mr. Warner and Dr. Holmes give entertaining instalments of "On Horseback" and "The New Portfolio." Mr. Howells has a notice of Leopardi, and Mr. Scudder a paper on "Childhood in English Literature and Art." There is an article on the "Greek question" in colleges, by William Cranston Lawton; and, under the title of "A Diplomatic Episode," Rev. S. J. Barrows narrates the attempted seizure of the island of Alto Velo by the United States government. "Mondamin," by Edith M. Thomas, "Mining for a Mastodon," and a careful consideration of "The Poetic Element in the Mediæval Drama," poems and reviews, complete the number. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

FAME usually comes to those who are thinking about something else,—very rarely to those who say to themselves, "Go to, now, let us be a celebrated individual!"—O. W. Holmes.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

COL. WRIGHT's investigations in regard to Sunday labor do not sustain the statement so often made by the clergy and the religious press, that the tendency of the times is to convert Sunday into a day of labor, similar to the other days of the week. They show rather that Sunday in this country has gradually been changed from a day of "rest" to a day of recreation. A certain amount of personal service, such as is necessary to run the cars and steamboats, is of course required to enable those who work in shop and factory to go to the seashore or into the country; but mere toil for wealth is no more common now on Sundays than in former years. The clergy had better try to reconcile themselves to the present situation than to continue their wholesale denunciations of Sunday recreation.

The editor of *Problems of Nature* says: "When all men have red hair, they will be wise enough to accept her [woman's] counsel, and save their fortunes and escape their miseries. She is constructed for this work in a great part, and is prevented a complete success by the men whose heads are covered with black hair. Take out of a legislature the black-haired members, and a bill for woman's suffrage will pass unanimously." The friends of woman suffrage will please take notice, and govern themselves accordingly. Meanwhile, let all men with black and brown hair, and all whose hair is of "the color of sand," bemoan their misfortunes, and let all red-headed men and women rejoice; for they are all natural-born philosophers, and constitute the intellectual aristocracy of the human race. It is safe to say that the discoverer and philosopher from whom we have quoted above is a man "whose hair is red," but it is doubtful whether "his head is level."

Referring to the fact that Mr. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and Gen. Booth of the Salvation

Army have been indicted as co-conspirators with Mrs. Jarrett, in attempting to prostitute the child Eliza Armstrong, the Springfield *Republican* says: "This is but the beginning of a bitter attempt to ruin the standing and reputation of every man engaged in the late disclosures. The good Mr. Stead's course has wrought is written in the criminal amendment bill, but there is every indication that he is to be damned socially in England. He struck at a class, and nothing but the support of other grades of society lower down can hold him and his paper in their places. By including Mr. Stead in the pending prosecutions, a new element is added to this doleful business, the echo of which will be heard in the November elections."

A MONTREAL correspondent of *The Week* writes: "The Roman Catholic priests regard small-pox as a punishment for spiritual offences, against which material means of protection would be wrong,—nay, impious. They do not openly oppose vaccination, but they do not use their vast power to promote it. Consequently, the epidemic has slain but few victims outside their fold. Of these, the great majority have been infants and young children, that, duly baptized, have without doubt passed to celestial bliss. And among a fecund race, with whom poverty is the rule, grief at the death of offspring soon passes into resignation. . . . How sincerely the small-pox epidemic is regarded by the Roman Catholic Church as a scourge not to be fought by carnal weapons is clear from the bishop's order that prayers be offered to St. Roch, the saint who is believed to be specially charged with the relief of epidemics."

THE poet Whittier, who is two years older than Oliver Wendell Holmes, wrote the latter on his seventy-sixth birthday, which occurred August 29, as follows: "My father used to tell of a poor innocent in his neighborhood, who, whenever he met him, would fall to laughing, crying, and dancing. 'I can't help it, I can't help it: I am so glad you and I are alive'; and I, like the poor fellow, can't help telling thee that I am glad thee and I are alive, glad that thy hand has lost nothing of its cunning and thy pen is still busy. And I say to thee, in the words of Solomon of old, 'Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth.' But don't exult over thy seniors who have not found the elixir of life, and are growing old and past their usefulness. I have just got back from the hills and am tired, and a pile of unanswered letters are before me this morning. So I can only say, God bless thee!"

THE massacre of Chinese miners in Wyoming ought to make the face of every American tingle with indignation and shame. What had those Chinese done, that their settlement should be attacked, their houses burned, twenty of their number murdered, and the rest of the community turned out homeless and shelterless? What should we say if an American community in China were thus treated? We have no words of justification for the corporations or contractors who are attempting to supplant American labor in mines by Chinese, and thus bringing the races in antagonism; but

their course furnishes no excuse for the white miners' cruelty and brutality, which must be regarded as a manifestation of that accumulated and ingrained barbarism of centuries which in America as well as in China breaks through the thin coating of civilization that ordinarily conceals it, whenever the passions are aroused, and the mob spirit takes control of a crowd of men.

THE *Golden Gate*, a Spiritualist journal published in San Francisco, observes: "There is a large class of thinkers outside the churches—students, if you please, in the many marvellous manifestations of mind and spirit—who do not wish to be considered or known as Spiritualists. There is so much that goes under the name of Spiritualism that they do not indorse—so much that, to their minds, is unphilosophical, and even downright mischievous—that they keep themselves aloof from everything that bears the popular brand of Spiritualism." This is doubtless true. "And yet," adds the *Golden Gate*, "Spiritualism needs just that class of persons to give to it the breadth that properly belongs to the name. It is surely a good, honest word, comprehensive and catholic. It is broad enough to take in the moral, spiritual, and intellectual nature of man,—yea, all things relating to the here and the hereafter. It is a clean word, and no one has a right to attach to it aught of meaning save that of the highest and purest import."

A MONTREAL correspondent writes: "The religious faith in a persuadable Providence, whose punishments for sin are disease and death, has had some striking illustrations in this city lately. Small-pox has prevailed in an epidemic form among our French-Canadian population. Every grand mass for the appeasement of Heaven has been followed by an increase of cases of disease, due plainly to the crowding together of thousands of worshippers, among whom one or two infected persons had come. Heaven has perhaps been less offended at the petty sins, in a religious sense, of these simple people, than at their neglect of sound drainage, of vaccination, of scavenging, and of the isolation of patients. Now that the epidemic has seriously injured business interests, the English-speaking citizens who chiefly control these interests are aroused to vigorous sanitary measures, and the small-pox is fast diminishing in force. The prayers of the despairing devotee are answered in the form of vaccine lymph, burly guardians of infected premises, good, big, covered carts for the prompt removal of refuse, and a universal looking to drains. If cholera visits America, Montreal will not invite it; and the small-pox may not prove too costly, after all." Since the above was written, the papers report a slight increase in the number of deaths; but, through the influence of physicians and leading citizens, Bishop Fabre has directed the priests of the city to advise the members of their congregations to get vaccinated, and not to attend church if any of their families have the disease. This, it is believed, will have a marked effect on the minds of the French Catholics who have resisted vaccination, and among whom ninety per cent. of the deaths have occurred.

ECCLESIASTICAL EVOLUTION.

Slight straws may show which way the wind is blowing in theological as well as in other matters. It is not merely the character of the new *Andover Review*, nor the prosperity of such a paper as the *Christian Union*, nor the progressive theology of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that testify to the fact that Orthodoxy is gradually changing its base. The new and more liberal theology seems, indeed, to be in the atmosphere, and to be absorbed thence by people who seldom read what scholarly men are writing, and who never even heard of the *Britannica* nor of the *Andover Review*. People all over the country have been reading the crude reports by telegraph in the Monday newspapers of Henry Ward Beecher's sermons on Evolution as representing the true method of the world's creation and history, and yet apparently have received no shock therefrom. The doctrine of the sermons themselves, compared with the old Calvinism, is really revolutionary; and yet so largely has Calvinism been undermined in the popular thought that nobody, except a few fossilized Presbyterians, seems to suppose that anything extraordinary is happening in the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. What is happening there is, in truth, only a somewhat more conspicuous illustration of what is going on pretty generally in orthodox Christendom. The old religious foundations are breaking up. The churches do not adhere with the old strictness to the theological creeds which were once regarded as their sole bulwarks.

Certain indications of this change—small in themselves, but enough to show the direction in which things are moving—have come under our notice in the vacation season just finished, which we have spent mostly in New Hampshire. The Unitarians have been for several years claiming that New Hampshire presents a good field for a liberal missionary work. They have themselves, with no great effort, planted in recent years some new churches there, and taken under their auspices one or two old ones transformed from Orthodoxy. For some reason, not easy perhaps to understand, the soil of the popular mind in that State seems to be prepared for the seed of a more rational religion, and is already spontaneously producing new religious growths. Perhaps it is because the people there, in the sparsely settled country towns, though not reading much of the new theological literature, have been wont to think for themselves. Perhaps the old defection from Calvinism, under the lead of the Free-will Baptist denomination, which has been exceptionally strong in this State, has brought about the present condition of things.

But, whatever be the cause, the claim made by the Unitarians that New Hampshire offers good ground for liberal religious missionary work seems not to be without reason. Their own work in the State is on a liberal basis, looking not merely to denominational ends. Their "Grove Meeting" this year at Weirs (which we by invitation attended and addressed, as we have once before) was, in some of its features, a good specimen of a Free Religious Convention. Mr. Applebee, of the Parker Memorial Society, was the preacher on the first Sunday, both forenoon and afternoon, and was a special favorite with the large audiences that heard him. Rabbi Wise, of Cincinnati, was on the programme, and was expected to give one of the sermons, though for some reason he failed to put in an appearance. At another session, Parker Pillsbury as one of the invited speakers made the principal address; and it was of a character—so we were informed—which would have made it a very acceptable utterance at the Albany Free Thinkers' Convention. The principal speaker

on the last Sunday was M. J. Savage, who is as much at home on the Free Religious platform as at a Unitarian meeting. Other speakers were mostly Unitarians of various shades of belief, though we should not forget the remarks and singing by representatives from the Canterbury Shaker community. Such was the breadth and freedom of this Unitarian gathering, which is attended not only by Unitarians, who go there for the meetings as a whole, but by large numbers of people on Sundays particularly, of various persuasions, from the towns in the vicinity.

Another straw showing how the authority of the old creeds is falling was visible in the little town of Jackson. This town has a location of exceptional beauty, even in a region where beauty is lavished on all sides with a generous hand. It is situated just within the gateway of the high mountain ranges which Mt. Washington crowns. It is justly drawing more and more visitors each year. The whole town has but one small church, which is called a union church, though the prevailing belief among the regular inhabitants is that of the Free-will Baptists; and the settled pastor is of that denomination. The understanding is that the pulpit is to be free to any denomination, the adjective "Christian," probably, being tacitly implied; and, in the summer season, this freedom is practically illustrated by ministers of different creeds being invited to occupy the pulpit from among the guests who are enjoying the pure air and restful scenery of the town. A "union church" (though not always) is apt to be confined to representatives of evangelical societies, but the pulpit of the Jackson church has been as freely open to Unitarian and Universalist as to Orthodox ministers. The settled preacher keeps a sharp look-out at the hotels, and, if he lights upon a clergyman, has him, if possible, in his pulpit the next Sunday. It so happened that, while the senior editor of *The Index* was recently rusticated in this charming mountain town, it got noised abroad somewhat that he was also pastor of a church; and anon came the Baptist minister with a cordial invitation to him to conduct the services in his church. Of course, neither the Baptist nor his flock had ever heard much, if anything, of the Free Religious Association, and were utterly innocent of any knowledge of the "Year-book" controversy, and of debates over the constitution of the National Unitarian Conference. Yet not wishing to receive countenance under the mask of a Unitarian, and possibly thereby involving the good minister in trouble, and not being quite ready, too, to give up the freedom of a Sunday on the mountain-side, we handed him several copies of *The Index*, and asked him particularly to note our "creed," as published in one of the numbers several months ago. If he should still wish us to speak in his church after thus learning our position, we answered that we would do so, but that we should count it no discourtesy if, after a better understanding of things, he should conclude that the freedom of his pulpit did not signify the admission of one who does not even call himself a Christian. He sent word in due time that the invitation still held, and that he had announced its acceptance at his service the preceding day. So the freedom of the Sunday for us had to be sacrificed to the freedom of this Free-will Baptist union pulpit. In a subsequent conversation, this minister said that, though he had his own views, agreeing mainly with those of his denomination, yet he believed in the largest fellowship, and was ready to work with any persons who wanted to work for the prevalence of right. No friction or trouble, he said, arises in his church from working on this plan.

Considering these and kindred evidences of

progress, of a progress going on silently in pews as well as more demonstratively in pulpits and religious newspapers and reviews, is it too much to hope that the Churches of Christendom, at least of Protestant Christendom, may yet be emancipated from the thralldom of a superstitious theology, and that their immense power may be put to use for the instruction of people in a rational philosophy of religion and in a genuine practical uplifting and ennobling of their lives? The possible good which Churches thus emancipated might do is of infinite scope. They would be in a condition to organize the highest thought and the most heroic sentiment and purpose, so as to bring them to bear directly upon the moral, mental, and physical well-being of humanity. There is, of course, a great deal of superstitious theology remaining. Creeds that have survived for centuries do not fall in a day. And evidence may be found, without searching far, that even Calvinism is not yet dead. But the people, generally, are not hearing it from the pulpit, as once they did; and, to the rising generation, it is fast becoming an obsolete system of thought. Science, common sense, general enlightenment, and a finer sentiment of justice and humanity are winning the day.

WM. J. POTTER.

SILAS LAPHAM vs. "SOCIETY."

The story of the rise of Silas Lapham has ended. It is to be hoped, for the peace of mind of the select few who constitute the "Corey set," that the lesson it inculcates will be taken to heart by the Silas Laphams of this country. Their manhood is best served by remaining in Nankeen Square, and not seeking to enter the "Corey set" or to build artistic houses on the Back Bay. For from such ill-placed ambitions came the Laphams' misfortunes,—their daughters' heartaches over their aristocratic lover, Mrs. Lapham's domestic and social perplexities, and Mr. Lapham's failure, which even Providence decreed: poetic justice demands that the sacred precincts of the Back Bay should not be polluted by their presence, and the artistic house burns down.

In the face of all these ill-judged ambitions and overwhelming disadvantages, Mr. and Mrs. Lapham are, after all, the only interesting characters of the story; for the subtleties and "faint, ineffectual sketches" of the "Corey set" reveal but partial glimpses of the real human beings beneath.

Novelists are endeavoring to convince the public that classes only are interesting,—the upper classes, the middle classes, the lower or poorer classes. Humanity so subdivided is held up for subtle analysis, and the "impassable differentiations" contrasted. Such novels are curious and entertaining for the moment, but it is a useless task to banish human nature and substitute conventionalities. People long to read and to know about their kind. They seek for the hands which will clasp theirs in happiness or grief, they listen for the cry of agony or joy which is common to all. These are the reasons why "Si" and "Persis" and Penelope, even Mrs. Millon and Zerilla, are the ones on whom the attention centres.

Society etiquette is not really entertaining, even when necessary; and there are few who "have the difference in their favor" who care to acknowledge that "it is certain that their manners and customs go for more in life than their qualities." If this maxim is accepted as the summing up of modern civilization, then Mr. Howells has struck a keynote in "Silas Lapham."

Many will think that, if it is necessary to drop originality and quality out of their "set," it may be more desirable to drop the "set"; for the absence

of these qualities among people throws a neutral tint over society, and is perhaps the secret of its monotony in all large cities,—this struggle for a dead level, the absence of most of the truly great and eminent figures of the country, the redrawing of the best class of men from the drawing-rooms of the period, and the ill-concealed impatience of most brilliant women at the arbitrary commonplace of the world, in which most of them must perform remain.

It requires no great degree of refinement or character to learn to use wine with discretion, to know when to leave off or to put on gloves; but great qualities of heart and firmness of principle are necessary to the refusal of the Englishmen's and New Yorker's offers. The Bromfield Coreys are becoming familiar figures in that circle of self-elected dulness. The Silas Laphams are not without their value, even in Boston; and Silas' after-dinner tale, taken from his personal experience, was extremely interesting to the gentlemen of the distinguished party of which he was so proud to be a member.

It is a great relief to have the Laphams return to Vermont, and give up the struggle for social distinction; though, surely, it was carried on in a most simple and straightforward manner. Perhaps their entire lack of the necessary push and impudence may have had something to do with their failure: these qualities have occasionally secured a brilliant success to rising men.

It is hard to forgive Penelope her self-abasement before her husband's family. She held up her head so bravely until the last, that it is trying to have her vanish while crying, "Mea culpa."

Thirty years ago, this story of Silas Lapham would not have been comprehended in New England; but now every one enters thoroughly into its spirit. This fact is an acknowledgment that society is at least divided into the upper class, the middle class, the poor class, and a few snobs.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN.

"IF A MAN DIE, SHALL HE LIVE AGAIN?"

The author of the Book of Job, drawing his analogies from a scant knowledge of nature, answered, No. Macaulay said that Emirs in their tents on the sands of Idomea, before arts or letters were born in Ionia, were debating this high question with skill and eloquence and ignorance not surpassed by the *savants* of modern Europe. "There are departments of knowledge," he says, "in which the law of the human mind is progress. With religion, it is not so."

Macaulay's words were a night-cry of despair. They were born out of the heart of the times. No one can fail to see the growth of agnosticism. Many a pulpit, by its silence on the question of an after-life, avows itself agnostic. The couplet of Lowell voices the prevailing thought:—

"And when we hear the fatal 'He is dead,'
So far as flesh has knowledge, all is said."

On this desert air of doubt is projected many an alluring mirage. Is it all mirage?

I approach this subject with misgivings. Huxley once said to me that spiritism was so repulsive to him that he felt not the least interest in the phenomena. It is with a feeling akin to this that I approach a subject which, years ago, I had put on the shelf. I like not the credentials, moral and intellectual, of the spirits: they gabble, they cheat, they lie. Parker has written, through the hand of an obscure woman, a volume of drivel which he calls *Marigolds by the Wayside*. Faraday is explaining the aurora as "shimmer on the wings of animalculæ." Franklin is tapping out dreary nonsense on a rickety old table. Newton thumps out ghostly addenda to the *Principia*. Webster is just

now teaching an Indian ghost in Central New York how to materialize a feather. Galen is whispering in the ear of Andrew Jackson Davis, "Thou shalt forswear thyself, and break the heart of the wife thou hast sworn to cherish."

In my own person, I had cause to put all ghostly matters on the shelf. Some years ago, I was induced to see a materializing medium, in a village on the shore of Lake Ontario. The lady's character for integrity was well attested. She, an amateur astronomer, and myself were the only "visible" persons in the dimly lighted room. I could see no possibility for the concealment or the ingress of confederates. The psychic went into a clothes-press, and passed into mesmeric slumber. Forms purporting to be spirits appeared at the door of the press. A child came, then a man, a woman, then a man whom I recognized. He was an artist living in New York. He was dressed in the most fastidious style, and held in his hand a handkerchief of saintly white. "Claude," I said. "Yes," answered the ghost, in a low whisper. "I am glad you recognize me. I—can't—speak—much. I—can't—hold myself—to-gether—any longer." Then came an Indian woman out in the full light. "Sanky," said my friend, the astronomer. "Yes, brave," said the ghost, in ringing tones; "and that other brave, I want to talk to him." I moved up to the woman, and touched her shawl, her hair, her hand. I planted my eyes full in her face. Her eyes began to swim and melt: her whole form melted away, and where had stood a woman was nothing but empty air.

But Claude. "You know that man?" said my friend, who had some experience with the medium. "Yes," I answered. "If I had seen that face in New York, I would have known it very well; but the puzzle is that Claude is living, and in good health." "If you are sure of the recognition," he answered, "I am sure you will find that he is dead." I wrote to Claude at once, making no allusion to what had happened, and requested an immediate answer. Time passed, but no answer came. I wrote again, but had no response. The matter was getting serious. I brooded over it, and began a magazine article, in which the ghost of Claude bore a conspicuous place. Six weeks had passed; and my article, which I regarded with deep affection, was ready for the press. Returning home one day from a lecture tour, my wife handed me a bundle of letters, and said, "One of these, I think, is from our friend Claude." "I hope not," I said, in a panic of dread. I took the letter, still hoping there might be some mistake. I read it, and my hope was slain. Claude had been absent from the city, but he was still present in the flesh. Under the sting of disappointment, I wrote to him a letter, which I reconstruct from memory:—

My dear Claude,—Six weeks ago, I lost an afternoon in a little village on the shore of Lake Ontario. My hostess entertained me by going to sleep in a clothes-press. I am quite sure that she slept alone; but a little while after the mesmeric slumber began there stood in the door yourself, Claude. I would have known you, if in no other way, by the peculiar twirl you gave to your moustache. You told me that you had passed to the "Summer Land." As the days passed, I expected to hear again of your translation. I had doubted the report of my senses; but, as the weeks passed, and I could hear nothing from you, I came to believe what you had told me at the door of the clothes-press. I had evolved a theory, and was about to publish an article which would startle the whole world of science and theology. As an astronomer brooding over a great discovery, so was I. As the astronomer whose fact in the heaven is found to be only dust on his lens, so at this hour am I. O Claude, Claude! your letter has slain me. Do not think me unkind. You know that I love you, but in all my list of friends there is not one whose death would have given me so much pleasure as yours.

My manuscript never saw the light. But, seriously, what are we to think? Were my senses under a spell? That is the most obvious solution, but will it stand? One day, at the suggestion of William Howitt, I called in the heart of London at the house of Miss Marshall, a noted psychic. I called unknown and unannounced. In a scantily furnished and darkened room, the lady, her little brother, and myself sat at a table. A voice, which seemed to form itself out of the air above me, spoke in a loud and harsh tone, calling me by name, and speaking the names of cherished friends who had passed through death. He or it—whatever you will—called itself John King, and claimed to hail from Ohio. Was I under an hallucination, or was Miss Marshall a trickster? Perhaps an answer may be found in the investigation which followed. It was conducted by Prof. Crookes, one of the first chemists in Europe. He made it a condition of the investigation that Miss Marshall should become an inmate of his house. He reports that, when the woman would pass into a mesmeric sleep in a dimly lighted room, two forms would appear, calling themselves John and Katy King. Here was my "Ohio man" again! Crookes directed his investigation first on the assumption that these Ohio people were confederates of Miss Marshall, who had concealed themselves somewhere in his house. The investigation proved a negative. His report shows that his precautions to settle this question were ample, and that the assumption of confederates was utterly untenable. With this factor eliminated from the problem there remained another before the x —the unknown,—the John and Katy, could be determined. He worked now on the assumption that John and Katy were no other than Miss Marshall herself, who, in some way unknown to him, would disguise herself and leave the cabinet. He applied the test of science. Miss Marshall, sitting in the cabinet, has the advantage of darkness; but he will know what she does there. He will know better even than his eyes could tell him. He attached an electrical apparatus to a wall of the room: from this, he passed two wires through the door of the cabinet, and asked the lady to take her seat. When seated, she took the end of each wire, one in the right hand and the other in the left. The electric current was now complete, and the finger on the index of the apparatus indicated the resistance interposed to the current by her body. The door was closed. Let Miss Marshall do now what she will, the finger on the index will publish her. She cannot leave her seat without breaking the current; and, if the current breaks, the finger sweeps at one bound the full face of the dial. There were present at the experiment Varley, the eminent electrician, Lord Houghton, and others, men of science and men of letters. A little while after the cabinet door was closed, out came the form which called itself Katy King. It stood, and was photographed. All eyes were directed alternately to Katy and the dial: the finger did not move. Miss Marshall had not stirred. Whether the x of the equation was resolved or not, it was certainly not Miss Marshall. The scientific world has accepted from Prof. Crookes the demonstration of a fourth condition of matter,—the ultra gaseous,—on evidence not so strong as the evidence that Katy King was not a natural woman, and yet was a reality sufficiently tangible to reflect light.

Take another fact, of different character. The son of an eminent English author went to Australia as an engineer. He was engaged at once on a work which led him into the interior. On leaving Melbourne, he wrote to his parents that he would not be within reach of postal service for some time, and they must not be disappointed if they did not hear from him again for many weeks.

One evening, not long after the receipt of this letter, while the family was sitting round the open grate, a daughter passed into the mesmeric state, and wrote a letter signed with the name of her brother in Australia. The letter gave an account of the accident by which a few days before he had lost his life. He had tried to sail across a lake, the boat had capsized, and he and all his men except one were drowned. The date of the accident was given, and the name of the man who had saved himself by swimming. This was written at a time when there was no steam communication with Australia; and more than two months must pass before the family could hear of the accident, if accident there had been, through natural channels. The time passed, and there came a letter from the cousin of the engineer. He wrote that a report had reached the city that an engineer and his party had been drowned in a certain lake in the interior. He had gone to the scene of the accident, and had found a man, the only man of the party who had reached the shore. He gave the date and manner of the accident and name of the survivor. Date, manner, name, each answered to that given in the letter which purported to come from the drowned man less than a week after death. I give this remarkable story at no second hand. I had it from the lips of the father and mother.

Take another fact, representing still another phase. Dr. Phelps was a clergyman of ability and high character. Month after month, his house in a Connecticut village seemed to be the very bedlam of tricksters and demons. Stones were thrown through the windows till almost every pane was broken. The contents of bureaus were mysteriously abstracted, and strewn over the floor. Books, plates, shells, would flit through the air before the eyes of the family, as if thrown by invisible hands. Mysterious writing would appear on the wall; and letters, bearing the signature of "Beelzebub," would be dropped on the doctor's knees or table. The clothes were torn again and again from the body of a little son. Footsteps and mysterious poundings were often heard at night. Once, a sheet was seen moving through a room, as if it enfolded a man. The doctor seized the sheet, but there was no man within. The persecution forced the family at last to leave their house. The good doctor and his family were reluctant witnesses to the truth of what I have described, and much more of trickery and malice by agents which they could not detect as fleshly.

These facts cover the range of phenomena which are a standing challenge to science. Unless history is a fog-mist, such things have occurred from the earliest recorded time. It matters not that a thousand tricksters have been detected and exposed. It matters not that a Katy King, bony and fat, was caught at her trick in Philadelphia. There is the experiment of Crookes! Are we to sponge out page after page of history, and remand Wesley and Wallace and De Morgan to the category of dupes, because a transparent fraud is detected at a dark "circle" in Boston? Eliminate the fraud, and there remains a substantial stratum of fact. Suppose the facts are repulsive to Huxley, to you, and to me. So is a tumble-bug repulsive, but the entomologist cannot deny it or ignore it.

I assume that science has shown that mind and matter are two faces of one fact. There can be no manifestation of mind except through matter. Let this be conceded. What then? Newton saw that the universe, revealed to the senses of man, cannot be explained except as we hypothecate another universe infinitely attenuated, and not revealed to the senses. Science has pushed her investigations into that realm of cosmic ether, and

she has already shown that within the ether which bears the pulses of the sun to us in light and heat is a finer ether. With our senses, we touch only the fringe of this great material universe.

To-day, science stands as to man where she stood in Newton's day as to the universe of suns and planets. She cannot interpret man without assuming in man a something which neither scalpel nor scales can reveal. Paul may have had his foot on the granite of science, when he said that there is a spiritual body; that is, a body of other material than this. Smite the granite ledge with dynamite, and blow it into atomies. There remains in the place where it was the all-pervasive ether, undisturbed. Smite the human body with death, and still there may remain the subtler body which pervaded and informed it. The assumption is as fully warranted as Newton's assumption of the all-pervasive ether. Grant it, and the pages of history become luminous. Influx from a world of men, invisible, but not the less material, would be held, not as an impossibility, but merely as a matter for proof.

Within the whole range of attested phenomena, there is nothing which science must rule out as an infraction of law. Rapping on a table? You speak to me from the distance of a thousand miles, and your message comes in electric taps. Katy King? coming never out of light, but always from a darkened chamber? I can imagine Katy meeting the scepticism of Crookes in words something like these: You doubt me, because I do not come to you from the light, and because, having come out of darkness, I cannot abide in the full light. Now, you are a chemist. You have pushed your discoveries into a realm of matter far more attenuated than gas. You work on molecules; and you often find that you cannot make your molecules cohere, unless you put them together in the dark. You cannot form sulphurous vapor in the light. You know that light is simply agitation of ether, and darkness is quiescence of ether; and you know that molecules are so minute and their coherence is often so slight that a pulse of ether—that is, a wave of light—is as a little hammer to clip them asunder. You must have darkness in your laboratory: I must have darkness in mine. I reveal to your eyes not my true self, but only a temporary investment of myself. I take certain molecules from the aura of the psychic or the psychic herself, and build them into an investing body. Turn the light in on my laboratory, and each wave is a little hammer to clip my molecules asunder. The law here is sister to the law there.

I have taken you on your own ground, and of course I have convinced you. To those who yield to authority rather than to science I would say that Swedenborg, in his *Adversaria* (a work which some daughter or son of earth should put into English),—Swedenborg says that in the atmospheres are molecules which spirits can build into investing bodies, and thus show themselves to eyes of flesh.

But what are we to say to the ghostly Claude? to the imbecile Faraday? to the puerile Webster? to the wicked Galen? to the demoniac hordes which infested the house of Dr. Phelps? When Sheridan was pulled up drunk from a London gutter, the policeman asked his name; and he answered, "Wilberforce." If I detect an ignorant spook in sham science, and he tells me he is Faraday, I cannot chastise the spook, but I can let him alone. I let them alone, one and all. Influx from that realm of being into this has been the inspiration of all false religions. Spiritism was the root of Judaism. The Hebrew prophets were "Nabi"; that is, seers,—see-ers, clairvoyants. One of these Nabi, Micaiah, the son of Imla, said to the kings of Israel and Judah: "I saw the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the

host of heaven standing on his right hand, and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall entice Ahab, king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? . . . Then there came out a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will entice him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go out, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, . . . Go out, and do even so." Has Brother Moody ever read the eighteenth chapter of Second Chronicles? If the son of Imla did see a conclave of wicked spirits in conspiracy against men, the darkest demon of them all he mistook for a god, and called him Javeh. This Javeh was discerned by the early Jews, just as other spirits were discerned. He was announced; and his will was published by the Nabi, the "psychics," or "mediums."

As Ahab and Jehoshaphat, contemplating a war, sought the advice of their Javeh through four hundred prophets, so the Greeks going to war sought the will of their Apollo through one prophetess at Delphi.

The oracles, both Jew and Greek, are dumb. So mote it be with all oracles! We have had enough. Rest, thou perturbed ghosts!

W. D. GUNNING.

CHRISTIANITY AND REFORM.

If I were in doubt whether to vote the Republican or Democratic ticket, I should pay much less attention to Jackson's way of appointing officials than to Cleveland's, and I should not be satisfied with finding one or two members of either party to agree with me about the tariff. I should want to know what views on these and other subjects rule the party as it is, and which party is most likely to carry out the needed reforms. It would be as absurd for me to attack the Baptists on account of what took place at Münster three hundred and fifty years ago as to join them because Roger Williams maintained that forced worship stinks in God's nostrils. To make a fair comparison of Moslemism with Christianity, it is not enough to quote characteristic sayings of Mohammed and Jesus, and exceptionally advanced utterances of their adherents. We should consider what each religion is doing and teaching to-day, and how much it is likely to help or hinder the world's progress. So, when we ask if Christianity is really the best system of thought, we ought to consider not merely what it was eighteen centuries ago, or what it has been made by a few of its most enlightened advocates, but what it actually is to-day for the great body of believers of every sect. We have no more right to rule out the Roman Catholics or Presbyterians than the Unitarians. No one individual has a right to speak for all Christendom, or say, I believe thus, and you have no right to talk as if Christianity was any different from my own view.

To speak justly of all the teachings of Christianity would require many volumes. There is room here to mention only one of the best known and most important. Jesus taught, and all Christians believe, that this earth is under the perfectly good and wise rule of the heavenly Father, who orders all things for our good, and gives us the best preparation for heaven. Similar views may be found elsewhere, and are known to have been taught by Cleanthes long before the birth of Jesus. Still, the Greeks and Romans in general, like the Jews, Hindus, and Moslems, believed in deities of such bad character that their rule could not be conducive to holiness. We ought to rebel against such rulers as are said to have murdered Hippolytus on account of his virtue, to have commanded wholesale massacres of women

and children, to have made robbery and murder a religion in Thuggism, and to have peopled Paradise with houris. Buddhism, which otherwise strongly resembles Christianity, is decidedly pessimistic in comparison. Dark ideas of earthly life formerly prevailed among Christians, but were mitigated by faith that this was the necessary preparation for eternal happiness. Christendom has always delighted to repeat such texts as, "All things work together for good to them that love God," "All things are yours," "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," "The living God who giveth us richly all things to enjoy," etc. The hymns in all the churches repeat the popular belief that whatever God does is right, and that things in general are as they ought to be. Public worship consists largely in praising those natural conditions under which we live. Even those who discard the Christian name retain much of the Christian optimism. Those who expect no heaven hereafter think they can find one ready for them here. No part of the teaching of Christianity has a more deep and universal influence than this idea, that nature is essentially what God wishes it to be, and that he will, in due time, bring about all important changes needed on this earth.

Pleasant as this view is, it may easily be carried too far. Paul pushed his optimism into a dangerous error, when he taught his converts to be subject unto Nero, because "the powers that be are ordained of God." Just this doctrine is held by some Christian philosophers in America; and the Russian priest still preaches passive obedience, as nearly all the clergy did two hundred years ago. The precept, "Be content with such things as ye have," is precisely what should not be taught to tramps, or to poor people generally. No one now takes literally the command of Jesus, recorded in two Gospels: "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. . . . But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Yet memory of these and similar precepts restrains many a preacher from saying as much as he should to his hearers about the duty of improving their condition as fast as possible. Paul's contented view of slavery had a very bad effect in this country. And here, as well as in England, the religion of the working class makes them altogether too ready to take things as they are. We are all too easily satisfied with the condition of society under which we live. There has been more improvement in this century than in any other; and this is in great part due to the fact that the Church no longer dares to say, "You must not try to change anything; for God has ordained that it should all remain as it is, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

Christian optimism has had such bad results that we ought to inquire carefully whether it is true or false. There is no sure test of truth except conformity with facts. Propositions which are thus known to be true are robbed of their rightful authority by being degraded into equality with what is merely taken for granted, and assumed to be probable. Nothing more than probability can fairly be claimed for such theories as that nature is what God wishes to be, and that all that seems wrong here will be made right hereafter. No view of heaven has the slightest basis in fact. And, as for the divine government, *The Index* for August 29 contains a powerful argument, by a writer of high reputation in science, Dr. Montgomery, to prove that the various forms of life and matter differ so widely that we have no right to look on them as the manifestations of one supreme power. And, however this may be,

it is certain that nature needs, in many ways, to be improved by men. Think how many weeds and noxious insects and germs of deadly disease are still to be destroyed. A recent writer in *The Index*, on "Man vs. Nature," says, "It were better for man if he could destroy the whole animal world, save about one species in five hundred, and the whole vegetable world, except one species in three hundred." Our existence has been possible only through the slaughter of untold numbers of our fellow-beings, and the main thing to regret is that the work has not gone on more rapidly. Still, the cobra slays ten thousand Hindus every year, and its extirpation is almost impossible; for it is worshipped as a divinity. Ether and chloroform have proved so beneficial, that few remember how much their early use was censured as an attempt to subvert that divine order which made pain the penalty for motherhood. The art of healing might be improved in many directions with incalculable benefit, not only to our happiness, but to our holiness. Our natural appetite for intoxicating drink has been greatly lessened by our own effort. Much is yet to be done in reforming innate propensities so vicious that it is morally wrong to look with complacency at their strength. Nature has more faults than society. But, even in this free land, the relations of employer and laborer ought to be changed for the better, and will be as soon as the proper method is understood. And what we have already achieved in politics shows how much is still to be done by other nations, to insure proper mental and moral development. Tyranny, pauperism, intemperance, disease, ignorance, and other evils, still grow rank and rife on this earth. They will keep on growing until weeded out by human hands.

These facts should be insisted on, for there are none of greater value. The faith which is to save the world consists in believing that there are very many evils, in our natural as well as in our social condition, which ought to be reformed at once, and that the only way to reform them is that of human effort. Foolish to suppose that ignorance, superstition, intemperance, pauperism, and other social evils will cure themselves! They never have done so, and never will. Among the worst obstacles to the progress of our cause is the willingness of its nominal friends to suppose that it will carry itself forward somehow without their help. If there is any one who ought to be called an infidel, it is he who has given up the old faith in God without attaining the new faith in man. Those who expect to find heaven waiting for them here on earth, without their having to do anything for their own improvement or their neighbors', are doomed to disappointment. Heaven is not to be found on earth. It may be made here by every one for himself, and ought to be.

F. M. HOLLAND.

RELIGION AND CRIME.

The *Atlanta Constitution* quotes from Gen. Brinkerhoff of Ohio, who is an authority on the subject of prison and prison reform, to the effect that in this country crime is rising like a flood, and that, "unless we check this flood, society as at present organized must go under"; that "our penal system is a failure, and our society is on the down grade, rushing either to anarchy or Caesarism."

While our Southern contemporary is inclined to a practical and not to the pessimistic view of the subject, believing that this country, although young, has the wisdom and strength to protect itself, and that the first step to be taken is to investigate our criminal laws and penal system and reform them, it asks: "Why does this state of

things exist? Religion was never more active, and money was never more liberally spent for Christianizing the heathen. Education was never more generally distributed. In fact, it is almost compulsory. Never in the history of the country was there such a strong temperance sentiment all over the land, from Maine to Texas. These influences—religion, education, and temperance—have always been regarded as active factors in the suppression of crime; but what are we to say in the face of these statistics?"

Religion, primarily emotion, a feeling of dependence, is powerless to restrain crime, except so far as it is enlightened, and is made to conform to the principles, and becomes suffused with the spirit, of morality. Savages are religious. The most corrupt periods of history have been the most religious; that is, they have been periods in which the religious feelings were the most active, and religious observances the most intimately associated with public and private life. Speaking of the period that just preceded the advent of Christianity, Mommsen says, "A wager might be laid that the more lax any woman was, the more piously she worshipped Isis." The Middle Ages, pre-eminently religious, were ages of ignorance, vice, and crime. Often, the most religious persons among us to-day—those who revel in the excitement of religious revivals—are habitually immoral, and even criminal as in the cases of Guiteau and the James brothers. "Unusual piety is, in the popular eye," Lange observes, "either genuine saintship or a wicked cloak of all that is vile. For the psychological subtlety of the mixture of genuine religious emotions with coarse selfishness and vicious habits, the ordinary mind has no appreciation." Schleiermacher says:—

Religion belongs neither to the domain of science nor morals, is essentially neither knowledge nor conduct, but emotion only, specific in its nature, and inherent in the immediate consciousness of each individual man. Hence comes the vast variety of religious conception and of religious system observed in the world,—variety not only thus to be accounted for, but apprehended as a necessity of human nature. Hence, also, the irrefragable plea for universal toleration, and the sin against God's ordinance, committed in every act of persecution for opinion.

Upon this, Dr. Willis, Spinoza's biographer, remarks:—

This view of Schleiermacher was an immense advance on all previously entertained ideas of the nature and true worth of the religious idea, and has not yet been generally appreciated in all its significance. When we recognize it, however, we readily understand how religious emotion may be associated with crime and immorality as well as with the highest moral excellence; how a *Jacques Clement* and *Balthasar Gerard* may confess themselves to the priest, and take the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour by way of strengthening them in their purpose to commit the crimes that have made their memories infamous; how punctilious attention to Bible reading and devout observance among criminals of a less terrible stamp do not necessarily imply hypocrisy and cunning, as so commonly assumed, when these unhappily constituted beings are found again engaged in their objectionable courses. The piety—the religion—displayed is a perfectly truthful manifestation of the emotional element in the nature of man which seeks and finds satisfaction in acts implying intercourse with Deity, but neither seeks nor finds satisfaction in acts of honesty and virtuous life in the world. We have here an explanation of how it happens that our penitentiaries are filled with the worst sort of criminals, whose lives, prior to the detection of their crimes, were characterized by eminent piety and a strict regard for religious observances. That religion, *per se*, has no restraining influence upon the conduct of men is a truth confirmed and attested by our daily and hourly experience, and needs no elaborate argument to substantiate it.

Religion, since it is included in human thought and feeling, certainly belongs to the domain of science; and this Schleiermacher, had he been less a theologian and more a man of science, would never have questioned. Religion is a fact of human nature, and can be studied in the individual and in the race. It must therefore belong to the province of science. The question whether religion has a "scientific basis" is a proper question only when it is asked in regard to any particular theories or conceptions of religion. The above quotations are made only to sustain the view that religion is not necessarily moral, and that it contributes to the restraint of crime only so far as it is purified and dominated by ethics. What is especially needed then at this time, indeed at all times, is that emphasis be put upon moral teachings and moral influences.

No education is worthy of the name that is not dominated by the principles and the spirit of ethics. Education as a mere accomplishment will not secure exemption from vice and crime. If proof of this were needed, we should have only to refer to the corruption of female children in London by men of wealth and social position, educated in the highest schools of learning.

"Temperance," or what is commonly so called, is most important; but something more is needed to prevent crime. Spain is a temperate nation; yet her people delight in brutal sports, crimes of violence are common, and immorality prevails among the nobility, the clergy, and the masses.

What is needed is not a religious revival, but a moral movement that shall elevate religion and make all intellectual acquisition contribute to the advancement of the best interests of society.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"A STUDY of Primitive Christianity," by Mr. Janes, will be concluded in *The Index* next week; and the series of lectures will soon be reprinted in book form.

THE demand for Walt Whitman's poetry cannot be very great, judging from his statement that his American publisher has paid him the last six months, in the shape of royalty, only \$22.06.

"THERE is much reason to believe that this present life is the most favorable opportunity for the moral renewal in Christ." This sentence is quoted from an editorial in the *Andover Review* by the *Christian at Work*, which calls it "a bit of Satanic euphemism," "a milk-and-water declaration," "the melodious piping, the emasculated euphemism of the *Andover Review*," and expresses a decided preference for the "living gospel and the trumpet call to repentance, such as John declared in the wilderness and Jesus sounded forth beside still Galilee." It is certainly wisdom to emphasize the importance of "moral renewal" in "this present life," whether it be the only life or but the first stage of a never-ending existence.

SAYS Froude of Carlyle:—

He did not believe that the facts alleged in the Apostles' Creed had ever really happened. The resurrection of Christ was to him only a symbol of a spiritual truth. As Christ rose from the dead, so were we to rise from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. Not that Christ had actually died, and had risen again. He was only believed to have died and believed to have risen in an age when legend was history, when stories were accepted as true from their beauty or their significance. As long as it was supposed that the earth was the centre of the universe, that the sky moved round it, and that the sun and moon and stars had been set there for man's convenience, when it was the creed of all nations that gods come down to the earth, and men were taken into heaven, and that between the two regions there

was incessant intercourse, it could be believed easily that the Son of God had lived as a man among men, had descended like Hercules into Hades, and had returned again from it.

OUR venerable friend, Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Ill., in a recent "log cabin sermon," said: "Our three great log cabin men,—Lincoln, Garfield, Grant! What a trio! What a triumph of the log cabin over all the other palaces of the globe! The toil of whose lives saved the Republic, and whose tragic deaths did more to unite in one solid brotherhood of hearts these fifty millions of people than all the policies of their lives. They thus give an eternal lesson of highest import and inspiration to every man on this continent, young or old. I would impress it as the great lesson of the passing hour. I wish every young man here to-day to perpetually heed and remember it, and realize that he, too, was practically born in a cabin; came naked into the world; and can clothe himself with nothing worth keeping except as, following in the footsteps of these great leaders, he schools himself to some one of the multitudinous forms of hard work indispensable to the conquest of the world, the lack of which no birth, no genius, no patrimony, can supply."

WHEN a clergyman perverts facts to make them contribute to a sound thesis, he injures the good cause in behalf of which he preaches; for those whom he seeks to convince are often repelled from his whole argument, if they detect the misstatement. This was illustrated a few months ago, when Rev. Mr. Newman, preaching against infidelity, challenged the specification of any great scientist of modern times who was not a Christian. The name of Charles Darwin—not to speak of more—occurred, of course, to every person of ordinary intelligence who heard the sermon or who read it in print. Rev. Mr. Morehouse falls into a blunder of the same kind, according to the report of his sermon on the same subject, when he challenges "the exponents of infidelity" to specify an infidel who has "built hospitals, schools, or charitable institutions of any kind." The name of Stephen Girard—not to speak of more—will occur to all persons of ordinary intelligence who read Mr. Morehouse's sermon, whether they are "exponents of infidelity" or not. Girard was an infidel of the blackest dye; but he bequeathed more millions to "hospitals, schools, and charitable institutions" in Philadelphia than his Christian contemporaries, who were residents of that city, did all together. He also displayed the most courageous virtue by personal care of the sick in time of pestilence.—*New York Herald*.

AMONG the deaths of last summer, we wish here to mention that of W. C. Kelley, of Wauseon, Ohio, an able and prominent lawyer, a radical free thinker, and a man highly respected for his integrity, uprightness, and many sturdy and sterling qualities of head and heart. He died June 30, aged forty-five years. With but few advantages in early life, by industry, courage, patience, and self-denial, he won a high place at the bar, and became an honored representative of his profession. At Mr. Kelley's funeral, which was conducted at the request of the family by the Fulton County Bar, and consisted of singing by a choir and of addresses by members of the bar, Hon. L. M. Murphy thus referred to the deceased: "By nature, singularly free from cant and impatient of shams, he always gave more heed and attention to the substance than the form of anything, and thus, though not polished nor pretending to be, was always powerful and thorough in his work, holding, with an unyielding grip, every step he won in his business and profession. . . . Condoling profoundly with his stricken wife and all his relatives in their great bereavement,

the bar of Fulton County will follow our brother to his, as it seems to us all, untimely grave, sorrowing that our ranks should thus and so rudely be broken, yet ever remembering and treasuring during our remaining mortal span his many estimable qualities and virtues." Another member of the bar, C. S. Bentley, said: "I remember him as a lawyer who was careful of the conscience of his client. . . . Kelley had also the virtue of personal bravery, not of the swaggering sort. He could and he did look an antagonist square in the face, and express his sentiments, uncomplimentary or otherwise, as freely and forcibly as out of his presence. . . . He was singularly free from professional jealousy. He desired consideration for himself, he demanded it, and he obtained it, too; but he never sought it at the expense of another. . . . The strong column of this life has been broken off midway, and we cover the piteous points of the fracture with the wreaths and flowers of friendship." Mr. Kelley was deeply interested in liberal religious thought, and had, with his invalid wife, a lady of marked intelligence and breadth of thought, for whom his care was unremitting, been a reader of *The Index* from the first number published at Toledo. Several times, he made arrangements for lectures at Wauseon by the writer of this paragraph and probably by others. His strength of character, his honesty, sincerity, and public spirit secured him the respect and confidence of all who knew him.

PATIENCE. For *The Index*.

Swift-beating Heart, in patience curb
Thy eager throbs, thy wild desire;
Nor let opposing foes disturb
Thy aim, nor quench thy steadfast fire.

Patience, stern Will! Though sluggish moves
The event which thou would'st fain control,
Forget not wheels that form new grooves
In virgin soil are hard to roll.

Patience, bold Brain! the startled crowd,
Who "think in herds," ne'er yet did greet
New truth with acclamation loud,
Until crowned victor o'er defeat.

Patience, O Conscience! do not haste
Vainly to hurl indignant jibes
At those whose sense of right is based
On laws which pop'lar rule prescribes.

Patience, proud Soul! e'en though the few
Who ought to know misunderstand
The unthanked work thou'rt called to do,
So that thy work bear Wisdom's brand.

Patience, brave Toiler! Duty asks
Thy isolation. Fear not thou!
In loneliness, the grandest tasks
Were ever wrought, and shall be now!

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SONNET. For *The Index*.

With Love, O Past, thy Sons to-day salute thee.

From souls that bore the burden of the fight,
And suns of direst need that gave the day,
And stars that gemmed a crown for every night,
And lips and hearts that smote the error gray;
Through waters sent by rivers to the seas,
And moistened lips of clouds by many shores,
And songs that give a meaning to the breeze,
And dreams that come through newly opened doors,—
We feel the burden of the olden pain.
And trust the father-heart, and, hand in hand,
Partake with death of labor's loss and gain,
And leave no spot unsearched on any land;
For love is witness to the race that keeps
Fond vigil where the parent-nation sleeps!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JONES.

X.

CHRISTIANITY THE STATE RELIGION.

The Character and Attitude of Constantine.

The reign of Constantine witnessed the practical dissolution of the Roman Empire by the removal of the capital to the Bosphorus, and the secular triumph of Christianity. As a political leader, a ruler of men, a captain of armies, this emperor well merits the title of "the Great." As an exemplar of religion and morals, he better merits the title of "the Infamous." He shrunk from no crime which seemed requisite to the furtherance of his insatiable ambition. Upon his hands was the blood of the weak and innocent as well as of his enemies in war,—of his own flesh and blood as well as of the stranger. "His father-in-law, his brother-in-law, Licinius, his own son, Crispus, his nephew, the son of Licinius, a boy eleven years old, and, lastly, his wife, Fausta, were his victims." Such a man could in no high or spiritual sense have been converted to the simple, childlike faith, the ideal socialistic system, of the Man of Nazareth. It was the mythical Christ, and not the human Jesus, the Prophet of Righteousness, who commanded his allegiance. If anything in Christian doctrine attracted his intellect, it was, doubtless, the convenient dogma of substitution and atonement, which appealed to his supreme egoism and selfish dread of that unknown future which the great emperor as well as the least of mankind was finally compelled to face. Not until the very close of his career, and upon his death-bed, did he profess repentance, and submit to Christian baptism,—an ordinance which, in the prevailing superstitious belief of the Christians, was efficacious in sweeping away the penalty of all previous sins.

Constantine's services to the Church were rendered while he was in the midst of his crimes, and before he had formally renounced the Pagan-

ism, of which he continued to be the *Pontifex Maximus*,—the legal and recognized head and chief. The story of his conversion to Christianity by a miraculous vision of the cross appears to rest wholly upon his own testimony. An extreme exercise of charity might lead us to interpret this alleged experience as a subjective illusion, similar to Paul's vision of the resurrected Jesus. More probably, however, it should be classed among pious frauds, and regarded as a pure invention of the emperor for the purpose of conciliating the Christians to his support.

Constantine's Eclat: His Recognition of Paganism.

Constantine founded a number of Christian churches in Rome, contributed to their support from the public revenues, and even set apart a basilica within the Lateran palace as a place for Christian worship. Side by side with these temples of the new religion, however, the worship of Cybele and the other Pagan deities continued unopposed even as late as the fifth century,—a hundred years after the recognition of Christianity by the empire. In Constantinople, the new capital, Constantine not only erected several Christian churches, but also a temple to Rhea, the mother of the gods, one to Castor and Pollux, and one to Tyche, the fortune of the city. Christian historians have claimed for him the credit of being the first to grant authoritative recognition of Sunday as the Sabbath, but the edict commanding its celebration makes no allusion to the day as a Christian institution. It was still devoted to the worship of the conquering solar deity. Apollo, Bacchus, Mithra, and Osiris had long received honor as incarnations of the sun-god. To these, the emperor, and apparently the popular sentiment, now added Jesus,—a circumstance the more natural owing to the fact that the popular Christian mythology, now fully developed, had drawn many of its characteristic features from the solar mythos. The 25th of December was set apart as the birthday of the founder of Christianity; and the first day of the week became a holy day, devoted to his worship,—a common inheritance from the heathen cultus of the solar deity. About the same time that the public recognition of Sunday was made obligatory, Constantine issued orders to the haruspices to continue the heathen practice of divination on one or more notable occasions. He also placed the image of Apollo and the name of Jesus together on his coins.

The Worship of the Emperor authorized and continued by Constantine.

The worship of the Emperor, inaugurated by the Cæsars, still continued, and received new impetus and recognition at the hands of Constantine. He went further than any of his predecessors in providing for his own *post-mortem* adoration, ordaining that thereafter, annually, a golden statue of himself should be carried in solemn procession through the streets of Rome, and that every citizen, including the reigning emperor, should prostrate himself before it. "On the top of a monolith of porphyry," says Dr. Hedge, "he placed a statue of Apollo, rededicated to himself, with a halo of rays formed, it is said, of nails taken from the cross [of Jesus] which [the Empress] Helena had brought from Jerusalem. Between the nails, the inscription: 'To Constantine, shining like the sun, presiding over his city, an image of the new risen Sun of Righteousness.' This column, we are told, was long an object of formal worship to the Christians of Constantinople."* The adoration of the em-

peror as an incarnate deity was transmitted, together with the characteristic art of the early Church and many of the forms of primitive Christian worship, to the Oriental Church of our own day, the recognized head of which, the Czar of Russia, is still addressed by his subjects as "our God on earth."*

Sectarian Disputes: The Donatists and Circumcellions.

Tyrant, murderer, and patron of idolatry as was this so-called Christian emperor, this protector of the infant Church, he was excelled in cruelty and infinitely surpassed in bigotry by many of his Christian subjects. The African Church—fertile mother of an evil brood of irrational dogmas—became divided into two great sects, the Donatists and the Catholics. The former claimed to be the only elect people of Christ, the sole inheritors of apostolic succession. The latter stoutly resisted this exclusive claim. The battle of words soon culminated in appeals to physical force. When, by violence or artifice, the Donatists obtained possession of a church belonging to their opponents, they burned its altar, melted its cups, rebaptized all who desired to unite with their services, and even removed the bodies of dead Catholics from the common place of sepulture.† This feud ultimated in the most barbarous scenes of riot, massacre, and licentiousness, to which both parties contributed, and in which they gloried. The Donatists boasted of their martyrs: the Catholics testify to their own barbarities, appealing to the examples of Moses, Joshua, and Elijah, to justify the wholesale destruction of their opponents. Optatus, a Catholic bishop, exultingly cries, "Is the vengeance of God to be defrauded of its victims?" It is probable that more people perished in this earliest sectarian feud than the total number of Christian martyrs during the persecutions of the heathen emperors.

"Where Christianity has outstripped civilization," says Dean Milman, . . . "whether in the bosom of an old society or within the limits of a savage life, it becomes, in times of violent excitement, instead of a pacific principle to assuage, a new element of ungovernable strife."‡ The same able historian thus describes the African Christian of the period now under consideration: "Of his new religion he retained only the perverted language, or rather that of the Old Testament, with an implacable hatred of all hostile sects; a stern ascetic continence, which perpetually broke out into paroxysms of unbridled licentiousness; and a fanatic passion for martyrdom, which assumed the acts of a kind of methodical insanity."§

The Circumcellions, another of these fanatical sects, asserted the theory of the civil equality of mankind; proclaimed the abolition of slavery; took the master from his chariot and placed the slave in his stead, compelling the master to walk by his side; declared all debts to be cancelled, and granted release to the debtors; and, in defence of these doctrines,—which, indeed, have no inconsiderable foundation in the literal teachings of Jesus,—they proclaimed a crusade against the existing order of society. Abandoning their accustomed duties as agricultural laborers, they attacked all who refused to be governed by their interpretation of the gospel teachings. Since Jesus forbade his disciples to use the sword, declaring that "they who take the sword shall perish by the sword," the Circumcellions took huge clubs for their weapons, with which they beat their enemies to death. Their commu-

* For an interesting account of the Oriental Church, see Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*.

† We are reminded of the present attitude of the Catholics toward those of other faiths,—an attitude which has often ultimated in acts almost as barbarous as those of the Donatists.

‡ *History of Christianity*.

§ *Ibid.*

* Article in *Unitarian Review*, "Christianity in Conflict with Hellenism."

nistic socialism resulted in habits of marital promiscuity and unbridled licentiousness. Their bands of marauders in the name of Christ were accompanied by troops of abandoned women, whom they called "sacred virgins." Their piratical leaders were denominated "captains of the saints." Some of these fanatical sects, of which we can here give but one or two specimen descriptions, were still powerful at the close of the sixth Christian century.

The Conflict of the Creeds: Arius and Athanasius.

During the reign of Constantine, the memorable theological conflict known as the Arian controversy culminated, and resulted in the formal proclamation of the doctrine of the Church concerning the nature of Christ and his relationship to the Supreme Being. This controversy, which appealed exclusively to the metaphysics of theology, grew directly out of the doctrine of the Logos, first formally accepted as an essential feature in the Christian faith by the authoritative recognition of the Fourth Gospel, in the latter part of the second century. The term *Logos*, in the mystical philosophy of the Alexandrian neo-Platonists, represented an attribute rather than a person, an emanation from the supreme Deity rather than the generic inheritor of his personality. The Logos was often described figuratively as the "Son of God," while it remained in the mind of the metaphysician as an attribute co-eternal with God himself,—not *made* by him, but an eternal manifestation of his divine nature. An attribute is of course forever inseparable from its subject. The Christian theologians, however, treated the figurative expressions of this Oriental mysticism as they had treated the Orientalisms of Paul and Jesus. They personified the attribute, and identified the Logos, regarded as the Son of God, with the man Jesus; torturing the Hebrew phrase of the Gospels, originally descriptive of citizenship of the heavenly kingdom, the regenerated Jewish state, into a claim for a special and unique relationship between Jesus and the Father.*

The Logos in Christian teaching was *hypostasized*; that is, as interpreted in the unyielding idiom of the Latin scholars, it was regarded as an independent *substance*, no longer merely as an attribute of God. In this rigid logic, this separate substance, endowed with personality, accreted with the affinity of sonship, could no longer be deemed co-eternal with the Father. Whether "first begotten," as announced by Philo, or "only begotten," as proclaimed in the Christian epic, it must have had a genesis and beginning. Yet it was admitted that *through all time* the Son and Father had dwelt together as separate and co-equal persons.

To the ordinary mind, here was an insoluble contradiction, but not so to the metaphysician. In his thought, time itself had had a beginning. Both the parties to the Arian controversy agreed that there was no *time* when the Father and Son did not dwell together as equal persons. Yet said Arius, a presbyter, "There was when the Son did not exist." The Father dwelt alone in that eternity which was before time began,—in that eternity which, in the cant of the current metaphysics, was not infinite duration, but the actual opposite or negation of duration.

Moreover, said Arius, if the Logos was born or

* Ewald says of this term, "the Son of God": "With it, the reigning king of Israel could formerly be distinguished before all other members of the community of God. . . . It was first used, not to flatter the monarch, but in accordance with the strict idea of the true religion,—that, if all members of the community are children of God, elevated to this dignity by divine grace and education, and at the same time always called to remain faithful to this higher stage of life, then the true King of the community is destined above every one else to attain such an exaltation, in order that he, as standing nearer to God than any one else, may enjoy more fully his grace and protection, while at the same time, should he depart from God, he must feel his chastisement most directly and most severely."—Ewald, p. 114.

created, it could not be "of the same substance" (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the Father, but could only be "of like substance" (*ὁμοιοούσιος*). Around these two Greek words, differing in but a letter, and the metaphysical notions which they represented, was waged the long and bitter battle of opposing theological factions,—a battle whose weapons were not always spiritual or even logical, and in which no place remained for the manifestation of the sweet graces of Christian charity and brotherly love. In such a controversy, we of the present day can have but little interest. If the arguments of Arius were enforced by a more unyielding logic, the doctrine and thought of his opponents were perhaps broader and more catholic than his; but the foundations of both parties rested in an arid waste of metaphysical speculation, as far removed as possible from the lofty ethical impulse which lay at the heart of the teaching of Jesus, and alienated from all rational conceptions of objective truth.

Constantine at first apparently sympathized with the doctrine of Arius, in which was implied the superiority of the Father to the Son, but subsequently threw the weight of his influence on the side of his great opponent, Athanasius, under whose leadership and inspiration the council of Nicaea finally formulated an authoritative statement of the orthodox belief in the following lucid terms:—

*"The Son is begotten from the substance of God, God begotten from God, light from light, very God from very God, begotten, not made, of the same substance with the Father."**

Constantine's Influence as Peace-maker.

During all these theological controversies, Constantine maintained the position of a pacificator, endeavoring to bring harmony out of discord, to consolidate the growing Church into a powerful and homogeneous body, and to make it the support and ally of the imperial throne. Doubtless, he saw in the rapidly growing hierarchy the germs of a power which, through its influence on the conscience and credulity of the people, would soon be able to make and destroy empires, to sustain or overthrow dynasties and kings. With a practical shrewdness which allied itself with the profoundest wisdom of state-craft, he seized upon all possible means to weld together the schismatic sects, and to bind the one holy and Catholic Church to the fortunes of the empire. He flattered the bishops, humbly claiming to be himself but as one of them; yet, in the councils of the Church, he was always the power behind and above the ecclesiastics, guiding their action according to his will.

The radical divorce between dogmatic theology and true religion, between a recognition of the formal observances of ecclesiasticism and that essential nobility of character which constitutes the supreme beauty and glory of manhood, was never more completely exemplified than in the character and example of Constantine. We may admire his statesmanship, his shrewdness, his ability as a ruler; but we must not permit our recognition of these traits, or his position as the first Christian emperor, to lead us to regard him as in any sense a worthy representative of natural morality or of true religion.

'Tis easy for any one that hath his foot unentangled by sufferings both to exhort and to admonish him that is in evil plight.—*Æschylus*.

* For an interesting popular account of the Arian controversy, see *Christian History*, by Joseph Henry Allen. See also Millman's *History of Christianity*, Chadwick's *The Man Jesus*, Savage's *Talks about Jesus*, etc. For more elaborate explanations, see Neander, Mosheim, Baur, etc.

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOHN BROWN AND THE SLAVE-CHILD.

Editors of The Index:—

"The Last Moments of John Brown" is the title which Mr. Thomas Hovenden, of Philadelphia, has given to his powerful piece of historical painting, now on exhibition at the rooms of Williams & Everett, 79 Boylston Street, Boston. I had long known, through friends of the artist, of the energy and enthusiasm he was throwing into this work in his determination to secure historical accuracy. The painting is not for sale, having been executed to order for a New York gentleman. It will excite, of course, great interest here in the cradle of Abolitionism, and, if engraved, will become, I should think, a treasure of homes, humble as well as grand. It is an epitome and focus of the great racial question that bourgeoned into the Civil War. And, further, and chief, it expresses the spirit of reconciliation, the loosening of caste prejudice between the *neri* and the *bianchi*, the white-skinned and the dark-skinned peoples of America. The subject of the painting, in brief, is the kissing of the black child by Brown as he was being led to execution. There are on the canvas twenty-two figures, nearly life-size; and at least nine of them are carefully finished studies, apparently from life. I am told that Mr. Hovenden left no stone unturned in his search for the very uniforms, guns, etc., that were used at the time in which the scene is laid (1859). His friends long sought in vain for a copy of a certain contemporary placard he wanted, but at last one was found. However, it does not appear in the painting after all, and was probably discarded for good reasons. The central figure, it is unnecessary to say, is the martyr-hero himself. He is just stepping down the battered wooden steps of the white porch of the jail, pinioned, the rope around his neck. Behind him and at his side are specimens of Southern chivalry, just emerging from the dark doorway of the jail. In the foreground is the open, manly face of Campbell, the sheriff, who is booted and spurred, and holds a paper clenched in his hand. In his rear is a typical face,—one of those sneering, white-gilled, cruel, sensual physiognomies (with thin, yellow moustache and whiskers) that we learn by experience to call "snaky," and to know as the index to a base and crafty nature. Grouped on either side of the porch railings are spectators, mostly negroes. One of these on the left, a toil-worn slave, holds his cap respectfully in his hard hand as he eagerly questions one of the guard. On the opposite side of the porch, in the painting, there stands a negress in patched and parti-colored clothes, and holds up to be kissed her little child. The old, white-haired hero leans over, pinioned as he is, and presses a momentary kiss on the forehead of the innocent. Clinging to the skirts of the mother is a little white girl, and two or three little black gamins are peeping among the legs of the men, or wherever they can squeeze their heads through to see the show.

The figure of the grand old man—the proto-martyr and Saviour of the black race—lingers longest in one's memory. His dress is a plain, prison-stained suit of brown; and he has on his feet the red slippers which he wore in the jail. The head and form are nobly drawn. There is the springy, elastic fibre that characterized him, and somehow the impression of energy and eagerness is made upon you by his whole action and attitude. This is as it should be, for John Brown had the gladdest heart in Charlestown on that tragic day of the 2d of December.

W. S. KENNEDY.

[The authenticity of the child-kissing incident will be the subject of an article in *The Index* by Mr. Kennedy next week.—Ed.]

SPURIOUS SCRIPTURE.

Editors of The Index:—

As you know, the last twelve verses of the Gospel "after Mark" stand in the new version as an "appendix," with a marginal note calling attention to the fact that it is without authority, as it was wanting in the oldest documents. The early Fathers likewise speak of its not being in the best Greek editions of their day.

The verse which reads, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned," was thus inserted about the time

of the crusade against the Paulocinians, in which one hundred thousand were destroyed, under Justinian and Theodora.

This sect, as well as the Albigenses, held almost identical views with the enlightened portion of the Society of Friends as to the person of Jesus, baptism, etc. I hope that some of the writers of *The Index* will give us the history of the persecutions to which these people were subjected. They quoted Paul as against baptism, etc.; and the Gospel according to the Hebrews expressly denies that Jesus was baptized by John.

Thus in the New Testament is to be found one of the most atrocious pieces of wickedness in the history of mankind! How about its being the Word of God or the holy Scriptures?

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, PA.

A WORD ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

Editors of *The Index*:—

After reading *The Index*, I am tempted to add a few words on the Labor Question. It is, no doubt, a shameful moral wrong to regard human labor as a mere article of trade, whose price has to be solely regulated by the laws of demand and supply. But this joining of the socialistic movement on the part of the churches is either dangerous sentimentalism or reckless lust of power. Common laborers, as a rule, are crude specimens of humanity. It is altogether visionary to place any hope in co-operation, so far as productive enterprises are concerned. The moral standard of working people, as a class, is too low, their prudence too short-sighted. No preaching or agitation will raise them to the necessary pitch of honesty or foresight, but may help to inflame them to huge outbursts of destructive wrath. The only practicable scheme is co-partnership, an equitable sharing in the profits of the business proprietors. This cannot be brought about by legislation or religious propaganda. But a little more friction, causing both parties to long for a peaceful and permanent arrangement, will, before long, naturally urge this kind of settlement, which would speedily put an end to this most threatening hostility between labor and capital. Idle dreamers might then continue to agitate for State socialism. The productive laborers would be the last to join. The expansion of individual motives so as to include hyper-individual aims has to be achieved by philosophy, religion, and education, but not enforced by State authority.

M.

"JOHN JENKINS," in the *Investigator*, gives an amusing account of his experience at Onset Bay with "a Boston medium of great success and high pretensions, and celebrated for her skill in producing materialized spirits": "A good-looking white girl was materialized, and called for me! I responded, when the 'apparition' hugged me pretty tight, and I returned the compliment. She was young and pretty. Then she kissed me, and we both kissed; and I tell you, sir, if you've never been kissed by a spirit, you haven't realized what a sweet surprise a ghostly kiss is! I felt foolish, and involuntarily looked over my shoulder to see if my wife Louisa was coming; but it was so dark she could not have seen me, if she had been present. The ghost and I kissed seven or eight times before I thought to ask her who she was. 'Your first love!' she whispered, as she reclined her darling little head on my shoulder. 'What! Amanda Rockett?' said I. 'Your father used to set the dog on me. You remember how he tore my pants?' 'Ye-es!' she whispered. Then we kissed and kissed again, and said, 'Darling!' I squeezed her; and, sir, she was as solid a little ghost as ever you saw in all your editorial life. Finally, she said in a whisper that she must go. 'Not by a long shot!' I thought mentally. 'I've got you; and I'm going to hold on, life or death.' And I did hold on. 'Let go of me!' said she. I held her hand tighter, for I thought she could 'dematerialize' just as well while I held her as if I let go. She twisted and squirmed terribly for a spirit; but, I thought if I had got hold of Amanda once more, I would not let her go as easily as my ghostly mother-in-law escaped me at the Berry séance. She pinched me, but I bore it like a martyr; yet, sir, when a shawl-pin or a hair-pin or some other spiritual implement was plunged into my flesh by that spiritual Amanda of mine, I was forced by pain to drop my hold of the

spirit. Not only the pin entered my hand, sir, but teeth, more savage than those of Amanda's father's bull-dog, were set into my flesh; and I was forced to grope my way to my seat, 'a sadder, if not a wiser man.' I shall exhibit to you the marks of that spirit, the imprint of its teeth, when next I drop into your sanctum. The 'conditions' became unmanageable here, and the 'séance' broke up in disorder. I have only to say, further, that the kisses may have been worth a dollar of any man's money; but the pin and teeth were more than I had bargained for. Amanda was not the name of my first love, either, but Jessie. I had forgotten, it was so long ago; but it occurred to me afterwards that Amanda was the eleventh love, and not the first. The mistake was mine, and not the spirit's."

In a letter published in the *Indian Messenger* of May 17, Prof. Francis W. Newman thus refers to the relations of G. H. Lewes and George Eliot: "They ought (like the old Quakers) to have called their friends together, and expounded the grievance of unjust law, which debarred Mr. Lewes from legal divorce, when his wife had openly taken refuge with another man. In those days, divorce was only by special vote of the House of Lords; and it cost £2,000 in fees. We ought to give her the benefit of an opinion,—not only that the injustice of the law made defiance of it right, but that, in making herself a martyr, she hoped to break it down. This (apparently) she did. For, in spite of our bishops, a divorce court was soon after established. I never heard from any quarter that which seems now to be assumed as her imagined defence,—that 'genius is exempt from moral law.' I am convinced that she would spurn such a doctrine as much as you and I. Our new generation seems to mistake the facts."

In reply to some one who declares that Paul, in forbidding women to preach, merely gave his own personal opinion, and did not write the passage under inspiration, the *Congregationalist* says: "1. No one can get the just sense of Paul's remark in I. Tim. ii., 12, without comparing it with its resemblant passage in the epistle to the Church at Corinth (I. Cor. xiv., 34). There the apostle says, 'Let the women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law.' The Greek scholar will know at once that the natural and literal meaning of the verb (*epitrepō*), here translated 'not permitted,' is, 'it is not committed, or intrusted, to'; and that Paul is, by the very use of this word, shown not to be talking about what he thinks or wishes, but of what was God's intent in the creation of the race and in his ordering of human affairs. And that Paul means exactly the same thing in the passage cited from Timothy is made clear by his proceeding to give the reason why woman should not teach; namely, on account of the priority of man in creation and of woman in transgression. 2. It is not true, as the argument assumes, that the word 'prophecy' in the New Testament is equivalent to the word 'preach.' Dr. Hackett's comment on Acts ii., 17, is: 'This verb [to prophecy] in the New Testament signifies, not merely to foretell future events, but to communicate religious truth in general, under a divine inspiration.' So Smith's Dictionary—article, 'Prophet'—says, 'The prophets of the New Testament were supernaturally illuminated expounders and preachers.' The sense of preaching put upon the word 'prophecy' grew up during the theological conflicts of the beginning of the seventeenth century; and it is an anachronism to apply it earlier, as is sought to be done here. The law now is that woman keep silence in the churches. But, if any one can demonstrate that she is divinely inspired to speak, we will all gladly listen, as to an exception. 3. The cases of the four daughters of Philip, of Anna, and of Priscilla, are not illustrations of female preaching, but of prophesying under special inspiration, or of private religious instruction, such as so many godly women, who would abhor the thought of unsexing themselves by entering a pulpit, are accustomed most usefully to give in the Bible class, or the semi-privacy of a small social friendly circle of inquirers."

HOW GRATEFUL to him who has been absent, on his unexpected return, to find the household talking about him, to see the fresh-cut flowers placed before his picture, to know by a host of signs that he is still loved as when of old he was with the family day by day. Rightly might the dead find fault with us, could they but speak to us, when they find us quickly forgetting them, dropping them out of our homes, our

thoughts, our memories, living as though they had not been. If our dead know our lives, what wounds they must receive from many a household in which they thought themselves loved with a true affection, that could outlast fleeting years, that could live despite of the interruption of all intercourse. If they know not our lives, as indeed we must how often pray may be the case, none the less is the wrong we do them.—R. Heber Newton

For *The Index*.

IMMORTALITY.

Filled with vague fears, I float adown the river,
Whose current bears me, through each passing year,
On to the unknown sea of the forever,—
That mystic sea, so distant, yet so near.

And so, unseen,—for, ah! a dense cloud, stealing
In solemn silence from the vaulted skies,
Hangs darkly o'er that vast expanse, concealing
Its deep, unfathomed waters from my eyes,—

I watch the wreaths of mist in darkness blending
About the souls who voyage on before,
Their lives, like mine, to that bourne ever tending
From which the traveller may return no more.

They shrink in terror from the cloud's embraces,
And stretch their hands out to the vanished past;
But still the shade falls o'er their pallid faces,
And still they glide on toward the ocean vast.

I strive in vain to pierce that spaceless region,
And call aloud, and list with bated breath,
To learn the fate of all the mighty legion
Who pass beneath the shadow of grim Death.

Ah me! that dreary cloud is never rifted;
No light, no sound, steals through those vapors wide,
Toward which my sad and struggling soul is drifted
Upon Life's rapid and resistless tide.

O'er my unanswered wishes, for a season
I ponder with a vague yet bitter pain,
Till through my darkened mind the voice of Reason
Rings clearly like a sweet and thrilling strain:

"O restless soul," she tells me, "cease this straining
To solve that boundless and abysmal sea,
And let thy efforts aid thee in attaining
A truer, nobler immortality.

"Who knows if 'neath that cloud the spirit findeth
The harbor of eternal rest and peace,
Or if, beyond its shade, Life's river windeth
To spheres where light and love shall never cease?"

"Then, since thou canst not read the Future's pages,
Live bravely; leave a memory which shall roll
Like stirring music through the coming ages,
And waken echoes in each list'ning soul.

"For selfish is the life seen in the vision
Of realms where spirits wander through all time
In flowery vales and balmy fields elysian,
Beside this immortality sublime.

"Then crush thy yearnings: rise, and never falter;
Attune thy pulses to the chords which throb
Within the souls who make the world their altar,
And human happiness their only God.

"So, when thou passeth under yon dread portal,
This rarer part, this larger self of thine,
Shall still live on, all deathless and immortal,
In hearts made better by thy deeds divine."

NELLIE BOOTHE SIMMONS.

BRODHEAD, WIS.

BOOK NOTICES.

OUR FAMOUS WOMEN: An Authorized Record of the Lives and Deeds of Distinguished American Women of our Times. Superbly illustrated with full-page portraits, mainly from photographs taken expressly for this work, and fine engravings from original designs. Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington & Co. 1884. Sold only by subscription.

This handsome volume contains over seven hundred pages, and gives short sketches of the lives, work, and character of thirty-one distinguished American women; namely, L. M. Alcott, Susan B. Anthony, Catherine E. Beecher, Clara Barton, Mary L. Booth, Dr. Elizabeth and Dr. Emily Blackwell, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Rose Terry Cooke, Charlotte Cushman, Lydia Maria Child, Mary Clemmer, Mary Mapes Dodge, Margaret Fuller, Abby Hopper Gibbons, Julia Ward Howe, Clara Louise Kellogg, Mary A. Livermore, Lucy Larcom, Maria Mitchell, Lucretia Mott, Louise Chandler Moulton, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Elizabeth Prentiss, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Cady

Stanton, "Marion Harland," Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Anne Whitney, and Frances E. Willard. The writers of these sketches are twenty women, most of them as distinguished as their subjects. Indeed, only eight of these writers are not subjects as well. These are Kate Sanborn, Susan Coolidge, Lucia Gilbert Runkle, Laura Curtis Bullard, Elizabeth T. Spring, Lillian Whiting, Elizabeth Bryant Johnson, and Maud Howe. The writers being all women of recognized literary ability, the publishers have thus been enabled to give the public a work which is thrillingly interesting and instructive from beginning to end; and the success of the volume ought to be such that they may feel encouraged to furnish soon a companion volume to this, containing sketches of the lives of many whose names we miss, even among the many given,—such, for instance, as Helen Hunt Jackson, Constance F. Woolson, Harriet Hosmer, Lucy Stone, Dorothea Dix, Anna Dickinson, "Grace Greenwood," the Cary Sisters, "Fanny Fern," "Gail Hamilton," "Susan Coolidge," Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, Dr. Clemence Lozier, Elizabeth Oakes-Smith, Elizabeth Peabody, Augusta J. Evans, Martha Lamb, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Mary F. Treat, Sara Orne Jewett, Mary Anderson, "Charles Egbert Craddock," and many other American women still living and working, or the remembrance of whose excellent work is still fresh in the minds and hearts of their country men and women.

It would be an improvement in any future volume of this character, if the publishers would insist on a more uniform attention being paid by the writers to definiteness as to dates and precision of statement as to events. And, although this volume seems almost purposely designed to throw odium on the current masculine insinuation that women are more prone to belittle the achievements of those of their own sex than men are, yet it seems to us that in many of these sketches a little less tendency on the part of the writers to throw a glamour of romantic interest over even the more commonplace events in the history of those written about would convey to the reader's mind a more dignified idea of some of the characters portrayed.

But these are minor deficiencies, which in the present instance can be easily overlooked in the fresh, vital interest which these delightful sketches (many of them written by intimate personal friends) will be sure to awaken in relation to persons whose works have endeared them to thousands who have never met and will never meet them, but to whom these revelations will supply a hitherto missing link in the appreciation of that work, in whatever department of life's labor it was accomplished.

Every woman ought to be in possession of this volume, as a never-failing source of inspiration and encouragement, showing as it does under what often adverse circumstances and amid what unpropitious environments these women worked their way to a place in the first ranks of the world's workers, and to a public recognition of the worthiness of their achievements. Every man ought to read it, to enable him to help correct any lingering sex prejudice which may possibly prevent his doing justice to the women he meets in his own daily life or at his own fireside. The book is ornamental to any table or shelf; and the fine, full-page portraits given of seventeen of its characters, with the various other engravings illustrative of incidents in their lives, add greatly to the value of this beautiful volume. S. A. U.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; OR, LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. New edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.00.

In conversation recently with a gentleman who has been for many years a public teacher, in referring to the causes which led to the emancipation of the slaves in the United States and indirectly to the War for the Union, he spoke of Mrs. Stowe's great work, and related, in illustration of the powerful hold it took on the public mind at the time of its publication, that he was at that time a student in a Western academy, and a subscriber to the paper (the *National Era*) in which it first appeared as a serial. Having occasion to make a visit to some friends in New England, he was so sure that the story would interest them as it did him that, although, boylike, dialling to be burdened with much luggage on his trip, he yet carried with him all the numbers so far as published to read to his friends, and on his return, having left one number by mistake behind him, sent to have it sought for and returned. That more than thirt-

years after that time, a leading firm of publishers find it profitable to issue a new and cheap edition of this famous work, is in itself a triumphant testimonial to Mrs. Stowe's charm as a story-teller and moralist. S. A. U.

ANNABEL, AND OTHER POEMS. By Ellen P. Allerton. New York: John B. Alden. 1885. Cloth, 70 cents.

Mrs. Allerton has gathered together in this volume the poems contributed by her to many of the leading Western papers and magazines, together with some hitherto unpublished ones. When it is remembered that these poems have been the work of such hours of leisure as could be gained from the housework by the wife of a Western farmer, they will be read with an interest added to that to which their genuine poetic merit entitles them. These are a few of her subjects: "Walls of Corn"; "On the Prairie"; "A Trail of '49"; "The Sod House on the Prairie"; "A House-keeper's Questions"; and "The Talking Friend."

AFTER ALL. A Novel. By Lillian Spencer. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1885. Price 50 cents.

The modest title, and the good taste and workmanship shown in the publishers' share in this work, led us to open it with considerable interest. It is evidently the work of an inexperienced and highly romantic writer, who, we hope, will make a study of real men and women and the possibilities of life as encountered by such, before venturing a second time into the field of authorship. The story patterns somewhat after the ghoulish horrors of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, without showing any of the ability of that work.

On opening the *Art Amateur* for September, the eye is at once attracted to some pretty, little outline sketches by Edith Scannell, which, we are told, are intended for embroidering on linen. The baby and the dog would be especially suitable for a nursery decoration. Quite different from these are some broad free-pen drawings from Frederick Bridgman, Leon Moran, and George H. Houghton, which illustrate a short article on this very pleasing style of art. There are some excellent suggestions to amateur photographers, now so numerous, on the arrangement and costuming of their groups. The most interesting article in this number, however, is an account of an artistic family named Greatorex, descendants of a well-known organist and composer, whose collection of church music, *The Greatorex Collection*, made his name familiar to lovers of harmony. He was of English family, but came early to New York. While the men of the family have inclined to music, the women for four generations have devoted themselves to painting. A mother and two daughters now represent the family, all of whom have done and are doing excellent work in flower, landscape, and portrait painting. They are now engaged in teaching an art school in New York. Besides all this, they have decorated the ladies' reception room at the Dakota, a large apartment house in New York. This is certainly a noteworthy instance of hereditary talent and accomplished industry. There is, as usual, much interesting matter concerning decorative art and useful designs for ornamental work. E. D. C.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THREE hundred Mormon converts from England, Germany, and Scandinavian countries, accompanied by fourteen Mormon elders, arrived in New York last Wednesday, on their way to Utah.

THE *Christian at Work* is apparently losing faith in the power of the Church to overcome evil: "If," it says, "anything can be done to lessen this crime tendency, it ought to be done. And if the Church can do nothing,—and it seems to be doing nothing,—then let us invoke the aid of some other agency."

A BOSTON daily finds something horrible in the fact that "the head of the Goddess of Liberty has been dropped from the postal card of the Democratic administration, and that of Thomas Jefferson substituted." We wish no greater mistake had been made. After figuring so long and prominently on the eighty-five-cent silver dollar, with the hypocritical motto, "In God we Trust," the Goddess is not likely to complain of any other indignity.

UNDERTAKER MERRITT says that his bill for attending the funeral of Gen. Grant is \$14,162.75. "That includes everything I did or furnished here and at McGregor, including the \$5,000 for carriages." "As the public was asked through the war department to pay the bill, there could be no harm in telling the public what it would have to put up." Certainly not; but why should the public be required to "put up" such an amount for the funeral of any man?

CONCERNING ministerial black sheep, the New York *Christian Advocate* remarks: "The churches ought to devise better means of protection for the innocent persons whom such unclean scoundrels afflict and destroy. Their field of operations and

their immunity from permanent expulsion from the pulpit grow larger with the increase of our population. Of course, in Methodism, our Methodist mark of Cain sticks to such a man; but nothing hinders his migration into some other denomination."

SAYS the *Jewish Messenger* in regard to erecting a monument to Gen. Grant: "It is a return to heathenism to heap up a costly and extravagant monument to a man, however worthy of a nation's reverence, when so many practical causes appeal for aid and recognition. Devote the first \$100,000 to the monument,—surely, that sum is large enough,—but let \$900,000 be applied to establish and endow an educational and benevolent institution for all time, and we are sanguine that the amount will be secured within a few weeks."

THE New York Freethinkers' Association at its annual convention, held in Albany last Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, elected T. B. Wakeman president, and J. J. McCabe and Mrs. F. C. Reynolds secretaries. Elizur Wright, Horace Seaver, James Parton, Courtlandt Palmer, Mrs. M. P. Krekel, Miss Helen Gardner, Charles Watts, Joseph McDonough, and J. E. Remsburg were among the speakers. The closing address on Sunday evening was by Col. Ingersoll. The resolutions adopted as the platform of the Association may be found in another column.

DURING the present century, thousands of Scotch peasants have been evicted under circumstances making their distress as great as that of evicted Irish peasants. The conditions of tenure in parts of Scotland are as onerous as those endured on the other side of St. George's Channel. The evil in Scotland is of more recent date than in Ireland, and in the former country has greatly increased since the demand for deer ranges sprung up. An act of Parliament is greatly needed by the Scotch farmers. Out of the Irish land bill is likely to come, before the end of this century, a radical change in the entire land system of the United Kingdom.

THE Archbishop of York is in favor of funeral reform. He suggests: "1. Those who wish to do honor to the dead, and who can spare something, might make a gift to some institution that would benefit the living, while they refused to be lavish in respect of the coffin, the funeral ceremonial, and the mourning apparel. 2. While the use of a few flowers is in all respects simple and natural, the sight of a bier heaped up with the costly and perishable treasures of Covent Garden is not pleasing to the mind of our association. While we bring down the funerals of all to a moderate standard of cost, we may well urge boards of guardians to improve as far as possible the mode in which paupers are buried."

REFERRING to the attitude of Mr. Parnell, the New York *Herald* observes: "It is true that political as well as moral ideas sometimes become epidemic. Indeed, we are not sure that it is not a necessary condition of progress that a certain class of reformers shall rouse the indignation of

the populace by overstatements and unreasonable demands." It is not likely that Parnell's dream of independence will be realized, at least not in this generation, for the dismemberment of the Empire, which would put an end to English power and prestige, will be resisted equally by Tories and Liberals; but the position that Parnell takes may serve to make English rule in Ireland more generous and just than it has been in years past.

MR. CALLADON, before the French Academy of Sciences, said that a building with a metal roof is in no more danger of being struck by lightning than other buildings, provided there is no means of electric communication between the metal and the earth. Some member having suggested that a lot of iron stored in the attic of a building struck by lightning had attracted the electricity, Mr. Calladon replied that the iron had nothing whatever to do with attracting the lightning, but very likely was the cause of the burning of the building after it had been struck; for a combustible substance placed between two conducting surfaces—in this case, the moist atmosphere and the pile of iron—is pretty sure to take fire when the electric current is passed through it from one conducting surface to another. The lightning having struck the house, Mr. Calladon says, it found its way to the metal, and ignited whatever combustible material it passed.

THE nebula of Andromeda, so late as August 10, according to a photograph then taken, presented its ordinary appearance, that of a vast agglomeration of faintly glowing star-mist, in which, it is stated, the most powerful telescopes could distinguish "nothing except a dimly defined nucleus of nebula." On the 18th of August was discovered by Dr. Harting, of the Dorpat University Observatory in Russia, a star of stupendous magnitude, apparently newly born in this nebula, and shining with a peculiar, flickering, orange-like light, surrounded by a cloud-like mist. Since its sudden appearance, it has changed its position in the sky by ten seconds in one direction and two seconds in the other. The theory confidently put forth in some of the papers that a gigantic sun has suddenly come into existence from gaseous nebula, careful thinkers will be slow to accept. Indeed, Andromeda the spectroscope indicates to be a stellar nebula. Newspaper reporters have given very full and definite opinions as to the origin and nature of the "new star" and how it will affect existing astronomical theories; but men of science have as yet been content to state what has been observed, evidently waiting for sufficient data to warrant an opinion before saying more. One of the theories stated is that this is "the star of Bethlehem." A "temporary star" appeared, it is said, in the years 945, 1264, and 1572, giving three periods from the birth of Christ, and that the star now seen in the great nebula of Andromeda is the same visitor that was observed by the "shepherds, abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night," and by the "wise men of the East," at the time Jesus was born.

PULPIT READINGS.

The Unitarian journals, both in England and this country, have been discussing the question whether it is permissible for ministers to read in their pulpits, for what is called the Scripture lesson, from any other books besides the Hebrew and Christian Bible. That this question is under discussion is one of the waymarks of religious progress. It is evident that not a few Unitarian ministers have adopted the custom of selecting their readings from any book, ancient or modern, that can furnish the special moral or religious lesson which they desire to emphasize. It is equally evident that the prevailing traditional usage of the denomination opposes this innovation, and that not infrequently the conservative feelings and, quite probably, too, the conscientious convictions of people in the pews are shocked by hearing selections from Plato read alongside of John's Gospel, and sayings from Epictetus and Buddha mingled with those from Paul and Jesus. But it is encouraging to know that this habit of selecting pulpit readings from a wide variety of Scripture is spreading; and the discussion of the matter, we are sure, will tend to increase and confirm the habit.

For our own part, we adopted the custom many years ago. We began, indeed, nearly twenty-five years ago to select for one of the readings in a vesper service—a service largely musical—from some other book than the Bible on the desk. This service was attended by a miscellaneous audience from various denominations and faiths, and generally filling the house. It was our aim to make the readings harmonize in sentiment; and we soon discovered that the congregation paid special attention to any selections that were made from the scriptures of so-called pagan religions. It was evident that to a very large part of the hearers it was a new and amazing revelation to find that such noble utterances were to be found in the Oriental religions and in the ethical writers of Greece and Rome,—utterances well matching the best portions of the Old and New Testaments. There was no need to make any comment or add any explanation. The simple reading itself became an object lesson for teaching the natural kinship and unity of the various religions of the globe; and this custom, continued now on Sunday evenings for more than twenty years before a large and miscellaneous congregation drawn from all sections of the population, has had, it is clear, a very perceptible influence in broadening and liberalizing the religious views of the local community.

It was not long before we adopted the same method of choosing the pulpit reading from a wide variety of writings, at all services which we conducted. We adopted the method without hesitation, when convinced that it was both right and useful, as one of the rightful prerogatives of a minister in a free pulpit, for the exercise of which he was not required to consult the congregation any more than he was required to consult it as to the convictions he should express in his sermons. And we continue the custom for the following reasons:—

First, it is a matter of principle with us. Believing, as we do, that the religions in respect to their origin and manner of development stand on the same level,—that they have all had a natural birth and growth, and that their literatures, however much they may vary in merit, are all natural productions,—believing thus, we cannot consistently make use of the Hebrew and Christian Bible as if it were a specially holy and sacred book, or held a place of exclusive authority, above the scriptures of other religions, or above noble and

wholesome writings of modern days. Those ministers, it seems to us, who teach in their sermons the naturalness of all the religions, and that natural inspiration is not confined to any special people, teacher, or time, go directly counter to this doctrine, and inculcate the very opposite, when they turn to the Old and New Testaments to cull their Scripture lesson, and never venture to find it elsewhere. To us, it seems a duty, even though we might find the required lesson well-expressed in the Hebrew or Christian records, to show, if possible, that it is confirmed in other writings. In our view, simple truth and justice demand this course.

Secondly, the lesson which the selected reading is intended to convey is greatly strengthened by bringing together the consenting voices of different witnesses. We have ourselves, in numberless cases, noted the effect upon congregations of such accumulated testimonies from various faiths and authors to the same or kindred truths, care being taken not to make the reading so long as to become wearisome. Ministers generally endeavor to select for reading something that shall, at least in a general way, run parallel with the tenor of their discourse. And this effect, which is always desirable, can be much heightened by bringing together kindred expressions of the same sentiment from a variety of sources.

Thirdly, the wide variety of subjects which a live pulpit must treat to-day demands a wider selection of readings than the Old and New Testaments allow, if the readings are to be chosen to illustrate the discourse. It is impossible, in these days, for any minister who does not confine himself to mere exposition of Biblical texts—for any minister who undertakes to treat some of the most pressing ethical questions of the time—to find in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures passages which shall always be appropriate to the thought of the sermon. Grand in diction and sentiment as are large portions of these old writings, they are yet, as a whole, provincial, and do not adequately and justly touch the full circle of truth which a rational philosophy calls for to-day. In our own experience, we have found it easier to gather readings illustrative of the more heroic intellectual and ethical virtues from other scriptures than the Bible.

Fourthly, the ordinary pulpit Scripture reading, especially if selected without special reference to the thought of the discourse, is apt to become a perfunctory and lifeless part of the service. The very familiarity of the hearers with the chapter selected begets inattention to it, and almost any chapter read through continuously will have portions that can have no vital connection with the thought of the people in the pews or of the minister in the pulpit. They had a meaning once, but were written for a past world. But, on the other hand, passages variously selected to inculcate a special lesson—selected, it should be added, for their strength of thought, purity of sentiment, and beauty of diction—will most certainly command attention, and become at once an instructive, impressive, and living part of a church service.

We venture to commend the arguments above stated, drawn from an experience of many years, to the consideration of the Unitarian editors and ministers who have had this question under discussion. It may not always be convenient to make the miscellaneous selection wanted, but for the sake of the principle it is quite worth while to take considerable pains to overcome this obstacle; and now, much more than fifteen or twenty years ago, it is easy to find collections of choice passages, from the literatures of various religions, adapted to such use.

WM. J. POTTER.

CARRIERS 'TWTX PAST AND PRESENT.

The New York *Herald* of Sept. 8, 1885, contained two items of news, which it is well enough to place on record. The first is in the report of the great yacht race of the preceding day:—

Before the yachts started, and during the progress of the race, carrier pigeons were despatched by Mr. Charles Arnoux from the tug "Luckenbach," to apprise an interested world at home of how things were progressing. These birds took messages to New York, Newark, and Keyport. One of the circling carriers lighted on the leech of the "Puritan's" club topsail, and there were not a few people who took it for an omen of good fortune.

The second item, with the *Herald's* own headings, is as follows:—

THE DOVE DESCENDED.

A CURIOUS INCIDENT IN A CHURCH, WHICH IS REGARDED BY SOME AS A MIRACLE.

[BY TELEGRAPH TO THE HERALD.]

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SEPT. 7, 1885.—While the Rev. Mr. Clark was preaching in East Haven Congregational church, and had finished the prayer preceding the sermon, a dove alighted upon the centre gallery in full view of the congregation, and began cooing. When he had finished his prayer, the dove perched on the gallery railing, opposite the clergyman. When he read the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, at the thirty-second verse,—“I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him,”—the dove flew to the desk, and perched upon the open page of the Bible. The pastor's text was from the fourth verse. It then settled upon the platform below the pulpit during the sermon. At the conclusion, the pastor engaged in sacramental services, and closed the Bible. The bird thrice stepped from the book and on again, and then nestled by its side.

When he had concluded, the pastor referred to the interruption and coincidence, and said that the winged visitor might be taken as emblematical of the spirit in the church. Then the bird perched upon the pastor's head. The effect was electrical, and many ladies were in tears. The pastor took the dove and held it to his breast, and gave the benediction. It was Stephen Bradley's pet dove, which had followed his sister to church. The rest of the family had tried to drive the little thing back; but it followed the young lady in, and flew by way of the gallery stairs. Much comment is made in East Haven, and it is regarded as almost miraculous.

The pigeon perched above the streamer of the American yacht, so far as it was regarded as a good omen, flew there from ancient eastern standards. The “fierceness of the dove” (*yonah*), Jer. xxv., 38, which has so mystified King James' translators and their recent revisers, is an allusion to a standard of the Assyrians. How did it become such? The powers of the dove as carrier were well known in antiquity; and that the bird was held sacred on that account may be inferred from the Egyptian bas-reliefs, which show priests sending them off. Probably, they pretended to send messages to the gods, and to receive replies. At any rate, long before the birth of Christ, the dove was regarded as a messenger between earth and heaven. In Syria and Phœnicia, it was forbidden as food; it was sacred to Venus and afterward to Mary; and perhaps some survival of its twofold sanctity causes the Princess of Wales to refuse her presence to the pigeon-shooting sport at Hurlingham, though she does not discountenance the more cruel *battue* of humbler birds.

The antiquarian curiosities of this subject are endless, and some of them of much moral significance. At an early period, the dove was regarded as an authentic sign of divine confirmation of any leader or favorite of the people who had been made king by other means than the right of succession. The “Son of Man” must be approved “Son of God” by the descending dove. The irregular kings of France were of old attended by dove miracles; and,

at length, it became a regular part of the consecration of a monarch in that country to loose white doves in the church, just after the ceremony of unction. In England, the custom has been conventionalized. Before each newly consecrated monarch, a duke bears the sceptre, on which a carved dove perches. It may be partly a reflection on the average rule of these dove-consecrated monarchs, from of old, that the "fierceness of the dove" became a character of the Holy Ghost, which never pardons. In various corners of Europe, the appearance of a dove is still an omen of calamity. Generally, however, the dove of folk-lore signifies a heavenly verdict, as the white dove said to have issued from the mouth of Joan of Arc, the dove seen by Bonapartist reporters hovering over the church during the obsequies of the late Prince Imperial, and this patriotic dove that perched on the New England topsail while naval warfare between Puritan and Cavalier raged off Sandy Hook.

The "Spirit of God" which "brooded" upon the waters at creation is identified in the legend of the deluge. Noah's dove broods over a new world emerging from the waters, and again appears at the baptism of Christ. Its function here was to select a man of the people to be king. But, as we have seen that in Europe royal legitimacy adopted the heavenly appointing power which sometimes broke its line of succession, it would appear that the phenomena attending Christ's baptism were ingeniously embodied in a myth of his birth, this birth being at the same time satisfactorily set in a royal line. In the "Gospel according to the Hebrews,"—the only gospel written in the language (Aramaic) which Jesus spoke,—nothing has been found about his miraculous conception or birth; but there is a notable account of his baptism: there is a supernatural light in the heavens (the star), and the descending dove, having entered Jesus, addresses him in words much like those of Simeon. A student of mythology will find an interesting field awaiting further research in the birth legends of several Hindu saints, said to have been born without human fathers. Although the supernatural conception of Buddha is now warmly repudiated by the priests of Ceylon, there are traces of an early birth legend of that kind connected with him, and also of its being connected with narratives attesting his royal descent. The legends of Buddha and Jesus may be of independent growth: they may represent in both cases chronic conflict between the common people and their rulers,—a revolutionary leader appearing, to be gradually conventionalized into a caryatid of the order he overthrew. The Trinity represents a very ancient firm, of which one partner must always be "sleeping." Whenever the first or the second person wakes up, he overthrows the other, and the firm is broken up. The third person—the Dove—is an indifferent agent of the power that happens to be uppermost: it is ready to hover over the compassionate Christ or to strike down Ananias and Sapphira when they would "deceive the Holy Ghost." Superstitions and wonderful stories concerning the dove recur from time to time throughout Christian history, and represent the religious atmosphere in a quasi-barometrical way. When the Jehovistic, naturalistic, and autocratic side of the Trinity is in the ascendant, the dove appears as a spy, or an unforgiving avenger. When the human element of the Trinity rises paramount, one may hear Wesley singing,—

"Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,
With all thy quickening powers;
Come shed abroad the Saviour's love,
And that shall kindle ours."

About the same time expect stories like the above from East Haven; or like one which I read

in a Chicago paper just ten years ago, relating that a white dove had flown into the chamber of a young unmarried woman of that region, on the birth of a child, and was believed by many to attest the innocence which she had protested.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN SCOTLAND.

In our age, the struggle between sects and churches is rapidly being superseded by a greater struggle between the faith they claim to expound and what the theologians are pleased to term vain philosophies. This being so, the question of disestablishment, *pro* and *con*, which is now agitating Scotland, may seem of minor importance. On examining the matter closely, it will, however, be found that it embraces issues much more profound than the mere question of tithes or no tithes. Presbyterianism is unquestionably the creed of Scotland. Combined, all others from Jews to Baptists, could not afford a respectable minority. But, though all profess the same creed, there is a sad divergence of opinion as regards church government. The Established, Free, and United Presbyterian Churches form the principal divisions; and, nominally, the war is by the two latter against their endowed sister. In reality, as the first seeds of the Reformation in Scotland can be traced to the universities, so the seeds of a new reformation, of which disestablishment is but an episode, can be found among them at the present day.

About 1475, the then bishop of Aberdeen, Elphinstone, appointed Hector Boyce, or De Boice, president of King's College in the University of Aberdeen. Boyce was a correspondent of Erasmus, and had been his fellow-student and friend. He was a man of opinions dangerously liberal for his era; and, while under his care, the University became the chief seat of learning in the kingdom, his theological opinions also became widely disseminated. Fifty years later, the bishops became alarmed at the spread of Lutheran doctrines, and obtained a very remarkable Act of Parliament. In its preamble, it sets forth that Scotland is firm in the faith, and then proceeds: "No manner of persons arriving in the realm bring books of Luther, or shall rehearse his opinions, under pain of escheat of ships and goods, and imprisonment." Within one month after its passing, Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, obtained warrants against citizens possessing the proscribed books and teaching the abominable heresies; and seizures were made of "Tyndale's English Bible, imported by them, also Luther's tracts." Boyce was in fact the pioneer of religious freedom in Scotland, and the Scottish universities are still peculiarly representative of the advanced and advancing opinions of the people. At the Reformation, the previously existing arrangement of parishes was practically retained; and the task of providing for the support of ministers and churches laid on the land owners, who, it is needless to say, promptly transferred the real burden to their tenants. Land owners are in the relation collectively known as heritors. The minister is entitled to a house, glebe, or small farm, and a stipend, consisting partly of money and of so many bushels of oats, barley, etc., now always commuted for money. The stipend is supposed to bear a relation to the wealth of the parish; and the law courts are frequently busy with petitions for augmentation, based upon increased valuations. The Crown is original owner of all property, and all land owners hold from it for considerations. So, also, it was original owner of church presentations; but, in course of time, these became, to a great extent, vested in the land owners. In this way was produced the anomaly of a Church essentially

democratic in its constitution depending on forced State taxation and aristocratic patronage. There can be no doubt that to its liberal recognition of the lay element Presbyterianism owes much of its vitality. The first general assembly consisted of twelve ministers and thirty laymen, and there is now an equal representation in all church courts. The lay force has, however, been a potent element in the Church's revolutions as well as in her progress.

For nearly three hundred years, the Established Church continued the Church of the people. Meanwhile there was growing up a force hitherto uncounted; namely, a trading middle class, unconnected with the landed interests. Abuses multiplied. Men utterly unfit, morally and intellectually, were forced by patrons on unwilling parishes. Stormy meetings of the church courts, ending in an appeal to the civil courts, followed; and it became evident the Church had no efficient control of its own clergy. In 1843 came the disruption, when hundreds of ministers, headed by the redoubtable Thomas Chalmers, renounced the Establishment. Support came to them from every hand. The wealthy merchants of Glasgow, Leith, and Aberdeen, gave funds; mechanics and laborers gave their handiwork, and churches sprang up in a night on sites secured by stratagem. The ministers and many laymen traversed the country, preaching and exhorting in barns and on hillsides. The law courts were filled with actions of interdict. Men who had languished in obscurity as schoolmasters and tutors found preferment in the vacant charges, and party feeling ran so high that a civil war seemed imminent. From this confusion emerged the Free Church of Scotland, which, aided by the remarkable executive ability of its founders, immediately proceeded to a strong and healthy growth. It now has a church in nearly every rural parish, while in the cities it can show nearly two for one of the Establishment. The existence of the Free Church being assured, the Establishment at once assumed the shape of a grievance. There were and are many parishes where ninety per cent. of the population are dissenters, yet are taxed to support the Establishment. Accordingly, since 1843, the efforts after reform have been strenuous; and the abolition of patronage in 1873, instead of acting as a sop, only made the appetite more radical. A religious census is almost impracticable. The writer knew of one compiled from the rolls of membership, and the plan generally adopted in the Established churches of his section was to count all names placed on the roll for twenty years save such as were actually and ascertainedly dead. No allowance was made for removals, apostasy, or emigration. There is, however, no reasonable doubt that the Established Church now contains a small minority of the nation; and, as the people of all other shades of opinion desire its abolition, its days are certainly numbered.

The effect of disestablishment on Presbyterianism generally is a more obscure subject, but it will probably be disastrous. The continual friction between the Churches has served to excite interest, and furnish a vent for nervous energy. It has also distracted attention from the progress made in the country outside church boundaries. When the dissenters succeed in destroying this monopoly, they will wake to find that education has been secularized and the universities emancipated, while freedom of thought has gained advocates among the most influential classes; namely, the educated and those engaged in the work of education. Even now, before entering the theological schools, the student passes through a four years' university course, under professors most of whom are avowed materialists. The product can be found scattered

throughout the churches, Robertson Smiths in everything but fame. Where Boyce sat preparing the people for the coming reformation, Alexander Bain, the friend and biographer of John Stuart Mill, now sits, elected by the students who are by and by to be the preachers and teachers of the country. In that chair, he succeeded many famous men, among others Prof. Huxley; and his strong critical intellect has impressed itself indelibly on the brightest minds of the nation. In the same university, I cannot recall a scientific teacher who is not a Darwinian. In the other universities there is a like feeling toward inquiry and accurate thought. Even the quaint philosophic morality of John Stuart Blackie, mixture as it is of Hellenism and Scotch Wut, has the fresh flavor of his native hills rather than the fustiness of theology.

The forces are within the churches now, and are being constantly recruited: therefore, when disestablishment is accomplished, disintegration will certainly follow. Already, the solemn fasts have become holidays, the divinity which used to enshrine the ministerial presence has passed away. Men will no longer bow to the garbled books of Moses or be bound by the hideous dogmas of Luther and Calvin, but seek according to their conscience a more perfect freedom.

WALTER CRANE.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.*

As the movement of society, at home and abroad, is toward an increasing concentration of wealth, and as this tendency is reacting injuriously upon the community in general, in reducing wages, depressing and contracting trade, and throwing out of employment hundreds of thousands of workers, it is of the first importance that a knowledge of operating causes should be obtained, in order to apply remedial measures to industrial life. To that end, a brief statement of existing conditions is of value.

The first feature of our present industrial system is, that Labor is hired by Capital.

The second is that the abundance or scarcity of labor determines its market value.

The first is the wage system: the second is the law of demand and supply in its regulation of the rate of wages.

These are the laws that govern our industrial system. What is the condition of social life? In all the great business centres, the supply of labor is largely in excess of the demand.

The causes which have led to this are: first, the natural increase of population; secondly, the introduction of labor-saving machinery; third, immigration; and, fourth, the breaking down of small industries, and the conversion of employers of labor into wage-earners.

As the law of demand and supply governs the rate of wages, it is evident that, when the supply is greatly in excess of the demand, the price of labor, like that of any other commodity, must fall.

The need is, therefore:—

First,—Industrial Organization and Centralization, with a view to bring into organic union all the members of the industrial system, and also its political expression in both State and National governments.

Second,—(a) Legislation to shorten the hours of labor, in order to diminish the supply of and increase the demand for labor.

(b) Legislation for the regulation of immigration.

(c) State and national aid for the formation of agricultural colonies.

Third,—The combination of the people into va-

rious co-operative enterprises, similar to those now being carried on in England, France, Germany, and to a growing extent in the United States. This would give to Labor the full control of its earnings, and also have the direct effect of increasing the demand for labor, by diminishing its supply in making the wage-earners their own employers.

Fourth,—The indirect result would be to bring before the community a true way of conducting business, which would prepare the way for a system of Industrial Partnerships, and the organization of labor upon the principle of a right to its share in the profits.

IMOGENE C. FALES.

"THE QUALITY OF MERCY" IN SHAKSPEARE'S PLAYS.

In spite of the cruelties of Lear's two daughters, Regan and Goneril, the barbarities of Richard III., the treacherous murder of Duncan under the roof of Macbeth, and the subsequent compassing of the death of Banquo, the insane "taking-off" of Desdemona by her well-nigh irresponsible husband, the cold and devilish scheme of Shylock to "feed fat his ancient grudge," and numerous other instances which are, doubtless, faithful chronicles of the times they illustrate, let us remind ourselves of the many cases in which mercy is seen to be the dominant attribute, for the time being, of some kingly or ducal character, as well as of some whose only royalty is in themselves.

Miranda, pleading with Prospero for the "allaying" of the "wild waters," in Act I., Scene 2, of "The Tempest," says piteously,—

"Had I been any god of power, I would
Have sunk the sea within the earth, or e'er
It should the good ship so have swallowed, and
The freighting souls within her."

Again, Act III., Scene 1, she says to Ferdinand bearing logs,—

"When this burns,
'Twill weep for having wearied you."

Later, she offers to carry the log to the pile in his stead.

Prospero, in the last scene, forgives his brother his "rankest fault," though to "call him brother would even infect his mouth."

In "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act I., Scene 2, Julia, reading the letter of Proteus, and repentant for having torn it, says,—

"Poor wounded name! my bosom, as a bed,
Shall lodge thee, till thy wound be thoroughly healed;
And thus I search it with a sovereign kiss."

In "Measure for Measure," Act II., Scene 2, Isabella's monologue on mercy is so familiar as to need no repetition here; and, a few lines farther down, she says, pleading for her brother:—

"Spare him, spare him!
He's not prepared for death! Even for our kitchens,
We kill the fowl of season."

In the closing scene, she entreats the Duke to spare the life of Angelo, who had striven to compass her ruin.

The Duke also says to the "dissolute prisoner, Barnadine":—

"For those earthly faults, I quit them all;
And pray thee, take this mercy to provide
For better times to come."

Shakspeare seems to take a special delight in making his characters bury old grudges in his closing scenes, as if his conscience could not rest, did any poor, faulty mortal remain unshriven. Even the terrible Beatrice, who "speaks poniards," and whose "every word stabs," consents to marry Benedick at the last, as she says:—

"Partly to save your life, for I was told you were in a consumption."

In "Midsummer-Night's Dream," poor Helena says to her false lover and his companions,—

"None of noble sort
Would so offend a virgin, and extort
A poor soul's patience, all to make you sport."

In "Love's Labor Lost," Rosaline says to Biron, suing for her hand,—

"If you my favor mean to get,
A twelvemonth shall you spend, and never rest,
But seek the weary beds of people sick."

The entire play of "The Merchant of Venice" (more full of beautiful imagery and poetry to my mind than even "The Midsummer-Night's Dream") hinges on this moral quality of mercy. In the trial scene, the Duke will not believe that Shylock will enforce the bond, but thinks he will forgive Antonio "a moiety of the principal,"—

"Glancing an eye of pity on his losses,
That have of late so huddled on his back,
Enough to press a royal merchant down,
And pluck commiseration of his state
From brassy bosoms and rough hearts of flint,
From stubborn Turks, and Tartars never trained
To offices of tender courtesy,
We all expect a gentle answer, Jew."

Near the close of Portia's definition of "the quality of mercy," the most exquisite in the English language, and which I need not quote here, she says:—

"We do pray for mercy;
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy."

When she tells Shylock to "have by some surgeon" for Antonio, "to stop his wounds, lest he do bleed to death," and Shylock asks,—

"Is it so nominated in the bond?"

she replies,—

"'Twere good you do so much for charity."

The Duke says to Shylock at the close of the trial,—

"That thou shalt see the difference of our spirit,
I pardon thee thy life before thou ask it,"

and further hints that "humbleness" may change the decree of confiscation into that of a mere fine.

In "As You Like It," though Orlando's brother ill-uses him and Duke Frederick banishes his niece through sudden jealousy, yet the rightful Duke in the Forest of Arden says, in regard to killing the deer:—

"And yet it irks me, the poor dappled fools—
Being native burghers of this desert city—
Should, in their own confines, with forked heads
Have their round haunches gored."

The "melancholy Jaques" was also found

"Weeping and commenting
Upon the sobbing deer."

Old Adam forces upon Orlando in his necessities the five hundred crowns, "the thrifty hire" saved through long years of patient service, and follows him

"To the last gasp, with truth and loyalty."

Orlando, in his turn, refuses to touch food at the Duke's sylvan table until Adam has been relieved. Later, he gives battle to the lioness, that his unnatural brother may be rescued, and leads Oliver to the Duke for

"Fresh array and entertainment."

In "A Winter's Tale," Act II., Scene 3, Antigonus, preparing to carry away the infant daughter of Leontes, says:—

"Come on, poor babe.
Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens
To be thy nurses! Wolves and bears, they say,
Casting their savageness aside, have done
Like offices of pity."

In Act IV., Scene 1, of "King John," Hubert, preparing to put out young Arthur's eyes, says:—

"I must be brief, lest resolution drop
Out at mine eyes, in tender, womanish tears."

Arthur says:—

"The iron of itself, though heat red-hot,
Approaching near these eyes, would drink my tears."

* Read at the four Labor Conferences held in New York, in May and June, 1885.

And quench his fiery indignation
Even in the matter of mine innocence;
Nay, after that, consume away in rust,
But for containing fire to harm mine eye.
Are you more stubborn-hard than hammered iron?"

And later,—

"Only you do lack
That mercy, which fierce fire and iron extends,
Creatures of note for mercy-lacking uses."

In "Richard III.," Act IV., Scene 1, Elizabeth says to the Tower:—

"Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
Whom envy hath immured within your walls!
... Old, sullen playfellow
For tender princes, use my babies well."

Lear, on the heath, exposed to the furious tempest, bids the Fool go before him into the hovel, then bethinks him of other "poor naked wretches that bide the pelting of the pitiless storm," and says reproachfully to himself,—

"Oh, I have ta'en
Too little care of this."

It is needless to multiply quotations. We see how the poet seemed to love the very sound of the word "mercy"; how, like a true poet, he used it in place of the more cumbersome word "compassion." How fond he was of using the adjective "gentle," where his characters address one another! Even Shylock is addressed as "gentle Jew"; and "gentle sir," "kindly sir," etc., occur on nearly every page.

Not only does he strive to bring forth the mercy in human breasts (hellhounds like Gloster excepted), but in how many cases does he attribute it to "stocks and stones and senseless things"! How gladly would he have made all his characters teem with pity, if it had been possible! He loses no opportunity of enforcing its moral beauty. Even the very extravagance of Lear's curses on his daughters shows the king's abnormal state, and enhances the contrast of his two moods. Of Shakspeare, of Burns, of every poet who truly touches the universal heart, it may be said that

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things, both great and small."

HELEN T. CLARK.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PENN.

A NEW PHASE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

At the morning service of a Catholic church in Charlestown on Sunday, September 6; the officiating priest gave notice of a movement which had been inaugurated, he said, for the enrolment of Catholic women under the School Suffrage Act of 1878, which allows women in this State to vote for school committees. The object of the movement, he declared, was generally to preserve free institutions from sectarian influence, and particularly to counteract the influence of bigoted Protestant men and women, who were discriminating against Catholics in the control and conduct of our public schools. He urged the women of his congregation to exercise the right that the law gave them, in order to oppose Protestant intolerance.

Last week, a number of meetings were held in the vestries of Catholic churches in Boston, at which Catholic women were urged to register, and thereby qualify themselves to vote at the coming municipal election, and thus to neutralize the efforts of those who would exclude Catholics from representation on the school board and otherwise withhold from them their rights in connection with the public schools. At one of the meetings, a speaker said that, of the 47,000 children attending the Boston public schools, over one-half were Catholics, and yet there were only eight members of that faith on the school board; and, of the eleven hundred teachers in the public schools, only

about two hundred were Catholics. But the greatest cause of offence, according to reports of the meetings and published interviews with prominent Catholics, was found in the omission of the name of Dr. Blake, a Catholic, from the woman suffragists' ticket last fall.

This movement, announced less than a fortnight ago,—planned probably months earlier,—has become quite general on the part of Catholic women in Boston; and the number of them who have registered is said to be large. The total number of women who have registered and can vote at the next municipal election is not yet known.

The number of women registered in Boston in 1879 was 989; in 1880, 972; in 1881, 640; in 1882, 498; in 1883, 701; in 1884, 1,100. The increase in 1883 and 1884 was due to the interest aroused among temperance men and women by the action of a sub-committee in closing a school-house in this city in deference to the wishes of certain liquor dealers who had saloons within a distance of the building that made their business illegal. When the women voters, last fall, nominated an independent ticket in advance of the nominations of the old parties, they refused to renominate Dr. Blake, who was on the committee that caused the removal of a school in the interests of liquor saloons. Although Dr. Blake was not present at the committee meeting at which the action was taken, he afterwards gave it his indorsement and approval, and for that reason alone was his name dropped by the women voters, when they made up their ticket. Whether the women voters acted wisely in omitting the name of Dr. Blake from their ticket, all the circumstances considered, may be questioned. Indeed, some of the most influential of the women were in favor of retaining his name, and at the election voted for him. Certain it is that *his name was not rejected because he was a Catholic*. Indeed, so anxious were the women to have the name of another Catholic on their ticket in the place of Dr. Blake that they actually had a committee consult with one or more Catholic priests on the subject, and requested several gentlemen who were Catholics to allow their names to be brought forward. They all refused. From that time till the next election, the Catholic politicians who are prominent in this new movement used all their influence, through the press and other mediums, to convey the false impression that the women suffragists, and the temperance people who worked with them, had set aside the name of Dr. Blake because he was a Catholic. A knowledge of these facts is necessary to a correct understanding of the motives back of the present movement, the object of which clearly is to combine a powerful religious influence with the methods and machinery of party politics to secure in the interests of Catholicism control of the Boston School Board, with the enormous patronage it commands and the opportunities such control will afford for reconstructing or modifying our school system. The Catholic leaders and the politicians in league with them know that the women voters did not omit the name of Dr. Blake because he was a Catholic; they know that the public schools of Boston are to-day so conducted that no Catholic can fairly complain either of the discipline or courses of study; and that, in this city, if teachers are selected for their experience and efficiency, the majority of them must necessarily be non-Catholics. The fact is, the Catholic leaders are not satisfied with our present school system; and what they want and what they aim to secure in Boston, as elsewhere in this country, is a division of the school fund, and the support by the State of Catholic schools, conducted in the interests of their faith.

Catholic women have a right to vote and to vote as they choose, of course, under the School Suffrage Act; but it can hardly be doubted that they will, as a class, vote as their priests wish them to vote. When we consider the attitude of the Catholic Church toward our public schools, the importance of connecting with the woman suffrage movement the just and reasonable demand for the complete secularization of the State seems to be too evident to be honestly disregarded by any intelligent and sagacious friend of political and religious freedom. Catholic women are more under the influence of the Catholic clergy even than are men of the same faith; and, while we encourage a movement which aims to give the former equally with the latter the elective franchise, we should not neglect a work which is needed to prevent those for whose rights we plead from exercising those rights when gained to defeat other righteous reforms, and to impose upon us disabilities.

How this movement to bring our public schools under sectarian domination by the aid of women's votes will succeed, and how it will affect the woman suffrage movement generally, remains to be seen. It is likely to influence many non-Catholic women to exercise their right to vote, and may be the means of strengthening and extending an interest in suffrage among women. We are satisfied that the women who nominated—unwisely, as we believe—a separate ticket have given the priest and politicians, who accuse them of discriminating against Catholics, no just reasons for their charge, which is but a mere pretext with them, although believed, no doubt, by the mass of Catholics. The worst mistake that the women made was in sacrificing principle to expediency in considering at all the religious views of a candidate, and visiting priests and writing to Catholics with a view of securing on the school board a representative of a particular religious denomination. This was clearly wrong, although done with a generous spirit. Candidates for civil and political offices should be selected for their intellectual and moral fitness only, not because of their religious beliefs; and, when women voters in this city went around looking for a Catholic, instead simply of an upright and competent man that they might put his name on their ticket, they made a moral mistake, which, let us hope, will not be repeated by them. In justice to these women, however, it should be said that they but followed the example set them by men in political caucuses in this and other cities.

If the new movement, whatever be the immediate result, shall have the effect to extend the interest in woman suffrage, and at the same time to impress all unsectarian men and women with the profound importance of making our public schools entirely secular and of removing every remaining vestige of the union of Church and State, it will happily afford another illustration to be added to the many illustrations history now furnishes of the accomplishment of reforms by the aid of those indifferent and even opposed to them.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

LITTLE Jennie was capsized in a boat one day and would probably have been drowned, had she not had presence of mind enough to keep her hands and feet moving, and thus kept herself afloat until help came. When she was retiring that night, her mother told her that she must thank God for having rescued her from a watery grave, which she did in the following way: "Dod, I am oblidthed to oo for helping to thave me fwom dawning—and, then, I had a little thenth my-thelf."—*Rambler*.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

KEEP religion and politics apart, and especially guard the school-house from the influence of sectarianism, no matter of what stripe it may be.—*Boston Traveller*.

A DISCUSSION has been caused about electing school committee on theological issues, which is every way to be deprecated. Sectarian preferences should have no weight in selecting officials to direct our common school system.—*Boston Transcript*.

MISS CLEVELAND has already received \$7,250 for her share of the profits on her book; and this, her friends say, is not a third of the sum that she will receive from her publishers. She is "luckier," remarks an exchange, "than Milton and Burns and such fellows."

MR. HUXLEY says that "however bad our posterity may become, so long as they hold by the plain rule of not pretending to believe what they have no reason to believe, because it may be to their advantage so to pretend, they will not have reached the lowest depths of immorality."

PRANG & Co. have on exhibition at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts original water-color paintings and their chromo-lithographic reproductions, showing the wonderful perfection to which the reproductive art has been brought. Not the least interesting part of the exhibition is a complete series of plates representing the different stages in the printing of a chromo-lithograph in twenty colors.

ABOUT the worst case of heathenism which has come to our ears of late is reported, not from Timbuctoo or the Fiji Islands, but from that highly privileged city on the banks of the Connecticut,—Springfield. A little girl happened in a neighbor's house one morning at the time of family prayers. She was asked to stay, and, accepting the invitation, remained, an interested participant in the proceedings. When they all rose from kneeling, she startled the company with the exclamation: "I like this game first-rate. What is the name of it?" All this is said to have occurred under the shadow of Hope Church. Evidently, the two pastors of that active young parish will not get out of work just yet.—*Congregationalist*.

THE fact that advertisements more or less like the following, taken from the *Boston Sunday Herald*, appear every week in Boston papers, is one of the indications of the vast amount of fraudulent pretension put forth in the name of Spiritualism, and of the ignorance and credulity that still prevail in this latter part of the nineteenth century, even in the "Athens of America,"—

FROM THE GRAVE.

SPIRITS OF DEPARTED SOULS will revisit this earth at PAINE HALL,

To-morrow evening at 8 P.M., through the mediumship of the Spiritual and incomparable phenomenon,

Mlle. LYNDEN and BALABREGA.

Planos weighing a ton will rise and float in mid air; infidels will tremble, the doubting will believe, and believers will be confirmed in the faith. Séances at 8 P.M. Seats 50 cts. A few reserved front seats, \$1.00. Mlle. Lynden will give a limited number of Private Séances at \$1.00 each.

A MONTREAL correspondent of the *Week* writes: "A word here as to the ordinary death-rate of Montreal, which is high. That death-rate parallels an uncommonly high birth-rate, and is swollen by the returns from the Foundling Hospital of the Gray Nunnery. That institution is a striking example of the perversion of benevolence, when unguided by wisdom. To its wicket are brought every week ten to twenty infants, from not only the city, but the surrounding country as

far as Quebec and Ottawa. Even Great Britain has sent in its quota. Frequently born without the physician's care, transmitted in valises and boxes, the wretched infants require the instant application of the baptismal touch, lest their frail bodies be left behind by unregenerated souls. Can philanthropy and religion lift the suspicion of murder from all this?"

AMONG the letters read at the reunion of Whittier's classmates of the Haverhill Academy (the class of '27), on Thursday last, was one from Miss Arethusa Hall, of Northampton, whose age prevented her attendance. She wrote thus concerning the poet:—

I remember Mr. Whittier well as he was then, having enjoyed few opportunities for academic culture, and whom Mr. Duncan introduced to my attention as "a young man who, at the shoemaker's bench, often hammered out fine verses." I recollect the assiduity with which he was reported to study; and I have vividly pictured in my memory his appearance at a public examination, in quite an embarrassed attitude, undergoing the well-sustained ordeal. From that time, I followed his literary career with interest, imbued as it was with the noblest principles of humanity no less than with the deepest poetic feeling. Only a few days since, I read with intense delight, midsummer though it was, "Snow Bound," picturing in many points my own early experience.

SAYS the *Presbyterian*: "About ten years ago, Mr. Gladstone declared in a public speech that more wealth had been created in the previous seventy-five years than in all the years preceding, back to the time of Julius Cæsar. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, but the accumulation of wealth in this century has been unexampled. Has it been so ordered, that the kingdom of Christ may be advanced, the gospel of God's grace preached to the nations, and a Christian civilization borne to all lands and to the isles of the sea?" Certain it is that this accumulation of wealth has gone on in utter disregard of, and opposition to, the letter and the spirit of Christ's alleged teachings: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of heaven!" "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth. . . Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? . . Take, therefore, no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself." "Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask him not again." "Blessed be ye poor; for yours is the kingdom of God." "But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation."

A PRIVATE letter from Germany, printed in the *New York Observer*, represents that the Christian religion is "losing ground most fearfully" in the Kaiser's dominions. The writer says: "In Bayreuth, I attended a catechisation in church. Fifty grown-up young men were present. A venerable clergyman addressed them in the chancel. On purpose to keep them in order, a policeman in uniform and a sword at his side walked up and down, threatening those with his lifted finger who became restless. Such things, of course, are not the general rule; but many more could be added to prove the low standard religion occupies among the people. You would find in most towns an astonishing small number of churches, and the vast majority poorly filled or almost empty. You would find in Berlin parishes of twenty, forty, sixty, eighty thousand souls, with two or rarely three clergymen and one church. There is a general desecration of the Sabbath, but all the public pleasure-grounds, beer-houses, theatres overflowing with visitors. An

anti-Christian spirit prevails through all classes, high and low."

In his speech at the reception given him in New York by the Press Club, Hon. Henry B. Stanton related the following incident, which he said occurred seventy-five years ago:—

An aged deacon had a confused idea of the upper lakes, and a mortal dread of the Mohawk Indians. He hung heavily on the skirts of the post-rider, who resolved to shake him off. One day, he handed him the paper; and the deacon bored him for fresh news. With horror depicted on his countenance, he told him that the Mohawks were digging through the banks of the great lakes, and that the water would soon pour down from the west, and that all New England would be drowned by a flood as disastrous as that of Noah's time. The post-rider then put spurs to his horse and fled. The terrified deacon ran to the minister's, and told the terrible news. The clergyman opened the Bible, and read to him from Genesis the promise of God, that he would never again drown the earth by a flood, and that he had set the bow in the cloud as the seal of this covenant with mankind. "Ah, my beloved pastor," responded the shivering deacon, "that doesn't apply. It is not God that's going to do it. God's nothing to do with it. It's them infernal Mohawk Injuns that's cutting down the banks!"

THE following from an article on "What and Where is God?" in a paper called *Problems of Nature*, is fairly entitled to the merit of originality: "A black hair is only a tube burned to coal by a current of electricity coursing through it. A white hair is the tube unburned. . . There is not and there never was on the earth a person whose hair was burned as black as a piece of charcoal when wet who could make a philosopher, scientist, or constructor of any affair requiring great intelligence. Such a producer was never seen, and one never will be seen. No person whose hair was even brown was ever known to be anything eminent in the way of originality or constructing what embraced a great principle of law. No person whose hair was of the color of sand ever made a discovery of a work of nature or fact of any character, the disclosure of which required an operation of the mind; and such a person is always as competent at one avocation as another. No person whose hair is red is anything else than a philosopher in his natural acquirements. And, in all such people, only a worry of the mind of sufficient length of time is needed to convert them into teachers of the facts and laws of a universe."

THE great majority of mankind, indeed the larger part of the populations of the leading races, are in a comparatively undeveloped condition. Intellectually speaking, says De Quincey, "a very large proportion of men never attain maturity. Nonage is their final destiny, and manhood is for them in this respect a pure idea. Finally, as regards human development, but a small moiety of our species ever attain manhood. . . It is a fact forced upon me by the whole experience of life that almost all men are children, more or less, in their tastes and admirations. This needs little proof. Society is actually held together under its present constitution by baby feelings to which I allude. Were there no admiration for wealth carried to accumulation far beyond what is practically disposable, of honors which are no honors, and of tinsel decorations, the foundations of society, as it is, would actually give way." It is not strange, when we consider the limitation of our knowledge, the fickleness of our moods, the servitude we are under to our bodily wants, the low mental and moral condition of our race, the perversity, sordidness, sensuality, and bondage to puerile beliefs and usages, that men have adopted pessimistic and misanthropic views of life. But there is another aspect of life more pleasant to contemplate, and which gives hope to the heart of man.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

X.

CHRISTIANITY THE STATE RELIGION.

Early Councils. The Formation of the Canon.

The formation of the Christian Canon cannot be attributed to the influence of any single person or to the authority of any single council of the Church. Four men, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine, were chiefly instrumental in determining the selection of the books now deemed canonical and inspired; and several of the early councils indorsed and confirmed their selection. Of these four men, Irenæus was the earliest; and his influence was the most important. Writing more than a hundred years before the first œcumenical or general council of the Church, his methods were uncritical, and his decisions, in most instances, were purely arbitrary. Prof. Davidson says of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian: "The three Fathers of whom we are speaking had neither the ability nor inclination to examine the genesis of documents surrounded with an apostolic halo. No analysis of their authenticity or genuineness was seriously attempted. . . . Irenæus was credulous and blundering; Tertullian, passionate and one-sided; and Clement of Alexandria, imbued with the treasures of Greek wisdom, was mainly occupied with ecclesiastical ethics. . . . Their assertions show both ignorance and exaggeration."*

The first collection of Christian writings, however, was not formed by either of these distinguished Fathers of the Church, but by Marcion, who, for his Pauline and Gnostic tendencies, was accounted a heretic. His collection contained one Gospel—not identical with either of our four canonical Gospels—and ten Epistles of Paul, which, however, he did not consider inspired or of divine authority. Irenæus arbitrarily selected our four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles

Peter, and the Shepherd of Hermas. He rejected of Paul, the First Epistle of John, and the Revelation. In an appendix, as of less authority, he placed the Second Epistle of John, the First of absolutely the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Second of Peter, the Third of John, Jude, and James. Clement of Alexandria, about 210 A.D., accepted all of our New Testament writings except the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Second of John and Jude, which, together with the Revelation of Peter, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the First Epistle of Clement, he placed in an appendix, as of secondary importance. Tertullian, about ten years later, ignored the Second Epistle of Peter, the Third of John and James, and declared Hebrews, Jude, Second John, and First Peter not to be authoritative, ranking them with the apocryphal Shepherd of Hermas. Many early collections of the Christian writings omitted the Apocalypse, which is still ignored by the Eastern Church.

Besides numerous other fragmentary copies of the New Testament writings, there are four great manuscripts of the Greek Bible now extant. The *Codex Sinaiticus*, at St. Petersburg, probably the oldest of the four, dating, it is believed, from about the middle of the fourth century, contains not only the canonical books of the New Testament, but also the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Barnabas, now deemed apocryphal. The *Codex Vaticanus*, at Rome, of but little later date, ends at Hebrews ix., 4, by mutilation. The *Codex Alexandrinus*, in the possession of the British Government at London, includes the two Epistles of Clement of Rome in the New Testament collection. The *Codex Ephraemi*, at Paris, is a palimpsest; i.e., it is written over another writing, still partially legible. It agrees, in the main, with the other codices, but is of later date, and less perfect and reliable. The variations in these earliest extant collections of the New Testament writings attest the fact that no general and complete agreement has ever been reached respecting the books deemed canonical or authoritative.

The Council of Hippo, in Africa, in the year 393 A.D.,—Augustine being present as the ruling spirit,—declared the books of the Bible as at present published to be canonical, including the Old Testament Apocrypha, but omitting Lamentations. The Council of Carthage, four years later,—Augustine again being present,—confirmed this list, and ordered that no other books should be read in the churches under the title of "Sacred Scriptures." At a second Council of Carthage, A.D. 419, Augustine's selections were again ratified. There is nothing, however, in the action of these councils, or in the character of the men composing them, which would tend to sustain their authority as infallible or even reasonably just and intelligent. Dr. Philip Schaff, the orthodox historian of the Church, says of the bishops who constituted these councils, "Together with abundant talents, attainments, and virtues, there were gathered also . . . ignorance, intrigues, and partisan passions, which had already been excited on all sides by long controversies preceding, and now met and arrayed themselves, as hostile armies for open combat."* Nor is this militant comparison a mere figure of speech, for violent brawls and unseemly physical conflicts were not uncommon at these convocations. At the first Council of Nicæa, Nicholas, bishop of Myra, met the arguments of Arius by bestowing upon the jaw of that venerable presbyter such a violent blow that a temporary disuse of that important organ of debate was rendered necessary. Of the third general council of the Church, held at Ephesus, Dr. Schaff declares that its proceedings were marked by

"shameful intrigue, uncharitable lust of condemnation, and coarse violence of conduct."* Dean Milman affirms that "intrigue, injustice, violence, decisions on authority alone, and that the authority of a turbulent majority, decisions by wild acclamation rather than sober inquiry, detract from the reverence, and impugn the judgments . . . of the later councils."† The impartial historian can hardly perceive any valid reason for exempting the earlier councils from the same judgment.

In the midst of such influences, civil and ecclesiastical, as we have described, were born the "infallible Church" of Catholic Christianity and the "infallible Bible" of Protestantism. When we reflect soberly upon this phenomenon, so extraordinary in its alleged results, so human—not to say sometimes inhuman—in its means and methods, can we fail to conclude that there is not one particle of evidence to sustain the claims for infallibility made on behalf of either the Bible or the Church?

The Natural Evolution of Christianity.

We are now approaching the conclusion of this discussion; but, before we leave it for the consideration of matters of seemingly greater practical import, let us recall the leading features which have impressed themselves on our narrative of the historical evolution of Christianity, and draw from them such natural conclusions as we may concerning the genesis and development of the Christian faith.

The rise, progress, and triumph of Christianity constitute indeed one of the most remarkable phenomena in the world's history. We cannot wonder that an uncritical people, regarding it superficially, have seen in it evidences of supernatural intervention and the working of a greater than human power. A careful study of the development of other religions, however, will illustrate the truth that the rapid growth of Christianity, though indeed remarkable, is not an entirely unique phenomenon in history. The spread of Buddhism was even more rapid, not only in its native India, but also among peoples of alien race, unlike civilization, and different religion. It still numbers more adherents than all the sects of Christendom combined. In later times, the growth of Mohammedanism during the lifetime of its founder far surpassed the progress made by Christianity in the earlier years of its existence.‡ In our own day and in the lifetime of some of its members, the Brahmo-Somaj of India has converted some hundreds of thousands of the native population to its pure theistic faith.

Many of the earliest converts to Christianity were drawn from the Jewish communities scattered among the cities of the Roman Empire. The dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth and the distribution of its people throughout the nations thus became a natural influence of notable import in favoring the spread of the Christian faith. The new religion, however, influenced but little the Judaism of Palestine; and the later accretion of myth and dogma imported into Christianity from Aryan and Egyptian sources speedily resulted in a separation of the Hebrew element, and cut short the progress of the growing faith among the people of its founder.

Jesus, the Myth and the Man.

It is insisted by the dogmatic defenders of Christianity, on the one hand, and by its dogmatic opponents, on the other, that the New Testament narratives must either be accepted as a whole—the supernatural and miraculous elements included—or

* *History of the Christian Church.*

† *History of Christianity.*

* *The Christian Canon*, by Samuel Davidson, D.D. See also abbreviated article by same author in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

* *History of the Christian Church.*

‡ Dean Stanley, in his *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, in noting the spread of Mohammedanism in Africa, concedes to it some admirable features which are lacking in Oriental Christianity. His frank treatment of this subject is very suggestive and instructive.

rejected entirely as of no historical value. If we have been successful in our treatment of this important branch of our subject, however, it should be clear that, by the canons of a true historical and critical exegesis, it is quite possible to separate the characteristics of the mythical Christ from the genuine features of the Man of Nazareth; and this, too, by the application of no arbitrary rule. Having recovered the picture of the historical Jesus from our investigation of the consenting testimony of the synoptical Gospels, and set over against it the remaining material of the Evangelical writers, the result proves the correctness of the method, almost with the certainty of mathematical demonstration.

On the one hand, we have Jesus, the Man,—a Hebrew of the Hebrews,—true son and successor of the prophets, finding his inspiration, his doctrines, his apt illustrations, his intense moral convictions, all latent in the ideas, the customs, surroundings, and even in the superstitions and prejudices of his people. His doctrine, like Paul's, was, "to the Greeks, foolishness"; but it was by no means unfamiliar or incomprehensible to the people of Galilee and Judea. His aphorisms, quotations, and illustrations show familiarity with the Hebrew scriptures and with the current uncritical methods of expounding and interpreting them in the synagogues, but none whatever with the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome. The Jesus of the Triple Tradition is a simple, noble, manly personage, full of intense conviction and prophetic enthusiasm, who moves naturally and freely in his native Hebrew environment. The traces of the miraculous which still linger in his story are well-known superstitious belongings of his time and people. Jesus was conscience, humanity, compassion incarnate, but conscience, humanity, and compassion tinged by the habitual atmosphere of Hebrew life and thought. Without the current Jewish expectation of a coming Messiah, and of the kingdom of heaven soon to be established on the earth, the historical Jesus of the Triple Tradition would have had no existence. That three or four Greek writers of a later century should invent such a character, living and moving in an atmosphere so foreign to any other imaginable environment, as some recent writers have suggested,—that, indeed, would be a miracle as difficult for the rigorous and vigorous apostles of iconoclastic radicalism to explain as are some of the legendary stories of the gospel narratives for their orthodox opponents.

On the other hand, when we pass from the man Jesus of the Triple Tradition to the Christ of the excluded birth-legends and the wonderful fabric of mysticism and dogma found in the Fourth Gospel, we pass out of the Hebrew environment into the region of Aryan and Egyptian thought. The Christian *mythos* finds its explanation in legends foreign and abhorrent to the Hebrew mind: in the similar myths which cluster about the story of Krishna in India, and which were reflected in the later traditions of Buddhism; in the like mythological conceptions of the Egyptian Osiris worship, and the current religions of Greece and Rome. Back of these, it rests upon a common substratum of solar mythology, which constituted so important an element in the religions of India, Persia, Greece, Rome, Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt.

The Mythical Element as related to the Progress of Christianity.

To account for the marvellous progress of Christianity among the Aryan peoples of Europe, something more than the life and character of the historical Jesus is demanded by the rational investigator. That the mythical and philosophical accretions which gathered about his story in the gospel

narratives helped to familiarize and popularize his teachings outside the boundaries of Judaism, there can scarcely be a doubt. This influence was greatly aided by the teaching of Paul, who in his own person combined Pharisaic Judaism with the results of Greek philosophical culture, and whose work was a preparation for the new Platonism of the Alexandrian schools, which drew into yet closer contact the alien faiths of Greece and Palestine. Finally, Paul's doctrine of Universalism severed Christianity from the ethnical narrowness of Judaism, and it fell as fruitful seed into a soil prepared by the political ferment succeding the conquests of Alexander and the Cæsars,—into a world united as never before by the liberal and cosmopolitan policy of the Roman Empire.

Under the modifying influence of its mythical and dogmatic accretions, it is evident that the simple ethical teaching of Jesus was largely obscured and misinterpreted. There were three factors, however, in the evolution of Christianity, to which its progress and ultimate triumph appear to be chiefly due, that are traceable directly to the thought of Jesus, and that offer an historical justification for the popular regard in which he is held as the founder of the new faith. These, taking them in the order of their development, were: first, that feature in the teaching of Jesus which based morality upon the inner motive rather than the outward act; secondly, the natural ultimatum and practical application of this principle through the socialistic communism of primitive Christianity,* and particularly in the wider principle of Pauline Universalism; and, thirdly, the outcome and survival of this democratic and equalizing principle in the form of the church organization.

The abrogation of caste and of social distinctions in the church organization was the surviving remnant of the earlier communism, which not even the triumph of the Roman hierarchy could wholly obscure, though it succeeded in transforming the democratic equality of the earlier communities into the subordinated equality of the "Church militant,"—of soldiers marching under the command of an autocratic leader. The organization of the Church was possible only through the principle of Universalism introduced by Paul, but based ultimately upon the thought of Jesus. The separate communities were welded together by the result of the dogmatic controversies, and the circumstances of the political situation, into a compact organization of workers, which gave Christianity a tremendous advantage in its conflict with heathenism. The ethnic religions, in their popular forms, were a matter of family interest rather than of organized, concerted public action. They fostered no universal church. The state religion was usually quite different from the popular faith; and, while the schools of philosophy and secret and select associations of the mystagogues interested the intelligent classes, they did not appeal to the sympathies of the common people.

With this principle of organized Universalism in the primitive Christian faith, the tendency and policy of the Roman Empire coincided; and the Church accordingly took form and being under the guiding influence of the State. "The first form which Christianity assumed," says Tiele, "as an established religion, was Roman. The Roman Catholic Church is simply the Roman universal empire modified and consecrated by Christian ideas. It left the old forms, for the most part, standing; but it ennobled and elevated them by a new spirit. Its organization, and the efforts after unity which controlled all its development, were

* More than a year after these words were written, we are gratified to find our judgment confirmed in the able and scholarly address of Rev. Dr. Heber Newton on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism." See *Index* of June 25, 1885.

inherited from the Romans; and it was by their means that it was enabled to become the teacher of the still rude populations of the north, to preserve rather than diffuse the treasures which it had received from the ancients and from Jesus." *

Christianity and the Religion of the Future.

Looking back over the history of these earliest Christian centuries, is it wonderful, then, that the new religion gained steadily in power, and pressed forward to its ultimate triumph? Nay. The wonder would have been had the event proved otherwise. At every step, we behold the inevitable results of easily discernible and wholly natural causes. Had the simple, unalloyed teaching of the Prophet of Nazareth prevailed throughout the empire, that indeed would have been a miracle. But Christianity triumphant, as we have seen, was far from being the religion of Jesus: it was a compromise with Pagan power and sacerdotalism,—a hybrid product which the Nazarene would never have recognized as the child of his simple enthusiasm for righteousness, his devotion and self-abnegation, his suffering and agony, his poverty and supreme self-sacrifice. Imperial Rome was not the kingdom of righteousness whose coming he desired and prophesied,—no, nor any nation, people, or religious communion which has succeeded it, owning or professing the name of Christian. His was a beautiful ideal, never to be completely realized, as he anticipated, by any earthly society; but let us not doubt that this rejected stone will yet take its place in the temple of the Religion of the Future,—the true religion of humanity,—which shall be neither exclusively Christian nor Buddhist, nor Mohammedan nor Hindu, which shall be known by no sectarian designation. Into its fold shall be welcomed all sincere and earnest seekers for the truth; all who strive for its manifestation in a life of righteousness; all who believe, in the language of one of its prophets, that "Truth is our only armor in all passages of life and death." Its blessed ministry shall lead them, and lead all the world at last, to a perfect recognition of the BROTHERHOOD OF MAN; and to that trustful acceptance of the universe, which, independent even of theistic dogma, stands to all reverent and thoughtful minds as the rational fulfilment of Jesus' doctrine of the FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

A TRANSLATION FROM HORACE.†

Scion of Etruria's monarch—,
In a cask, untitled still,
Mellow wine I've long been keeping
In reserve for thee to spill;
For thy locks, a wreath of roses
And Sabaean perfume rare.
Snatch thyself from each engagement,
And to Tivoli repair.

Ceaseless plenty makes one dainty:
Leave your luxury for a while,
And your villa, that is neighbor
To the clouds, aspiring pile.
Let not Rome, its din and splendor,
Constantly your heart beguile.
To the wealthy, change is tonic,
Though they bask in Fortune's smile.

'Neath a lowly roof, full often
Hath a poor man's healthful fare,
Without couches, gorgeous hangings,
Smoothed the wrinkled front of Care.

Hid no longer, now arises
Starred Andromeda's bright Sire;

* *The History of Religion*, by Prof. C. P. Tiele, of the University of Leyden.

† The poet invites his friend Mæcenas to spend a few days of the heated term beneath his humble roof, far from the splendor and din of Rome.

Flameth Procyon, fierce forerunner
Of the Dogstar's baleful fire;
Drives his panting flock the shepherd,
Weary with the noontide heat,
Where the thickets of the Wood-god
Weave a shadowy, green retreat;
O'er the river's silent margin
Strays no breeze with whispers sweet.

Cares of state meantime annoy thee,
On the city's weal intent.
Farest thou what plots may menace
In the far-off Orient?
O'er events still in the future
Wisely God a veil doth draw;
Smiles he, when o'er-anxious mortal
Would transcend his being's law.
This remember: present moment
Manage duly, use aright.
O'er the future, thou art powerless:
It to mould exceeds thy might.
Now like river in its channel
Flowing calm to ocean wide,
Thus the current of events will
Sometimes smoothly, gently glide;
But, anon, its angry waters,
Freshet-swollen, madly pour,
Bearing ruin, desolation,
Banks and barriers running o'er.
Houses, cattle, trees uprooted,
In a mass it whirls along;
Woods and mountains loud re-echo
Roaring of its torrent strong.

Master of himself and happy
He will be, whome'er can say,
As the shades of evening glimmer,
I have truly lived to-day.
Jove can make to-morrow's heaven
Dark with clouds or bright with sun:
Gladness of a day that's vanished
Cannot be reversed, undone.

In her cruel game exulting,
Fortune playeth still her wiles;
Still her honors keeps transferring,—
Now on me, on thee, she smiles.

While she tarries, I applaud her:
Plumeth she her wings for flight,
In my virtue as a mantle
Wrapt I her caprice's slight.
I resign what she hath given,
Dowerless maiden turn to woo,—
Poverty, unlike to Fortune,
Always honest, modest, true.

Groans the mast 'neath storm-wind's scourges,
Needful 'tis not then for me
Humble vows and prayers to utter,
Lest my rich stuffs strew the sea.
In my skiff, two-oared, then, safely
Through the Ægean's roar I sail,
On to port the bright Twins waft me,
Speeding me with favoring gale.

B. W. BALL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HOVENDEN'S "LAST MOMENTS OF JOHN BROWN."

Editors of The Index:—

In regard to the authenticity of the anecdote of the scene between John Brown and the slave-child, chosen by Mr. Hovenden, of Philadelphia, as the subject of his historical painting, and described in some detail by me in the last issue of *The Index*, I have just turned to a file of the *New York Tribune* for 1859, and on page 8 of the issue for December 5 I find the *locus classicus*, the original paragraph, which I believe is alone sufficient to justify the painter, and save the pretty incident for the school readers and Decoration Day orators of the future. The exact words

of the *Tribune's* correspondent are these: "On leaving the jail, John Brown had on his face an expression of calmness and serenity. . . . His face was even joyous, and a forgiving smile rested upon his lips. His was the lightest heart, among friend or foe, in the whole of Charlestown that day; and not a word was spoken that was not an intuitive appreciation of his manly courage. Firmly and with elastic step, he moved forward. As he stepped out of the door, a black woman, with her little child in her arms, stood near his way. The twain were of the despised race for whose emancipation and elevation to the dignity of children of God he was about to lay down his life. His thoughts at that moment none can know except as his acts interpret them. He stopped for a moment in his course, stooped over, and with the tenderness of one whose love is as broad as the brotherhood of man kissed it affectionately."

This account is quoted, as it stands, by Mr. James Redpath, in his *Life of John Brown*. But there is internal evidence of its reliability. The *Tribune's* correspondents were carefully selected men, the picked journalists of the day; and their accounts form by far the fullest and best record of the Virginia events. The correspondent who tells the story of Brown and the little black child states in the same article that he was present at the jail when the escort of troops arrived with Mrs. Brown, the night preceding the execution; he was in communication with Capt. Avis, and was admitted to the circle immediately about the scaffold on the fatal field. It is evident, then, that he was an eye-witness to all he relates. Read again his account (quoted above), and see if it does not bear on its face the marks of having been set down by one who saw whereof he spoke, noting especially what he says of the very expression of Brown's face, and the "tenderness" of his love for the little baby.

In view of the detailed statement of one who was beyond reasonable doubt an eye-witness, one is compelled to disregard the adverse witness even of Capt. Avis himself, Brown's jailer. In Mr. F. B. Sanborn's valuable work, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, just published by Roberts Brothers, it is stated (p. 622) by the author that it was impossible for the incident of the slave-child to have occurred. For, says he, Capt. Avis, now dead, testified in 1882 as follows: "Brown was between Sheriff Campbell and me; and a guard of soldiers surrounded him, and allowed no person to come between them and the prisoner, from the jail to the scaffold, except his escorts." Mr. Sanborn, therefore, calls the incident of the slave-child a "legend," and thinks it arose from Brown's having several times said that he would have no hypocritical pro-slavery preachers at his execution, but would rather be followed to his "public murder" by barefooted, bare-legged, ragged slave-children and their old gray-headed slave mother than by such clergymen. "I should feel much prouder of such an escort," said Brown, "and I wish I could have it." For my part, I can see no propriety or reason in calling the written statement of an eye-witness a "legend"; and I should vastly prefer to think that in the confusion of the party as they emerged from the jail through the narrow little porch, and just before the formal positions of the march to the wagon had been assumed, Brown, with his usual alertness, stooped to kiss the slave-child, and passed on, Capt. Avis being at that instant separated from him by an intervening body, or else having his attention called to the display of military before the door. Nothing is more common than discrepant accounts of eye-witnesses, but it is plain that one of the eye-witnesses to the emergence of Brown from Charlestown jail could not have been mistaken as to such an unusual event as this; while, on the other hand, nothing would be more probable than that the anxious jailer could easily have failed to see a little incident like the one in question.

W. S. KENNEDY.

P. S.—Since the above was penned, Mr. Sanborn writes me as follows (let the reader give his statements such weight as they deserve): "The child-kissing incident is a legitimate myth, but has no historical foundation, and, as I say, was physically impossible. Avis was a man whose word could be taken as to that. Moreover, Brown's first biographer, Redpath, who gave currency to the story, told me five years ago that it was not true. He depended on Ned House (the *Tribune* correspondent) for it (as he said), and he had discovered that House invented it. This agrees with what is otherwise known of House."

DR. BUCHANAN'S "MANUAL OF PSYCHOMETRY."

Editors of The Index:—

The author of this book is a man of large experience, eminent scientific and professional attainments, especially skilled in the physiology and functions of the brain; an enthusiast in his special pursuits and discoveries, yet ready and able to render good "reason for the faith that is in him."

Better than any comments will be some extracts from the chapters of this work, in which he opens his great subject under various headings, some of which are as follows: "Original Sketch of Psychometry," "Later Facts," "Psychic Faculties, Location," etc., "Psychometry in Self-culture," "Conjugal Relations," "Medicine," "Literature," "Prophetic Intuition," "Anthropology," "Religion," "Future Life."

After stating that this is but an opening volume of many that are needed, he says: "As this contains many reports of psychometric experiments with Mr. Buchanan (and others), I would state that all such experiments are as pure and true illustrations as possible,—accurate reports of mental impressions recorded as spoken deliberately. The mind of the psychometer is always carefully guarded from all impressions but those which come from an invisible source by contact, without knowing the object or person described, and with no leading questions asked. . . ."

"The profound productions of Prof. Denton have attracted far less attention than that simple exhibition of psychometry called 'mind reading,' which I have never thought worthy of any special cultivation, but which, as an exhibition, answers the purpose of challenging scepticism, and giving those profoundly ignorant on this subject facts which compel reluctant attention, and thus prepare them for scientific investigation."

These lines, from a poem of John Pierpont read to the Yale College Alumni in 1850, are given, to show, in part, what the psychometric process and its results are, the theme being more fully illustrated on other pages:—

"Mysterious science! that has now displayed
'How fearfully and wonderfully made'
Is man, that even his touch can catch the mind,
That long has left material things behind!
Fearful the thought, that when my clay is cold,
And the next Jubilee has o'er it rolled,
The very page that I am writing now,
With tardy fingers and a care-worn brow,
To other brows by other fingers pressed,
Shall tell the world, not what I had been deemed,
Nor what I passed for, nor what I had seemed,
But what I *was*! Believe it, friends, or not,
To this high point of progress have we got:
We stamp ourselves on every page we write!
Send you a note to China or the pole,—
Where'er the wind blows or the waters roll,—
That note conveys the measure of your soul!"

In the experiments, which fill a large part of these pages, the psychometer sits quietly holding an autograph letter, a stone, a dose of medicine, or any object against the forehead, and thus reads character, gets the history of the stone, feels the effects of the medicine, etc., demonstrating the subtle impress of mind on matter and the delicate impressibility which makes nature an open book to the subject.

Forty-two years ago, Dr. Buchanan made this discovery; and, in New York, W. C. Bryant, J. L. O'Sullivan, and others, paid him marked attention, and testified to his honor and ability, as did sundry eminent medical gentlemen. Quoting further from the work: "Psychometry is the development and exercise of the divine faculties in man, a demonstration of the old conception of poetry and mystic philosophy as to the divine interior of the soul, and the marvellous approximation of man toward omniscience. It is, moreover, a demonstration of the normal dignity of human nature, showing in all humanity neglected and often nearly extinct powers, which have heretofore been deemed utterly incredible, or, if credible at all, only as a miracle from heaven, or as rare, anomalous, mysterious, and inexplicable facts, belonging to some

Manual of Psychometry: The Dawn of a New Civilization. By Joseph R. Buchanan, M.D., author of *Anthropology, Therapeutic Sarcognomy, and Moral Education*. Professor of Physiology and Institutes of Medicine in four medical colleges successively, from 1845 to 1881; and five years dean of Eclectic Medical Institute, the parent school of American Medical Eclecticism; discoverer of the impressibility of the brain,—of Psychometry and Sarcognomy. Published by the author, 29 Fort Avenue, Boston. 500 pages. Price \$2.00.

abnormal phase of life, or else to the hallucination of the visionary, if not to the illusion of the dupe. . . . Do these things not tend to solve the problem of the relations between Mind and Matter? Does it not appear that something emitted from the person or mind of the writer has become attached to or connected with the paper, as if the mental and the physical were capable of entering into a psycho-material combination?"

A single record of an experiment with Mrs. Buchanan must suffice. Last May, a photograph of Gen. Grant was put in her hands, she not knowing what it was; and the report, in part, was as follows: "I feel brain-weary, as if overtaxed. It is a man who studies, engaged in some mental work that calls for a great deal of strength and draws on his memory. [He was ill, and trying to finish his life.] . . . He does not seem like a literary character. I get a fresh feeling, as if it were just now. What an eventful career! Nothing in early manhood that showed such capacity. Some sudden call for energy,—it seems like war. . . . A person of no ordinary power. Some overshadowing condition brought him out. I don't yet see it. . . . Now, I see it. He is a soldier; has wonderful will power and sagacity; one of the great successful Union generals; an iron will, bold, no trepidation, wise in plan and adroit in movement; a great deal of intuition in military affairs. He took in the whole situation. . . . I think it is Gen. Grant. I see him as President."

It may be said that the minds of persons present affect these impressions; but, in some of the experiments, none knew whose writing was being psychometrized. Some thirty years ago, I wrote to Dr. Buchanan, at Cincinnati, to subscribe for his *Journal of Man*, and expressed interest in his researches. We were total strangers, and I did not expect a reply. But soon came a letter with a psychometric description of my character, which I thought correct; and none of the parties in the matter knew anything of me,—not, surely, of some leading traits of character, which were well given.

From these extracts, the reader will see that the book is well worth reading, and its author worthy of thoughtful respect, as a man from whom much can be learned.

G. B. STEBBINS.

TWO DIFFERENT KINDS OF LIFE.

Editors of *The Index* :—

The unchangeable Life is the direct cause of the changeable life; and, because it sustains the changeable life, it is also the indirect cause of the product of that life. As parents are the direct cause of the existence of their children, but the indirect cause of any good or evil deeds which those children may perform, so the Creator, or uncreated Life, is the direct cause of all created life, but the indirect cause of all matter, and of all action in matter, both of which are products of the created life. The created life—i.e., the mineral, vegetable, and animal life—was unconscious when created; and the animal life alone was created with the power of becoming conscious. Consequently, the created life was *unconsciously* the cause of matter and of all action in matter. Suppose a few drops of water encased in a solid rock should freeze, and thereby cause the rock to burst: what would be the cause of the bursting of the rock? The uncreated Life is the indirect cause of it, because the direct cause of the created life of the rock, water, and atmosphere. The created life of the rock, water, and atmosphere, through its action, produced, first, the coarser fabric, or visible matter; and, secondly, the action or manifestation in that matter.

The life of the earth moves or acts independently of the Creator, and moves or changes unconsciously its own product, matter; and through this product or matter is the action of the life made manifest to us,—the conscious animal life. Thus, all mineral life, in acting, moves or changes the mineral matter,—its own product. Through the action of the life of the earth, some of the matter or coarser fabric is thrown off through volcanoes, leaving a vacuum, and, through the pressure of the life of the atmosphere on the earth, the earth falls together, and fills this vacuum, causing a sudden disturbance in the earth and air. All chemical actions are caused indirectly by the life of man. The life of man prepares the alkali and acid, or the opposite qualities; and, when they are brought in contact with each other, the life of the alkali and the life of the acid produce a chemical action. Therefore, the life of the alkali and acid is the direct cause

of the action, and the life of man is the indirect cause of it.

The uncreated Life is the direct cause of all created life, and the created life the direct cause of matter and all action in matter. The conscious created life is the direct cause of sin, sickness, and death. Of sin, because through the matter or coarser fabric which the created life unconsciously produces the life or soul of man became clouded or led away from the true Light or eternal Substance; and sickness and death are but the wages of sin.

If life be the cause of matter and of all action in matter, it is necessary that we understand the science of that cause or life, in order to prove our opinion of the effect of life,—natural science. Observing effects and forming conclusions therefrom is not a trustworthy method for discovering the cause.

E. J. ARENS.

PLATFORM OF THE NEW YORK FREE-THINKERS' ASSOCIATION.

The following resolutions were adopted by the New York Freethinkers' Association as its platform, at the annual meeting held in Albany, Sept. 11-13:—

The Freethinkers of the State of New York, in Convention assembled, resolve as follows:—

First.—That the mother and nurse of all reforms, social, political, and moral, is universal mental liberty, and that its general extension is the condition of all future progress of the human race.

Second.—That, taking our stand on the fundamental American doctrine of the separation of Church and State, we demand, in the interests of liberty, equal rights and secular government, that such separation of Church and State should be completed by the repeal of all laws exempting church and ecclesiastical property from taxation, by the prohibition by law of the appropriation of public moneys for the support of or use by institutions under the management and influence of sectarian denominations, by the repeal of all laws compelling the observance of any day as a Sabbath or holy day, or enforcing the payment of legislative chaplaincies, or of establishing special religious days to be observed by public authority. We therefore call upon all of our fellow-citizens, irrespective of their religious opinions, to aid us in obtaining these requirements of justice.

Third.—That the object of free thought is to extend the benign influence of science, to cultivate the spirit of fraternity, to aid in the triumph of peace, to remove brute force, and to inaugurate a government which shall express the moral power of an enlightened reason. To these ends, we recommend that liberal or secular societies should be formed for social education and recreative purposes; that freethought and secular halls, libraries, and reading rooms should be built or obtained, and that suitable lecturers and teachers should be employed wherever possible in the several counties of our State.

Fourth.—That it is time for liberal and secular societies to take the place of churches and priests in the social recognition and celebration of those great events of human life,—birth, marriage, and death.

Fifth.—That, inasmuch as the government rests upon the consent of the governed, "equality recognizes no distinction of sex," and that woman's complete inclusion into a common participation with man of the knowledge, the uses, and the enjoyments of this earth, is her legitimate position.

Sixth.—That theology, in accounting for toil as a curse and in proclaiming riches as a snare, has unhappily confused the relations of labor and capital, and that human social equality demands that the industry which creates the wealth of the world should enjoy a fair distribution of its benefit.

Seventh.—That, in order to aid practically in the securing of these ends, we request and authorize the officers of this Association to take steps for legal incorporation.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Graphic (Illustrated), of Cincinnati, the only illustrated paper in the West, celebrated its first anniversary last week. In honor of this event, the issue of September 12 is a regular holiday paper in appearance, in size, and in contents. There are ten pages of illustrations, one beautiful colored plate, eight pages of interesting reading matter, and a handsome colored cover. The price of the paper is only ten cents per copy. The pictures include the

following attractive subjects: "Simplicity"; "The Fight of the Spanish Maids"; "A Pinch of Snuff"; "The Queen of the Masque"; "Beatrice"; "The Happy Mother"; "Beauty in the Hammock"; "Country Maids"; "The Kiss in the Fields," etc. The romance entitled "The Master of the Mine," by Robert Buchanan, is commenced in this number. O. O. Hall & Co., publishers, Cincinnati.

In the September number of the *Andover Review*, Rev. S. W. Dike concludes his discussion of "The Religious Problem of Country Town." Rev. Robert J. Nevin gives a thrilling account of the martyrdom of Panzani, who died in Rome last November, and sheds much light upon the policy and methods of Pius IX. and the Jesuits. D. McG. Means, Esq., of New York, contributes a valuable paper on county and town poor-houses. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge portrays President Madison with skill. Under the head of "Archæological Notes," Prof. Taylor reviews a number of recent discoveries; and Prof. Woodruff notices the very important El Fayoum manuscripts, and gives a careful *résumé* of the discussion which is going on over the alleged Gospel fragment. There are, besides, interesting editorials. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Revue de Belgique for August contains articles on prizes in schools, English painters, and Tilly; the first number of a story apparently designed to show the folly and wickedness of war, "The Hero of Gravelotte"; and a powerful exposure of Taine's injustice toward the French Revolution.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MISS KATE FIELD will lecture, the coming season, on "The Mormon Monster," "An Evening with Charles Dickens," and "Eyes and Ears in London."

MR. GEORGE W. CABLE will contribute to the *Century* a series of papers on Creole slave-songs and song-dances, including the songs of the Voudous (dealing with the rites of negro serpent worship), etc., which Mr. D. W. Kemble will illustrate.

We find the following, by Prof. D. McGill, D.D., copied in the *Christian Statesman* from the *Christian Instructor*: "Atheists, infidels, blasphemers, and Mormons should be kept out of office, just as drunkards, liars, and debauchees, not by legal disfranchisement and by constitutional tests and disqualifications, but by the influence and votes of Christian people."

THE *Presbyterian* says that Gen. Grant, although, "by his ecclesiastical connections, a Methodist, . . . in the expression of his conviction seems to have been decidedly Calvinistic. The closing sentence of his article in the *Century* on 'The Siege of Vicksburg' reads thus: 'The campaign of Vicksburg was suggested and developed by circumstances; and it now looks as though Providence had directed its course, while the Army of the Tennessee executed the decree.' Executing 'decrees' smacks of the Westminster Catechism, and those instructed therein will readily recognize the sound theology of Gen. Grant's pregnant sentence."

"MAURICE COONEY, of Cohoes," says the *Utica morning Herald*, "is a grocer, a strict Catholic, and for thirty years has been presiding officer of the St. Vincent de Paul Society connected with his church. He is bright, and had read a good deal. On Saturday, he astonished his friends by announcing he would deliver, on Simmons Island, a lecture on the true gospel. The lecture was to have been delivered Sunday. A large crowd

gathered, but was disappointed. His family prevented him leaving the house, declaring that no Catholic should lecture on such a subject, and also decided that Cooney's mind was affected. Cooney tried to get out of the house, but was arrested for breach of the peace. He was afterward declared to be insane. He had prepared a well-written sermon, in which he attempted to expose the Catholic religion, and called the Church a money-making institution."

THE Boston correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* does not apprehend any contest in this city between Protestants and Catholics in regard to school committees. "It is not at all likely," he writes, "that there will be any such contest between Protestants and Catholics as some are fearing. The religious question cannot easily at this late day be brought into the contest for school committee members. The movement to induce Catholic women to register is a political, not a religious one. On the other side, the most zealous advocates of the registration of women are those interested in the temperance cause. There are, no doubt, individuals who are so extreme in their religious views that they would keep Catholics off the school board, if they could. But these are the small minority, and their influence is not great. The women who have voted for school committee in the past, and those who have urged women to register, have generally been tolerant and liberal; and neither the race nor the religious question has entered into their canvass."

SAYS the *Commonwealth*: "The refusal of the women's convention to nominate Dr. Blake was ascribed by certain politicians to the fact of his being a Catholic; but, when the ladies were heard from, it proved that the refusal had nothing whatever to do with the question of religion. The women were not satisfied with the attitude of Dr. Blake in reference to the closing of certain school-houses, in order to facilitate the taking out of liquor-licenses by dealers in their vicinity. On that ground alone, they declined to nominate him; but, we remember, a list was printed of some six or eight names of Catholic gentlemen, who had been urged by the women to stand as their candidates, and who had refused to do so. The absence of a Catholic candidate from the woman's ticket was thus due solely to their inability to find a suitable one, who would consent to serve."

"JOURNAL OF THE AKADEME" is the name of a little periodical that comes to us from Newark, N.J., and of which Alexander Wilder is editor. The March number, the only one we have seen, contains a paper read before "the American Akadēmē," Feb. 17, 1885, by J. B. Turner, on "Differentiation of Energy as the Basis of Philosophy and Religion." The paper is strongly theistic, and shows Prof. Turner as a thinker to good advantage. There is in the same number an article by D. A. Wasson, which considers the question that Plato pondered long, "Whether Virtue can be taught?" The American Akadēmē is a philosophical society which holds monthly meetings at Jacksonville, Ill., the home of Dr.

Jones, the Platonist, whose name appears in the reports. The East has its "Concord School of Philosophy;" why should not the larger West have its "American Akadēmē"? The price of the journal is \$2 per year. Letters may be addressed to Alexander Wilder, 565 Orange Street, Newark, N.J., or to the secretary, Miss S. Hamilton, Jacksonville, Ill.

REV. O. P. GIFFORD, a Baptist minister who preaches in this city, said last Sunday, defending the Book of Jonah as inspired Scripture: "Christ in his day studied Jonah, accepted Jonah. 'Ah!' you say, 'but there is that fish story.' But don't you suppose Peter and Paul and Christ knew that fish story? They accepted it: you do not. Not only did Christ take the Book of Jonah as authoritative, but he made distinct reference to it when he said: 'As Jonah was three days in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days in the heart of the earth.' Christ accepted it, and Christ is my teacher. Christ put his finger specifically on the fish story. I accept the Book of Jonah as history, because Peter and Paul and Christ accepted it. The most wonderful thing in the Book of Jonah is to observe how God presses his way to the front. When Jonah was thrown overboard, God had prepared a great fish to receive him with open mouth, and God spoke to the fish. He also prepared a gourd and a worm, and sent a vehement east wind." Mr. Gifford, the report says, went on to expatiate, at some length, against the decline of faith, and by way of illustration said, "I do not believe I could call up a single person in this church who would be able to name the books of the Old Testament in their regular order, especially if he did not believe in the story of Jonah."

THEODORE STANTON writes from Paris to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*: "In my letter last week on the French elections, I forgot to mention a curious feature of the campaign, now introduced for the first time into politics in this country,—for the first time, at least, since the advent of the Third Republic. I refer to the candidacy of women for seats in the Chamber of Deputies. There exists in this city a very aggressive and indefatigable women's suffrage society, of which Mlle. Hubertine Auclert is the ruling spirit. Its motto is, 'Agitate, agitate, agitate.' Mlle. Auclert and her friends, consequently, never let an occasion go by without reminding their countrymen of the existence of their countrywomen. So the women's suffrage society has also put forth a ticket. Among the score of names on it are those of Sarah Bernhardt, Louise Michel, and Mme. Adam, actresses, revolutionists, and society ladies, all mingled together pell-mell. Some of the proposed candidates for political honors have sent formal letters to the society, declining to stand; others accept the responsibility; while still others treat the whole matter with silent contempt. But Mlle. Auclert has gained her point. She has set the newspapers discussing the woman question, and even the *Figaro* has said some sensible things on this subject of women's suffrage."

"THE POWER NOT OURSELVES" AN INTEL-
LIGIBLE POWER.

Every sane mind admits that there is a power in the universe beyond and above human power,—some kind of energy which has given rise to the conception of deities or deity. The question, however, is raised whether there is rational justification for conceiving this power to have purposive intelligence. This may be considered as the pivotal question in modern religious philosophy. Toward answering it, there is one thing revealed by increasing knowledge concerning the universe, and especially scientific knowledge, which gives to the modern world a great advantage over the ancient; and that is, that the power within and behind the phenomena of the universe works not from caprice or passion or by mere chance, but by orderly and intelligible methods to predictable results. The deities to whom the ancients prayed were very generally believed to be affected by personal feelings and whims, or to decide by arbitrary will. They had to be coaxed and sometimes bribed and cozened, in order that their favor might be secured. They were conceived as having the weaknesses, even the jealousies and enmities of, human beings. There are probably people now living who are of such antique mental condition that they still pray to a deity of this nature. But the power, as science teaches, that takes the place of such deities in the world to-day, is methodical and law-abiding. If inexorable to human appeals for personal attention, it is at least impartial. The sun shines alike on the evil and the good, the rain falls upon the just and upon the unjust. Whoever will learn nature's method, and follow in her track, may be sure of her favor.

There are those who think that this power in nature gives little or no evidence of a moral purpose. There are those who have a logical difficulty in ascribing to it a conscious intelligent aim. There are those who are mentally staggered before the conception of a personal Infinite Intelligence. And well they may be. Could the human mind congratulate itself on definitely comprehending a being of Infinite Intelligence and Infinite Personality, its proud plumes the next moment must fall, as it should think of the impossibility of the finite mind comprehending in entirety anything that is infinite.

But those who study this problem are apt to begin on the wrong side,—the infinite side; and, so beginning, they either proceed to dogmatize without knowledge, or, abashed by their own ignorance, they humbly sink back into theological *know-nothingism*, and declare the universe a riddle which it is vain for human beings to try to solve. And this is a mood of mental scepticism which slides easily into moral indifference or worse. The universe, to the eye of science, is no riddle whose answer is merely to be guessed at or which is to go unsolved. It presents a problem for thoughtful observation and study; and the conditions of solving the problem, so far as the solution of it concerns human living, are within the compass of human brains.

Suppose, then, that we approach this problem of infinite power and man's relation to it from the most natural direction; namely, the human, finite side. Anything that is infinite must be within the finite as well as beyond it. *Infinite* power merely means that a certain power with which we must be to some extent acquainted (otherwise we could not say enough about it even to name it) is, to our vision and comprehension, boundless in its scope. But, where it comes within finite conditions and under human observation, it may be studied and its attributes defined. A person may say that he cannot

comprehend how infinite power can be a conscious intelligent being. Very well: let that pass. It is a metaphysical conception, and has its difficulties. But is not infinite power an *intelligible* power? This is a very different question. To discover whether anything is intelligible, it is only necessary that a person should submit it to the test of his own intelligence. To decide, therefore, whether infinite power is intelligible, one has not to soar on wings of imagination into ethereal and celestial realms in an attempt to ascertain by a purely metaphysical speculation how an infinite personal intelligence can possibly exist; but he has simply to observe such ordinary operations of the power as come within the sphere of his daily life. He has only to regard those activities in the realm of nature which every eye in a measure may note, and which, as science reads their story, have produced in slow gradation this marvellous universe, with its myriad arrangements of order, beauty, grandeur, mutual service, progressive life, conscious intelligence and will, which human eyes gaze upon to-day, and of which the human race is itself a part.

This is a point that hardly needs to be illustrated, much less to be argued. The proposition that nature presents an intelligible order is one that stands at the very basis of science, and is the preface of all knowledge. Nature's methods and activities, all her phenomena of force and form, can be analyzed, classified, systematized, by the human mind. But this would be impossible, were not the order, the system, the classification, the regularity of action, the organic tension and aim, there in nature herself. The human mind imports nothing into nature: it only reads off what is already there. Were nature a mere medley of crashing forces and wriggling atoms, its events coming haphazard, with no observable law of cause and effect, there could be no such thing as science; nor would any amount of knowledge or of accumulated experience be of any avail. What happened yesterday would tell nothing of to-morrow. To-day's conjunction of forces might bring benefit: to-morrow, the same conjunction might bring ruin. The only condition on which science can exist and knowledge be applied for human advantage is that nature has an intelligible method and man is a part of an intelligible order of things.

And, if the universe thus presents to the human mind an intelligible order, the power that is behind or within it, and is the animating impulse of it all, must be an intelligible power. This power cannot be separated from nature. Her changing phenomena, her processes and sequences, her movements and forces, are simply the varied exhibitions of the power itself. Their order is its order, their method is its method, their intelligibility is its intelligibility. However one may hesitate, therefore, to affirm conscious intelligence of the animating power that is manifest in the natural universe, there seems no escape from the conclusion that it is an *intelligible* power. Science, experience, the history of the human race, bear witness to the truth of this proposition. And this, certainly, is a truth of greater practical moment to mankind than the other proposition, that the power is an intelligent power. Without the former, it is quite certain that human existence could not be continued; while, even if the latter proposition be true, and the power be also intelligent, it is difficult to see how man could be practically affected by the power in any better, if, indeed, in any other way, than through the intelligibility of its results.

If, then, any persons have a difficulty in retaining a conception of a Supreme Being of infinite intelligence, it may well suffice, both for religious philosophy and for practical duty, if they have an

adequate realization of that other and most undeniable truth,—the irrefragable basis of all science and the element of utility in all experience,—that the eternal and infinite power of the universe is intelligible. And the question, too, may be raised, with no little assurance, whether there is not a logical necessity that any arrangement of things, which responds to human intelligence as an intelligible order, must have had, in some way, a kindred purposive intelligence in the energizing and organizing power that has produced and still sustains them.

WM. J. POTTER.

AN OLD FRIEND'S GREETING.

Prof. Francis W. Newman has sent the following reply to the congratulatory resolution forwarded to him by the Free Religious Association, at its last convention, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday:—

NORWOOD VILLA, WESTON-SUPER-MARE,
ENGLAND, July 25, 1885.

To W. J. Potter, Esq., President of the Free Religious Association:—

Dear Sir,—I am bound to thank you and your Society warmly for your cordial salutation of my attaining the age of eighty years. It is never safe to rely on health or strength, better by far to be thankful for it. But, in my *spirits*, I am certainly as young as ever; and perhaps I ought to add that I largely attribute this to *two* facts. I can never remember to have drunk a sip of wine or beer in a solitary meal (in my boyhood, healths were drunk in company everywhere), and for eighteen years I have disused meals of flesh.

The doctrines of *The Index* did not boldly enough for me claim for the Supreme Power that *personality* without which Mind, Purpose, Wisdom, Goodness, are simply unintelligible. Yet, as I believe, in some points I agree with it, where I differ from Charles Voysey, Frances Cobbe, Mazzini, Theodore Parker, and the Indian Brahmos. Thus, I have sympathy with some of their opponents. Especially, I never could make a dogma of life after death. For ten or fifteen years, I thought this to be a weakness on my part; and I diligently amassed all reasonable pleas on the side of the dogma. I barely account it, now for perhaps nine years, to be unproved, but not disproved, and not to deserve inculcation as a TRUTH until it has been accepted after such a free discussion of both sides as the religious (among us) never allow or dream of. Nor can I, with Mr. Voysey, make a dogma of the duty of church attendance and of public prayer, much less, with the Brahmos, approve of the ostentation before an unbelieving public of hymn singing and other pious addresses to the Most High. In these matters, I think I am more nearly with the chief writers in *The Index*.

The intellectual movement in England toward free thought (and, without freedom, what is thought worth?) in my memory astonishes me. Our battle against vice is waxing hot: that against unjust institutions will soon become hotter; and we shall all rejoice in death that we leave behind us "a better and bonnier world."

Heartily yours,

F. W. NEWMAN.

ROMAN CATHOLICS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

Reformers must often differ among themselves; and I confess to dissenting from much that is contained in the editorial of the last *Index*, on "A New Phase of Woman Suffrage." While agreeing with its main conclusion as to the secularization of the State, I must think that the Roman Catholics, in their recent action—so far as any of them have

taken action—in respect to the Boston School Board, are clearly within their right, and are simply putting themselves on the defensive. No excuses can hide the fact that the women's organization, at the last city election, practically set up a religious test, when they nominated a list containing not one single Roman Catholic to superintend schools of which at least one-half the pupils belong to that faith. It is only necessary to reverse the case to see it fairly. Had a convention of Roman Catholics similarly excluded every Protestant, the newspapers would have rung with it to this day, and every Protestant pulpit in Boston would have blazed with indignation.

So plain is this that the attempt is now made to show that it was an accident. The excuse is too transparent. In such a matter there can be no accidents. It is no excuse to say that the ladies invited one or two gentlemen who declined,—all, so far as I have seen, Roman Catholics of American birth and descent,—and that they tried to find a certain priest, who was, as is generally the case with priests, absent on his professional duties. To do all this was to do next to nothing. They should have invited every decent Roman Catholic in Boston before they nominated a ticket without any,—especially in view of the fact that they had just expressly dropped from their list one of the ablest men of that body. By so doing, they not only invited defeat; but they deserved it. As Napoleon said, "It was worse than a crime: it was a blunder."

It is technically true, I suppose, that Dr. Blake was not dropped as a Roman Catholic. He was dropped, so far as I am informed, on a ground which seems to me wrongly taken, if not absolutely frivolous. To say that he voted for closing a school-house in order not to interfere with a liquor-shop, or that he acquiesced in the act, is to make, as I understand, another statement which is merely technically true. As I understand, the building was a condemned school-house, which Dr. Blake himself had long since reported as unfit for use, and which was used merely as a temporary place for an overflow class or classes. All turns upon this fact. To abandon an established and recognized school-house rather than interfere with a liquor-shop would justly condemn any man. But the case of a building already regarded as undesirable, and ready to be abandoned on other grounds, is very different. The law itself, when introduced into a large city, is at best a rigorous one; and it is neither justice nor policy to overlook the fact. It is the hardest thing for many of our good temperance people to recognize that the liquor traffic, so long as it is a licensed one, has its vested rights, and that we have no more authority to trespass upon them than if the dealer sold only Bibles. We have a right to hold him strictly to his legal limitations; and I, as the president of a Law and Order League, try to do my share to this end. But so has he a right to demand of us that no law should be unreasonably construed to his detriment. Let us only imagine the "liquor-shop" in question to be the Parker House or S. S. Pierce's grocery, and we shall see the injustice of refusing to renew its license because a temporary public school had been established within four hundred feet of it, in a building not intended for permanent use as a school-house. A too zealous school committee might easily close, in this manner, every large hotel in Boston. And yet the legal rights of the smallest licensed dealer are as clear as in the case of these large establishments.

There are three classes of persons about whom many of our reformers seem to feel that they have no rights which any man is bound to respect. Those three are Roman Catholics, Irishmen, and liquor-dealers. Many seem to assume that these

classes are practically synonymous, and that each is necessarily guilty of the sins of all three. This is just the way, as I take it, in which the religious question entered into the matter last year. No one could read the reports of the ladies' meetings or hear the current conversation among them without perceiving that they developed an aversion, not merely to Dr. Blake, but to his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists. One of these very ladies told me that their leader, Rev. Dr. Hale, stated at one of the committees of Conference that he had made up his mind never again to vote for an Irish Catholic for any public office. He may have been misunderstood, but the fact that he was supposed to have said so must have given a color to their thoughts. It does not seem to me that, in this state of mind, they were likely to make a very exhaustive search for a Roman Catholic candidate. A very few refusals, a very few closed front-doors, would have been enough to satisfy their consciences.

Happily for my peace of mind, I am not one of those advocates of woman suffrage who expect that women will begin to vote with their political wisdom full grown. I think that the organization of women voters in Boston made last year great mistakes. They erred in putting themselves under the absolute guidance of a leader who had never been a woman suffragist, and who valued their votes simply to carry a point which he deemed important. They erred in taking up that point, which was a matter only indirectly bearing on education, and, if I am correct as to the facts, was greatly exaggerated. They erred in practically introducing religious exclusiveness into our school politics. As evil often works for good, their act may be remotely beneficial by leading to a larger registration this year. Meantime, they have played directly into the hands of the "remonstrants," who have always maintained that women as voters would be impulsive and impractical, would defeat their own ends by over-zeal, and would commonly be led to the polls blindfold by some favorite clergyman. And, as to the Roman Catholics, if Protestant women nominate tickets which, if chosen, would banish them from the school board, I think that they are quite right in organizing to prevent any such exclusion.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

OUR SUNDAY LAWS.

The working of these laws in Massachusetts reminds me of an attempt once made by the British Parliament to pass an Act to prevent bakers from cooking legs of mutton, meat-pies, etc., for Sunday dinners. One Monday, Cobden arose in the House of Commons, and spoke thus: "Yesterday morning, I sat an hour at the window of my lodgings, watching shabbily dressed but quiet and orderly women and children carry the dishes which they had prepared for dinner, but could not cook at home, to the bake-shops. I was glad to think how happy they would be over a good warm meal at home on their one day of rest, and how much less likely the men and boys would be to go off to the gin-palaces and taverns. That afternoon, I was able to look out from another window into the court-yard of the Bishop of London's palace. Tradesmen and servants were hurrying to and fro, bringing game, hot-house fruit, rare flowers, and choice fish for his lordship's dinner-party. Costly wine was brought up from his cellars, and set on ice. Butlers, cooks, footmen, were all hard at work, preparing to feast men and women who pass their time in idleness and fare sumptuously every day. Ere long, these lovers of Sunday luxury and dissipation came rattling along, disturbing the peace of the whole neighborhood with their carriages. If we must pass another Sabbatarian bill,

I insist that it shall not be against the poor people of London, but against their bishop."

The Sunday laws of Massachusetts do not practically interfere with my own right to do what I please. Perhaps these lines may not fall under the eye of a single reader who is much interfered with personally. It is the poor who feel the weight of all such legislation. Thus, the closing of bakeries and markets is of no importance to owners of good cellars and refrigerators or to boarders in summer hotels. But people who have to eat, drink, and sleep in one or two hot rooms through July and August would be glad of a law, like that of New York and other States, permitting the sale of meat, fish, etc., early Sunday morning. It is more for the benefit of the poor than of the rich that the milkman makes his round, in defiance of the statute. Prohibiting the Sunday sale of baked beans in Boston has troubled only those people who have bad ovens and scanty fuel. The one Sunday law most in the interest of the poor, that forbidding the sale of liquor, is, unfortunately, by no means the most strictly enforced. So the prohibition of Sunday amusements has little effect on the owners of fast horses, yachts, seaside cottages, billiard-rooms, grand pianos, and large libraries. It is those who own none of these things, and perhaps have not even a comfortable sitting-room, who would be glad to have some place of recreation open besides the saloons. Much as poor people gain by not being expected to work on Sunday, they would gain much more if there were greater opportunities of really making it a day of rest. Whatever may be said in favor of going to church, it must be remembered that nobody is there all day long. For people who have no comfortable homes, the churches leave vacant hours, on which the saloons are quick to seize. It should also be remembered that the prohibition of Sunday work and business is easily evaded by the man who makes his money at a desk or writing-table. It is the laborer on the cobbler's bench, in the corn-field, or in the fishing boat, that has to look out for the constable. Here, in Massachusetts, there is one particularly bad result of the law against doing business on Sunday. No one who gets cheated on that day can collect damages for fraud. A man who swapped horses one Sunday afternoon was cheated so badly that he got a verdict from the jury, which would have insured him compensation, if the Supreme Court had not given an opinion, which still stands recorded thus: "An action cannot be maintained for a deceit practised in the exchange of horses on the Lord's Day" (*Robeson v. French*, 12 Met. 24). This was in 1846, but it ought to be clearly understood that this decision is just as much in force now as it was then. It is not a dead letter, and cannot become one. I think there have been no such cases here since. Of course not. No one would be fool enough to go to law, if he knew he would be defeated by a decision like this. No respectable lawyer would take such a case. There has been a similar decision in Vermont. Another phase of the same question came up afterward in Massachusetts. One Sunday, a Jew sold his coat to another, in part payment for some jewelry. He afterward returned the trinkets, and tried to get back his coat, but could not. It was decided (*Myers v. Meinrath*, 101 Mass. 366; and *Cranston v. Goss*, 107 Mass. 441, 1869 and 1871) that no one who sells and delivers property on Sunday can get any pay for it legally, though it be kept by the purchaser. These decisions still stand like lions in the way of justice. They are not needed to prevent doing business on Sunday. That is already provided against sufficiently by

the danger of being fined \$50. No one willing to run this risk would think that of being defrauded serious enough to keep him back. Men don't expect to get cheated, when they try to buy or sell goods. Some men expect to cheat, and they are eager to take advantage of such a state of the law as has just been pointed out. The fact that what little buying and selling takes place on Sunday is done mostly by those who are compelled by their necessities makes it a solemn duty to see that these poor people should not fall victims to fraud. A petition has been prepared, worded substantially like that which, two years ago, secured the passage of a law enabling damages to be collected for injuries sustained on Sunday in consequence of defects in the roads and highways. There is no attempt to repeal or modify the law against doing business on that day, but simply to prevent its giving a sanctuary to crime. All wise friends of the law will be glad to save it from suffering under this calamity. Copies of this petition will be promptly sent, and all aid in urging it gratefully received.

FRED. MAY HOLLAND.

Box 61, CONCORD, MASS.

APOTHEOSIS.

It is the ideal faculty, the pure reason, the source of those truths which wake to perish never, which lifts man above his petty daily surroundings, and perpetually rescues him from the sordidness, meanness, and animalism to which he gravitates by the necessities of his fleshly nature. It is the ideal faculty which "peoples space with life and mystical predominance." It is the ideal faculty possessed in an exceptional degree which imparts to great poets and thinkers their grandeur of thought and character. Existing in a phenomenal world, full of misery, change, want, woe, disease, and death, the subject of an iron necessity and mental perplexity as to his origin, final cause, and destiny, man, with his ideal faculty, is naturally haunted by dreams of perfection, of immortality, and of a celestial sphere, wherein he shall finally emerge from the miseries and limitations of this mortal state. In primitive ages, the ignorant masses saw in every man of noble and commanding stature and countenance, and in every beautiful woman, "a son of God," or of the gods, and a daughter of the gods,—

"Divinely tall and most divinely fair."

It is the ideal faculty which makes the lower orders of men superstitious and which makes them servile to the glamour of a splendid person, of fine raiment, of stately residences, of pomp and ceremonial. It is the ideal faculty which assures us that there must be a better state of existence in store for us than the poor, limited life which we know:—

"The Lethe of nature
Can't trance him again,
Whose soul sees the perfect,
Which his eyes seek in vain."

"The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found,—for new heavens
He spurneth the old."

As the starry night-sky overarches our poor, little earth, affording to its dwellers an outlook into boundless space and a vague conception of eternal duration, so the ideal faculty overarches in each one of us our lower animal nature, continually lifting us up by aspiration, at least to the heights of eternal truth, beauty, and justice. And in this fact consists the grandeur of human nature. Great poets, philosophers, statesmen, and scientists, and men of great deeds, exercise a certain glamour even over the most intelligent people of

to-day, because we naturally dwell solely on their noble qualities and achievements, giving not a thought to the foibles and lower traits, which are part and parcel of all men and inherent in their constitutions, compounded as they are of dust and spirit. The lover deifies the lady of his heart, the hero-worshipper his hero. Even now, in this age of reason, democracy, cynicism, scepticism, and pessimism, when each man is chiefly intent to secure his own share of the good things of life, let a particular individual, by his combined good luck, determination, and skill, achieve a great success, which secures the safety and welfare of a mighty nation, and he will be the subject of an apotheosis, or deification, much like that which was awarded to the heroes of primitive history and to the emperors of Rome. Altars may not be erected to the subject of a nineteenth-century apotheosis, nor sacrificial victims be slain in his honor, because such ritualistic doings are out of date; but, otherwise, the apotheosis of to-day does not much differ from that of twenty centuries ago. Still does the old instinct show itself active as ever, though modified by the altered circumstances of modern life. The gods are simply ideal or idealized men, the imaginations of the pure reason. But what is the pure reason or ideal faculty or deific principle in us but Deity? The Greek word for an exalted or ecstatic state of mind is *enthousiasmos*, which, being interpreted, means *God-in-us*. There is, of course, and can be no colossal, omnipotent, omnipresent personality such as the creeds inculcate under the name of God; for such a being would be a contradiction in terms, would be a monster like the centaur or mermaid of fable. It is the ideal faculty which makes

"the Judge in dusty frock
Spy behind the village clock
Retinues of airy kings,
Skirts of angels, starry wings,
His fathers shining in bright fables,
His children fed at heavenly tables."

The ideal faculty will, by the aid of science and invention, indefinitely improve, ameliorate, and humanize our little planet. But it can never make a paradise or Eden of it. Not in a phenomenal, but only in a noumenal world can its longings and aspirations be appeased and satisfied. But perhaps continued aspiration is of the very essence of this faculty, so that it will never know satisfaction.

B. W. BALL.

"WOMAN AND RIGHT."

Under this title, an article, remarkable in more than one respect, has recently appeared in the pages of a well-known French periodical. M. Charles Secrétan, in "La Femme et le Droit," published in the July number of the *Revue Philosophique*,* has contributed to the irrepressible Woman Question an essay that is, perhaps, second in importance only to John Stuart Mill's famous *Subjection of Women*.

The author of this article is not a nobody. M. Charles Secrétan is a native of Switzerland, where he was once widely known as a brilliant journalist. To day, at the age of threescore and ten, he is professor of philosophy in the University of Lausanne, corresponding member of the Institute of France, and a regular contributor to several able periodicals. Ripe in years, a well-read student, of a philosophic turn of mind and with broad liberal views on all the great questions of the century, M. Secrétan's opinions command respect and carry weight. When such a man comes forward to speak for the first time in his life on this subject

* Librairie Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris.

of women's rights, it is an event of more than ordinary interest. And when he chooses as the medium of communication to the public such a staid periodical as the *Revue Philosophique*, edited by so conservative a thinker as M. Th. Ribot, his essay is given increased significance.

It is difficult to convey a satisfactory idea of this long essay in the limited amount of space at my disposal. I shall therefore have to content myself by translating isolated passages here and there, which will show you the spirit in which the author has treated his subject. I refer your readers to the original article for a better and more complete knowledge of it.

"The economic and juridic position of woman," begins Prof. Secrétan, "is to-day an open question. . . . It is, without exception, the most important problem of the hour; for it really concerns the conception and constitution of humanity." John Bright once wrote to me, "If women are not safe under the charge and care of fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, it is the fault of our non-civilization, and not of our laws." M. Secrétan looks at the matter in a much more philosophical manner. He says, "If men are to decide what shall be woman's sphere, in which they are deeply interested, women, in their turn, ought to have a voice in determining man's powers, which are of not less interest to them." M. Secrétan does not draw back at the consequences of his reasoning. "In whatever way this problem is resolved," he continues, "it is evident that the only effective rights are those that are guaranteed, and that political rights are the only guarantee of civil rights; that the liberty of a sex constrained to accept, without being able to modify the lot that the other sex forces upon it, does not deserve the name of liberty; that, on these conditions, what woman calls her own is in fact the property of another, while her position is one of servitude, and her legal personality only a fiction."

M. Secrétan recurs again and again to the importance of women's suffrage. "The question of the political rights of woman," he says, "dominates absolutely this whole subject. To refuse woman the franchise is to refuse her a right, to impede her personality from appearing; it is to maintain the principle that woman does not exist for herself, but uniquely as a means of continuing, enriching, and enlivening our own existence. . . . Women's suffrage ought to be established, and can be established practically nowhere else except among Anglo-Saxon peoples, which, by the extent of their domain, by the increase of their population, by the immensity of their riches, and by the powerful intellectual movement which characterizes them, stand to-day in the advance guard of humanity. . . . I look in vain for an example of the government of a class sincerely exercised in the interest of another class or in the equal interest of all. Here is to be found the explanation and perhaps the excuse of that strange measure, that unheard-of paradox, universal suffrage. But, so long as the feeble sex is kept away from public affairs, universal suffrage does not really exist. When men make laws to govern women, have they at heart the interest of women and the common interests of all members of society? A consideration of analogous cases authorizes a negative presumption. . . . So long as human nature is not transformed to its very foundations, laws made exclusively by one sex will have as their exclusive object the interest of that sex." Mr. John Bright would do well to ponder this extract.

In closing his able argument, Prof. Secrétan says: "We demand the ballot for woman, in order that she may at last obtain justice. She has already worked her way into some public posts: we wish

to see every position in the hierarchy thrown open to her. She will then combat the red-tapism of administration, will favor order and economy, and will bring to the management of public business a portion of her own good sense and worth. We firmly believe that, when justice regulates the relations between the sexes, every domain will thereby be benefited, without at the same time there being any convulsion. The change will be slow and almost imperceptible. It is not probable that the recognition of the rights of the other sex will be followed by the entrance of many women into Parliament, the judiciary, and the other callings. . . . We cannot believe that the presence of some ladies in the hall of the Chamber of Deputies would lessen the dignity of that body."

This logical, dispassionate, and broad-minded discussion of the whole subject of the enfranchisement of women is another sign, of which there have been so many during these latter years, that, just as the slavery question passed from the abolitionists to the politicians, from the domain of sentiment to that of practical politics, so, too, this woman question is no longer to be the exclusive care of agitating reformers, but is at last being taken up by outside statesmen, thinkers, and philosophers. The last name, but not the least, to be added to the long and distinguished list of the European advocates of women's suffrage is that of Prof. Charles Secrétan. And he need not be ashamed of the company that he keeps; for, among the dead and living, Mill, Victor Hugo, Laboulaye, Dumas, Tourguénief, and Condorcet form a galaxy with whom even the greatest would be glad to shine.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, August, 1885.

RECEPTION TO MONCURE D. CONWAY.

All who love progress and reform rejoice to see that the author of *The Earthward Pilgrimage*, *Sacred Anthology*, *Idols and Ideals*, *Demonology*, and other brave, scholarly, powerful books, still keeps that vigor of thought, nobleness of purpose, and comprehension of what our age most deeply needs, which gave him a foremost place among the Abolitionists, and has since made him a mighty prophet of new truth. His work in London—first as a defender of liberty during our great war, and then as the leader of a large congregation of advanced thinkers—has closed with honor and success. He has returned to his native country, and resumed his place among our own pathfinders and pioneers. His friends wish to meet him in Boston, spend some social hours in his company, and hear him once more tell us what present burden of duty is laid upon us by the eternal laws of truth and justice. Such an opportunity will be given on Friday evening, October 9, in Chapel Hall, adjoining the Meionaon, Tremont Temple. The doors will be open at 6 P.M., and a substantial supper will be ready at 6.30. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside; and Mr. Conway will deliver, at 8 P.M., an address prepared for the occasion, and entitled "Our Armageddon." Thus, we shall be told what part we can take in "the battle of the great day," still going on against popular delusions and iniquities in high places. Before the close of the evening, sufficient opportunity will be given for social intercourse. All who are interested in the speaker and the objects of the meeting are invited cordially. Not only the members of the Free Religious Association, but all friends of social reform and advanced thought, are earnestly called upon to meet with us. The price of reserved seats is only fifty cents; and the more promptly the tickets are sold, the easier it will be to make the occasion what we

all wish to have it. Our friends will find it decidedly for their interest to secure seats as soon as possible after the opening of the sale on Monday, September 28, when tickets may be procured at the office of *The Index*, 44 Boylston Street, and of Mr. D. G. Crandon, 11 Hanover Street.

FREDERIC M. HOLLAND,
Sec'y F. R. A.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES is one of the *livest* ministers of the Unitarian denomination. He retains all the fervor and zeal of the Methodists,—among whom, we believe, he once preached,—yet is so liberal in his views that he chafes against the bars of the National Unitarian Conference, and is always a most welcome speaker on the platform of the Free Religious Association. He believes, however, in the future of Unitarianism, and finds his work mainly in that field, but is so genial in spirit, so widely humane in sympathy, so earnest and self-sacrificing in effort, that he holds the hearts of all who know him. He is now trying to build a church for a new society which he has gathered in Chicago, and which is not blessed nor cursed with large wealth. So that his friends, and the friends of what he stands for, wherever they live, may have a chance to help him in this enterprise. The design of what he calls a church looks more like a dwelling-house of the homelike Queen Anne style than a church, and is meant, in fact, to include family apartments for the minister's home, as well as a hall and other rooms for the use of the society. It is an interesting specimen of architectural art, and is one of the signs, perhaps, of a coming revolution in ecclesiastical building. This edifice is evidently to be for human uses; and yet it may be rightly consecrated as a temple, for such, in a true sense, should every home be. Possibly, some readers of *The Index* may like to "lend a hand," with dollars in it, to Mr. Jones and his model home-church.

W. J. P.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

GEN. HORACE PORTER will contribute an anecdotal paper on "Lincoln and Grant" to the *October Century*. From personal knowledge, he describes the official relations of the two men and their private intercourse, and relates many new stories.

GEORGE W. CABLE, in reply to an inquiry as to his views on woman suffrage, writes thus to Col. Higginson:—

I have never thoroughly studied the subject of female suffrage, but I must say I have never seen an argument against it that was not flimsy. Men are much disposed to exaggerate the difficulties of voting intelligently, when they talk of women voting. By the time a public question is ready for the popular vote, it has become a very simple question, that requires little more than honesty and common sense to vote upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote, they ought to stop bearing sons.

THE writer of an article in the *Critic* on Goldwin Smith, in the series "Authors at Home," says:—

As I am writing for an American audience, it may not be irrelevant to say, before concluding, that, while Goldwin Smith is an ardent believer in and friend of the American people, he has at the same time but a tepid esteem for the chief part of American literature. He rather decries all but the great humorists, for whom, indeed, his admiration is unbounded. He has a full and generous appreciation for the genius of Poe. But he misses entirely the greatness of Emerson, allows to Lowell no eminence save as a satirist, and is continually asking, privately, that America shall produce a book. As he

has not, however, made this exorbitant demand as yet in printer's ink, and over his sign and seal, perhaps we may be permitted to regard it as no more than a mild British joke.

THE following dialogue occurred recently in the Lord Mayor's court of London: A juryman, being called on to take the oath, told the presiding judge that he could neither take the oath nor affirm. *The Common Sergeant*: "How is that?" *The juryman*: "Because I am an agnostic and have conscientious objections to the taking of an oath." *Another juryman*: "If you are an agnostic, how can you have a conscience?" If the Common Sergeant had the least sense of humor, he would have asked the other juryman what he supposed an agnostic to be. But he missed his chance. In the end, after much confusion and fumbling among different formulas of swearing and affirming, the wicked agnostic was allowed to assent to the pledge that he would well and truly try the issues between the parties, and a true verdict give according to the evidence. The "so help you God" was omitted, and it does not appear that the interests of justice suffered. Whether the 'other juryman' had it out in the jury-room with the agnostic, we are not told.—*New York Tribune*.

THE Boston Sunday *Herald*, in an editorial suggested by the case of the young woman who recently drowned herself, leaving behind her a letter, in which she denounced God as a fraud in whom she had trusted, but who would not help her in trouble and distress, says:—

It is plain enough what ideal conception was still lingering in this poor crazed young woman's mind,—the conception of a Being merciful and tender, able to bless to the uttermost; and there was she, ever loyal to him, left to drink the last dregs of misery, to be engulfed in the blackness of despair. No good and all-powerful being could permit this. And so, in the wild and whirling delirium of her brain, she denounced the whole God-idea as a fraud and a lie, and plunged into the river, to get out of such a hideous world. People ought to be set to thinking by such a case as this. There is no end of teaching from the pulpit that is calculated to bring the mind to just such a state of possible heart-break and despair. It is born of a still lingering faith in the ideas of an age of miracle, that outward earthly deliverance and succor are the sole proof of a divine Providence, and will surely come to the righteous,—something tantamount to ravens, to feed them in times of famine, angels to unbar the gates of the dungeons into which they are thrown, material prosperity inevitably to crown their honest efforts. No wonder this belief is so rapturously embraced by ardent minds. . . . Any shape of religion that sends the young out into the world with the false idea that they are the children of a God too tender and merciful to suffer them to encounter the days and years, perhaps, of misery, desertion, gloom, and anguish the highest and noblest have had to go through with, is a wrong and a cruelty to them. The religious question is to be solved on no such luxurious terms as this; nor would the solution be worth much, at least to those who have to meet life's sterner trials, if it could be.

A QUESTION. For *The Index*.

—

If everything that happens is God's will,
Both good and ill,
Then say wherein
Rests man's responsibility? Though sin
Go hand in hand with him through ways of shame,
Is man to blame?

If everything that happens is God's will,
Both good and ill,
What credit hath
That man who ever shuns the evil path,
And treads with feet that do not hesitate
The true and straight?

GERTRUDE ALGER.

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

Cyril, the Saint, and Hypatia, the Martyr.

BY DYER D. LUM.

Nowhere in history do we find a greater contrast than that presented by the characters of Cyril and Hypatia: one, a Christian, a saint, a *doer* who met all the requirements of a Carlylean hero; the other, a Pagan, a woman, a thinker who, with eloquent words, sought to invigorate human intellect. Geniuses, Lavater has said, are nouns in the grammar of humanity. In each of the characters we propose to consider there existed the spark of genius, in that each lived not for the present, but sought to build the future on a lasting foundation. Both prized Truth above all things, and strove by far different methods to have Truth prevail over what they considered error and cant.

"Genius, Poet: do we know what these words mean?" asks Carlyle. "An inspired Soul once more vouchsafed us, direct from Nature's own great fire-heart, to see the Truth and speak it and do it; Nature's own sacred voice heard once more athwart the dreary boundless element of hearsaying and canting, of twaddle and poltroonery, in which the bewildered Earth, nigh perishing, has lost its way. Hear once more, ye bewildered benighted mortals; listen once again to a voice from the inner Light-sea and Flame-sea, Nature's and Truth's own heart; know the Fact of your Existence what it is, put away the Cant of it which it is *not*; and knowing, do, and let it be well with you!"

So thought Cyril. Had he not Truth? Had not his fiery, impetuous spirit drank deep at a spring fed by the divine hand? There was no hesitation in his mind as to what Truth was: he knew it, he possessed it, and, *knowing*, with ardor sought to *do*.

Let us endeavor to place before us the rival tendencies represented in Alexandria by Cyril and Hypatia at the opening of the fifth century. The conflict there waged was not one between two individuals: it had not its origin in the jealousy of the preacher of the philosopher, nor in the disdain of the philosopher for the puerilities of the rising

faith. It was a conflict of principles,—a struggle to the death between authority and freedom in thought.

Alexandria had been famous for centuries as the seat of learning. Here was the famous library, in the temple of Serapis, of three hundred thousand volumes. The Serapion, one of the noblest structures in the world, was adorned with matchless skill and art. Columns of sculptured marble supported the portico, which was approached by a vast flight of steps. Statues and paintings of the highest Greek art delighted the eye. Here were the brass instruments with which Eratosthenes had measured the size of the earth, and Timocharis had determined the motions of the planet Venus. Here, Euclid had prepared his great work, Archimedes invented the screw for raising the waters of the Nile, Hero placed the first steam-engine, Eratosthenes catalogued the stars and determined the periodicities of eclipses. Here, Aristarchus sought to determine the distance of the sun, Apollonius wrote on geometry, and Hipparchus discovered the procession of the equinoxes.

About the year 390, the bishopric of Alexandria was filled by a monk of Nitria, named Theophilus. To the believers in the new faith, the Serapion was an object of detestation. They regarded its instruments as aids to sorcery and magic. The very grandeur of its history and its discoveries were but proofs of its alliance with the devil. The contradictory forces,—the authority of the Father and the independence of the Son,—which the simple Galilean believed could be so easily yoked, had now revealed their true natures. The Christian, with upturned eyes, saw not his brother on earth. Revealed truth left no void for mental activity. St. Polycarp had said, on seeing a clepsydra, or water-clock, ornamented with the signs of the zodiac, and destroyed by the primitive Christians, "In all these monstrous demons is seen an art hostile to God!" In the same spirit, Eusebius had disdainfully turned from science, and said, "It is through contempt of such useless labor that we think so little of these matters: we turn our souls to the exercise of better things!"

The "better things" which exercised the souls of the savage monks of Nitria were Truth, one and indivisible, revealed for all time from its central fount, in which men's course through life and the attainment of heaven were definitely laid down in rules within the comprehension of all. The Gospels knew nothing of clepsydres or sextants, the believing Christian had no need of astronomical treatises or catalogues of the stars. Had he not Moses and the prophets? Then away with these relics of diabolical art, so dear to the pagan philosophers!

Theophilus triumphed. The emperor Theodosius ordered the destruction of the world-famed Museum, and its manuscripts were fed to the flames. The holy zeal of the bishop was not satisfied till the building itself had been demolished, and a church erected on its site.

During these eventful years, Cyril and Hypatia were quietly pursuing their studies in accordance with the respective methods of which they were so soon to become the distinctive champions.

Hypatia was the daughter of the first mathematician and geometer of his time, Theon of Alexandria, and had received from him a careful and thorough education. At an early age, her rare intelligence had been remarked, and the eagerness of her mind to grasp knowledge. Under her father's tuition, she mastered the most difficult problems in mathematics and astronomy, and was thoroughly versed in the writings of Apollonius and other geometers. At this period, the principal seat of the

new philosophy, the neo-Platonic school, was in Athens, whither she went to complete her studies. The school of Athens then embraced several illustrious professors, among others Plutarch, its head, and his daughter Asclepigenia.

On her return to her native city, she undertook the exposition of the philosophy she had so profoundly studied. Her lectures excited the enthusiasm of the cultivated. Young and beautiful, with a mind well stored with the fruit that Greece had so long bestowed upon the lovers of philosophy, and with a winning and persuasive eloquence that soared to the sublime, she gave expression to her thoughts, compared the doctrines of the various philosophers, and breathed new life into the eternal questions of Why? Whence? Whither? Now commenting on abstract geometrical problems, now expounding the views of Aristotle, then with loving zeal setting before her auditors the great problems of thought that had exercised the mind of her great teacher, Plato, and seeking in philosophy a foundation for Truth, with impressive words urging her hearers to conform their lives to the higher Ideal, she seemed to renew the ancient glory of her city. Young men flocked around her in adoration, intoxicated with her beauty and eloquence; but no breath of calumny has rested on her spotless character. Old men forgot their years in seeking instruction at her feet, but no whisper of blame for youthful imprudence came from their sedate lips.

Among her hearers was Synesius, afterward a Christian and a bishop. In his letters, still extant, he calls her his benefactor, his sister, his mother. "When even the dead shall forget hell, I will remember my dear Hypatia. For you alone, I could forget my country." Nor in after years did the bishop lose the respect and admiration that the student bore to the name of Hypatia.

About this epoch, 412 A.D., Cyril succeeded his uncle Theophilus as the incumbent of the bishopric of the city, next to Rome the most important in Christendom. He had been expressly prepared for the position by five years' residence among the monks of Nitria. Young and ardent, invested with power over a horde of monks and the consciences of Christian believers, gifted with a determined will, and forcible in pulpit oratory, he was not a man to falter in emergencies. Holding God's revealed will as unquestioned, and, logically, his authority as far transcending the "hearsaying and canting, the twaddle and poltroonery," of man's relations with his brother man, as the absolute transcends the relative, he was a man who dared "to speak it and do it."

And the rising Church had need of such a man at that time, or relinquish its claim. Under the disguise of city missionaries, he organized a militia who became the automatic executors of his will, and these, in connection with the monks of the surrounding country, constituted a resistless power in his hands; for, in their fanatical zeal in serving him, they deemed they were rendering more manifest the glory of God.

The great city had a mixed population,—Christian, Pagan, and Jew. Of the latter alone, forty thousand were residents within the walls, engaged in merchandise and traffic. Orestes, the governor, was a Christian, but not a fanatic. Placed in a position of importance and trust, he found himself continually appealed to by all parties. The increasing power of the crafty bishop forced him to take a middle course, and sometimes avail himself of the heathen populace to curb Christian turbulence. Not to bow beneath the rule of a bishop is to antagonize him: Cyril recognized no other course. The Jews, wealthy and respected, with numerous synagogues, awakened the fanaticism of the Christians. Had they not crucified the Lord?

Did they not reject him? Nor, on the other hand, need we search for causes of Jewish animosity. Riots were of frequent occurrence between them. On one occasion in a riot, some Christians had been killed. Although the guilty parties were in custody, Cyril determined to act for himself. He would stop the ceaseless strife by extirpating the antagonists. Placing himself at the head of his followers, he attacked and sacked the synagogues, ordered the pillage of the Jewish quarter, and sought to expel them from the city. He was sustained by the emperor; and, friendless and stripped of their wealth, the Jews were driven forth. The hateful synagogues were closed, and the churches resounded with hymns of praise.

Naturally, the Pagans sympathized with the Jews in their persecution. Orestes had tried to stop the riot. In the eyes of the citizen, it would seem to have been his duty: in the eyes of the Christian, it constituted his crime. He had endeavored to save the objects of God's hatred! Five hundred of Cyril's old associates, the Nitrian monks, had been summoned from the desert to defend their chief. Half-clad, with sheepskins cast over their naked shoulders, scorning personal cleanliness for the "better things" of monastic life, and with their rough, shaggy locks matted over their heads, they filled the streets, eager for vengeance.

Meeting the prefect, Orestes, in the street, being carried in his chair, they surrounded him, and covered him with opprobrious taunts and vile epithets. In vain he protested that he was a Christian, and had received baptism. His words were drowned in a howl of injuries. Had he not tried to save the Jews? Did he not visit Hypatia, and take counsel with her? Prefer a pagan sorceress to a Christian bishop? Ammonius, a monk, a humble "doer" of the Cyril stripe, hurled a stone at the prefect, and wounded him in the head. At the sight of his bleeding visage, the citizens interfered. Orestes was rescued, and Ammonius secured.

Ammonius was brought to judgment, and suffered death. What did Cyril? He prepared elaborate obsequies for the body of the dead rioter, had it displayed in state in the great church, and buried with great pomp. Cyril pronounced his eulogy, and canonized him as a martyr who had lost his life in defence of religion.

The Jews were expelled, Orestes had escaped assassination, but Hypatia remained.

The magistrates of the city respected Hypatia for her wisdom. They showed her much deference, and willingly consulted her on public affairs. Orestes had even sought her advice in his perplexities. Here was enough to cost her downfall. But other reasons existed. The rich and intelligent, the aristocracy of Alexandria, were to be found at her feet, leaving the common people to listen to Cyril's disquisitions on the mysteries of the Trinity. In ages of faith, when signs and portents are deemed sufficient demonstrations of a dogma, when the logic prevails that one thing is true because another thing has happened, mental exactness in reasoning does not occur. Hypatia was young and beautiful: she was lewd. She was learned and eloquent: she was a sorceress. She was kind and gentle: she was a Pagan. She was refined and modest: she was possessed by a devil. Where lewdness passed unheeded, her very virtue marked her out a shining mark.

Cyril was human. Whatever his genius as a ruler, as a defender of the faith, as an establisher of Christian order, he was still a rival preacher. It is related that one day, in passing her door, he was stopped by the throng through which passage for the time was impossible. Long trains of chariots filled the street. The wealth and fashion of Alexandria were pouring into her lecture room,

and with the gaping populace blockaded his passage. With the instincts of a priest, he knew that one or the other must fall. Whispers rose to murmurs. The angry monks, not yet dismissed to their beads and orisons, still remained in the city. Calumny fell from her spotless character, but—she was pagan. Her womanly soul had sought and found in the Platonic philosophy God, peace, religion; and, with true fervor, she sought to diffuse her acquisitions. But, alas! the gospel field was stony soil for the growth of philosophy. Had Jesus studied philosophy? Knew he one school from another? Could the apostles distinguish between Plato and Pyrrhus? Could a Pagan add aught to Revealed Truth? To ask such questions was to answer them.

The division between Cyril and Orestes was ascribed to Hypatia's counsels. She was the fatal cause of the turbulence it had engendered. Her incantations had cast a spell over the soul of the prefect and the magistrates: order could not be restored while she remained. With her baneful influence removed, the civil authorities might awake to their enormities, and seek absolution at Cyril's hand. God's Truth was in danger from her wiles. The progress of Christ's Church was arrested by the words of a Pagan and a woman! On one side was a priest with a horde of fanatical adherents ready to do anything he wished; a priest who honestly believed he held God's cause in his keeping; a priest who trembled for the souls of those who thronged Hypatia's lecture room; a priest whose mind had been trained in obedience, and filled with the dogma of God's paternal authority. All this he believed because he was a priest. On the other side was a philosopher, a Pagan and a woman.

What direct action Cyril had in the outbreak is unknown. He fomented the storm: he may have waited for the lightning stroke to follow. It was not his character, however, to wait: he was a "doer," and posterity will ever hold him guilty of the result. He had stirred up the passions of the mob, and it was not in his power to stop their excess of zeal.

One day, she came forth as usual from her house, to repair to her academy to continue her discourses on philosophy. Cyril's monks flocked around her with yells of passionate rage. These bare-legged and howling ministers of the gospel had the pagan maiden at their mercy. They wrenched her from her chariot. With exultant shouts, they crowd around her, as in terror she falls to the ground. Strong arms seize her frail form, her hair falls around her, her garments are torn from her in pieces. Naked and bleeding, she is dragged along by men, from whose waists the crucifix is suspended, to the great church. There, in that sacred place, erected in glory of the Christ, she, the Pagan, shall answer for her free thought. Her soul lacerated by vile indignities, her modesty outraged, her person exposed to the gibes of fiends, her naked form is thrown before the altar, where, by a stroke of his club, Peter, the reader, at last ends her sufferings.

Are not these ministers of Christ yet satisfied? Must still further indignities be heaped upon her quivering form? Her corpse is brutally outraged, the body is torn limb from limb, the disfigured trunk is hacked with stones and knives, the flesh is scraped from the bones with oyster shells, and the horrible fragments are borne through the streets as trophies; and, finally, all that remains of Hypatia—philosopher, teacher, virgin-martyr—is cast into the fire, and the ashes scattered.

Again, the Galilean had triumphed! What did the Christian world? Cyril did nothing. He contentedly reaped the fruit of the victory, and the

guilty went unpunished. But the emperor? He issued a decree closing all schools of philosophy in Athens and elsewhere, and to enter a pagan temple became a crime. And the Church, the custodian of Christian charity and dogma? It canonized Cyril, and made him a saint! "The leaden mace of bigotry had struck and shivered the exquisitely tempered steel of Greek philosophy."

Pagan Greece and Rome had never persecuted belief. They demanded participation by the citizen in the consecrated rites as a civil duty. Religion was an integral part of the State. Philosophical unbelief was tolerated, provided it did not result in the overt act of refusing compliance with existing customs. For the overt act, Socrates received punishment, and Diagoras of Melos fled to save his life. In Rome, all gods were welcome.

But the God of the Christians tolerated no rival: all others were false, were demons. They rejected with scorn the rights the State deemed civic duties. The followers of Christ alone possessed Truth: all else must be founded on error and untruth. The fatherhood of God in its logical development carried with it the organization of the Church,—an external authority,—the submission of the individual will to the divine. Christianity does not consist simply in gospel texts: it is the words of Christ as logically developed by the changing conditions of social growth. The stream from which Christian Cyril drank had its source in the plains of the Jordan. In the first century, he would have met with cheerfulness the martyr's crown: in the year 415, for the same Truth he brought about the martyrdom of Hypatia. The intolerance was in the germ of Revealed Truth, and had simply reached maturity.

Cyril and Hypatia were both thinkers of recognized ability. To Cyril, the source of thought was external, hence divine; in Hypatia, in the intellect, hence human. That is, the one led to the exaltation of the external and the submission of the internal; while the other, by exalting the internal, had the inevitable tendency to exalt humanity.

Hypatia was the last of her race. Science and Philosophy disappeared, and Faith ruled supreme. Humanity entered into the Dark Ages of history, where thought was stifled and mental indolence exalted. Revealed Truth had supplanted Reason. In the rays of the Fatherhood of the Absolute, the brotherhood of man dwindled into insignificance. Christ's dogma of the inseparability of belief and salvation had attained its ultimate triumph.

Nor are these conclusions forced ones. Guizot, in his *History of Civilization in Europe*, says of the Church at this epoch:—

Two evil principles met in it: the one avowed and, as it were, incorporated in the doctrines of the Church; the other introduced into it by human weakness, and not as a legitimate consequence of doctrine. The first was the denial of the right of individual reason, the pretension to transmit creeds down through the whole religious system, without any one having the right to judge for himself. . . . The second evil principle is the right of constraint which the Church arrogates to itself,—a right contrary to the very nature of religious society, to the very origin of the Church, and her primitive maxims,—a right which has been disputed by many of the most illustrious Fathers, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, St. Martin, but which has, notwithstanding, prevailed and become a dominant fact. The pretension of forcing to believe, if two such words can stand in juxtaposition, or of physically punishing belief, the persecution of heresy, contempt for the legitimate liberty of human thought,—this is an error which was introduced into the Church even before the fifth century; and dearly has it cost her.

Because the second was opposed by distinguished Fathers by no means proves that it is not a legitimate conclusion from the first. In all ages of

Christian history there have been men who believed that religion was an individual rather than a social relation; that the human soul stood self-poised, independent of its environment, and dependent only on the occult principle called God. Modern thought, however, has thoroughly exploded this fallacy. Man, as a human being, exists only in society, receives from it his human characteristics, breathes only in his social environment.

The moment Christ's words fell on human ears and were accepted by human hearts, there was already the germ of Christian society, and, as a legitimate consequence, organization. As well assert that a seed can maintain its individuality as a seed when placed within the soil and fed with moisture as that an idea placed within the minds of social beings and developed through their social intercourse can retain its original form. Community of thought involves society, and society cannot avoid instant disintegration without administration. It follows and forms itself. Whatever may be the nature of the seed sown, favorable environment will evolve from it an organization which will be determined mainly by the life in the seed, and secondarily by the nature of the environment.

In proclaiming the Fatherhood of the Absolute, Christ sowed seed which could never produce the flower of brotherhood of man. The life principle—the germ—of his thought, authority, truth, external to man, revealed from above, necessarily grew into an organization that canonized such men as Cyril. I am not denying Christ's manifest love for man; but it was not love for man as such, but for God's wayward children.

The greater excluded the lesser: its darksome shade withered the tender shoots, and dwarfed its growth; for, "when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also," whose deeper roots absorbed the nourishment. Let us have done with the sickly sentimentality of what Christ meant. It is no matter what he meant.

The plant of humanity is fed from social springs. In its growth there are incorporated human sympathies and feelings, its blossoms are deeds of human kindness and love, and its perfume heroic deeds. It has arisen from a lowly condition, worked up through the dark soil, and displayed its vitality by withstanding the fierce heat of the Christian sun, whose rays have only blasted its buds, and given us that eternal characteristic of piety,—selfishness,—under its varied forms of personal salvation, personal immortality, and a personal God. *In te, Domine, speravi*, is not a human cry: it betrays its anti-social nature both in its germ and in its fruit.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A MORMON ELDER'S ADDRESS.

Editors of *The Index*:—

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST, OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.—Worship every Sunday at 3 P.M., at corner Broadway and Ferry Avenue, Kaighn's Point, N.J. Subject, "The Real Cause of the Persecution of the Mormons." The public invited.

The above advertisement in a Philadelphia newspaper attracted my attention, and I determined to accept the invitation extended in the last three words. In a small upstairs room of the "Flat-iron Hotel," a very small congregation of men and women had assembled. Service not having commenced, an opportunity was afforded for a few minutes' conversation with the presiding elder, Mr. S. Harrison, who appeared to be an earnest, straightforward man, of the industrial class, and possessing considerable natural ability, preaching what he believes to be the truth without pay or profit; for the small voluntary contributions dropped into the box by the few people present would not more than pay the rent of the room

and for the tracts which were given away at the conclusion.

The worship consisted of singing, prayer, the reading of a chapter from John's Gospel, the sacrament in bread and water, and the address by Mr. Harrison on the subject announced, which was in substance as follows:—

In all ages, the promulgation of a new doctrine, whether scientific or religious, has been received with disfavor; but an intenser hatred seems to have been visited on a religious doctrine than on any other. Old ideas, deeply rooted in men's minds, rendered sacred by memory and by association, even when shown to be false, die hard. And, when Truth herself comes and knocks for admission at the heart, she is treated as an alien and an intruder,—"I know you not." Error, if only respectable and established, is more acceptable to most men than is impetuous, troublesome truth. You, brothers and sisters, not being of the world, the world hates you. If you were of the world, the world would treat you as its own. When Jesus introduced his doctrines of reform at the inception of Christianity, the men of old ideas persecuted him. Said they, in effect: Do as we do, and we will treat you well. Give up, says the world to us, your distinctive tenets, your pet notions, and we will take you to ourselves. Of course, "the world loveth its own." But where would truth have been now, had it given up every point at the first temptation spread in its way by error? Not thus are great victories won.

They persecuted the disciples of Wiclif and of Luther, and they mobbed the followers of Wesley; and one would think that those who had so lately suffered for conscience' sake would be the last to be intolerant with others. But a religion, once established, once wealthy and influential, soon forgets the stony and sinuous path by which it has reached its present altitude; and, when a purer spirit, a nobler ideal, though of the same brotherhood of belief, aims to regenerate the old body, instead of the hand of welcome and the cheering word come jeers, hisses, innuendoes, misrepresentation, falsehood, and every meanness of which angry bigotry is capable. Let us beware of this, if ever we surmount these trials. We are a persecuted people; but we shall bear it, for it has been foretold that tribulation shall come upon us. But we have also the opposite and comfortable assurance that these tribulations, which are but for a moment, shall work out for us a more exceeding glory. Why are we oppressed? The pretext is now that we encourage plural marriage, but we must go deeper for the cause. A pretext merely; for why did they persecute us in Ohio, from 1830 to 1846, before we practised plural marriage? It was not until 1852 that Orson Pratt received the revelation concerning this method of our polity. There was no difference then between our domestic relations and those of our neighbors; and, therefore, according to their present plea, we should have been unmolested. They could not call us polygamists. So they called us thieves, mobbed us, destroyed our property, and finally drove us away at the point of the bayonet. We had purchased our land, and paid its price: we had made a garden out of a desert; but, when we appealed to the President of the United States for redress, the reply was that no existing law would touch our case. Therefore, I say, polygamy is only a pretext. We then settled in Missouri. Industry and thrift did their usual work; and we should have become prosperous, had we been left alone. We were not polygamists then. So they called us robbers and traitors, mobbed us, destroyed our property; and there was no redress. They managed to drive us from there, as they had from Ohio. Therefore, I say, polygamy is only a pretext, not the cause; for, when they had not that, they trumped up another. Any charge would be believed. We have been unable to obtain justice; and, in a country where all are humorously supposed to be equal, we have found that there is a law for oppression, but no law for protection.

We then settled in Utah; and, in 1852, the revelation commending plural marriage came. Here was an excellent pretext. Thieves before, then vicious and traitors, and now polygamists. They cannot mob us now; but they would, if they could. The day for that has passed for us. Nevertheless, ingenuity could devise some other engine of oppression; and it was found in special legislation. When is special legislation a form of persecution? Let me try a

definition, in order that there may be a clearer understanding. When a special law is enacted, making a crime of what has not been a crime previous to that enactment, and solely for the purpose, not of applying it equally to all, but of aiming a blow at a particular individual or community, I hold that that is persecution. You all know the story of the three Hebrew children. Jealousy and hatred caused the courtiers of Nebuchadnezzar to wheedle him into making a decree; and the decree was intended—for all alike? oh, no!—to strike Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. The three continued to do as had been right to them to do before, knowing they were injuring no man. The special decree, the fiery furnace, and the triumphant escape make a lesson which every nation ought to engrave on its heart. Freedom cometh only by much tribulation.

Another instance: Daniel, at the court of Belshazzar, was forbidden by a special decree to pray for thirty days. It was obtained from a facile king to strike him, and him only. No fault was found in him: he was virtuous and upright. But special decrees are not made to regulate bad conduct: they are generally intended to gratify vengeance or malice. Daniel went to the den of lions, and came out without harm. These are illustrations where laws were designed, not for the correction of the whole people, but aimed at a particular few, and therefore an injustice and a scandal. We, as a people, are the victims of special legislation. The Edmunds Act made a crime of what had been allowed to pass almost without censure before; and it was made, not to press with even hand on Gentile and Mormon alike, but to strike one while the other went free. We have no objection to this law; but we demand, in the name of justice, which has been so long miserably parodied, that it shall be applied to all. We demand that any man, be he Gentile or be he Mormon, who shall "unlawfully cohabit," etc. (as the Act reads), be punished with the penalties imposed. Let the man not a Mormon who infringes its provisions be disfranchised, fined, imprisoned, equally with the Mormon, and we shall not complain. We may say such a law is severe, but the element of injustice would be gone. I tell you that, if that Act were to be applied impartially, it would be repealed within six months or even less. Impartiality was not the intention of its framers.

And yet I might ask, pertinently, why, if it be a crime for a Mormon to cohabit with more than one woman, it is not so for another. All over the United States, society knows that its men and women do what we are oppressed for doing. In the eye of the law, our wives are concubines; although to ourselves, wedded in the church, they are true and honorable marriages,—not for lust, to be cast off at pleasure unprovided for, but for better or for worse. Nevertheless, it being in the law's estimation "unlawful cohabitation," how can they punish us and let others doing the same go free? Equal justice is all we ask.

Judges are sent to Utah for the purpose of administering this Act. Spies stop our children on the streets, and ask them questions; and their answers are brought out in court. Sneaks peep through keyholes, and listen behind doors. The merest hearsay is noted. This is the kind of "evidence" that these judges give to a jury instructing them on their verdict. Even a suspect working round a house chopping wood for the wife inside is taken as "circumstantial evidence" of cohabitation. Is this the boasted quality of justice? After this Act was passed, Mr. Edmunds remarked that "it was straining the Constitution" (see *Harper's Weekly*, March 22, 1883). And is this the equality before the law of all the people! This plural marriage is not the real cause of our persecution.

We are a peace-loving people. We have made a barren land to bloom like a garden. We are industrious, temperate, and moral. No such things could happen in Utah among us as the *Pall Mall Gazette* has been setting forth: we are not a filthy people. We read that all grades of men, clergymen as well as others, have been practising the grossest of habits. Thank God, the Mormon community is clear of such charges! We have, in proportion to the humble origin and defective education of most of our people, a higher civilization than that of our detractors. Our crime is less than in boasted New England. The Constitution of the United States has no firmer defenders; and, when others who have boasted their

loyalty have tried to tear down its flag, we have been true to it through many provocations. I myself love of all others that clause, "an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." I honor, I love, that clause. From pulpit and from press, calumny and abuse have been poured upon us, and a free and fair answer of ours to each falsehood has been refused; but we shall triumph. It is not our want of virtue nor our views on marriage that have made us the objects of persecution. The real cause is that God has restored through us his everlasting gospel. He has sent us to renew the true faith of Christ and his apostles, and the devil is driving men to hound us down and exterminate us. The faith that we hold fast is God-given; those who oppose it are votaries of a man-given faith. And, in conclusion, let me exhort you all to be faithful to your high calling. Our numbers do not notably increase, because many pass on West to live among the brethren, not for the purpose our detractors charge, but to be among those of the same household. Be faithful; and, as of old, the victory shall be yours.

Such, in substance, was the address. I have incorporated, for the sake of symmetry, a remark on the wording of the Edmunds Act, which was made to me in the short conversation above alluded to. No further comment of mine is necessary.

JOHN SKIRROW PEART.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE SPIRIT AND THE NAME.

Editors of The Index:—

I think there can be no difference of opinion in regard to the *essentials* of "universal ethics, and the usually recognized standard of morality," among those who regard Christianity as a creed which has caused such a vast amount of misery in the world and those who define Christianity to be the *spirit* which regards all mankind as brethren.

Why should the moral and spiritual truths proclaimed by "the Christ" be considered as belonging especially to Christianity? Before the advent of Christ, they were enunciated by Moses, Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, and others.

Many, like the Quakers, believe in the "inner light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world." Why are many so-called heathen nations superior to those who proudly designate theirs a Christian country? Indian tribes are often found to be far ahead of their neighbors, "with skins not colored like their own," in the strict observance of the rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." These, and many other facts which might be adduced, prove that the gradual evolution of moral and spiritual conceptions did not depend on any Christ. They had their genesis so far back that even by the oldest nations, whose history is preserved, they were recognized, taught, and practised. Where can we find a more beautiful conception of a Supreme Being than in these lines from the Upanishad, or mystical doctrine of the Vedas?

"There is one only Being who exists;
Unmoved, yet moving swifter than the wind,
Who far outstrips the senses, though as Gods
They strive to reach him; who, himself at rest,
Transcends the fleetest flight of other beings;
Who, like the air, supports all vital action.
He moves, yet moves not; he is far, yet near;
He is within this universe, and yet
Outside this universe. Whoe'er beholds
All living creatures as in him, and him,
The Universal Spirit, as in all,
Henceforth regards no creature with contempt."

What is the meaning conveyed in these lines but that which lies at the foundation of all religions, all reforms,—"Love ye one another"?

In all discussions on moral or spiritual subjects, we should always bear in mind that we are as differently constituted mentally as physically, and that what appears as truth to one does not to another. This want of charity to the differing ideas of others, and the wish to compel all to see with *our eyes*, have always been the source of the bitter antagonisms which, in the name of Christianity, have fostered the worst passions of human nature, selfishness, and hatred. "He who, because something is truth to him, thinks it must be truth for everybody else, and labors for the conversion of his neighbors, is simply engaged in the unholy work of breeding and raising future Cains."

If our ideals are pure and high, and we strive to rise to their level, it does not matter by what names they are known. When, however, the most atrocious crimes have been committed under the name and for the propagation of Christianity, or what is called by that name, is it any wonder that men and women loving humanity more than sectarianism, and knowing that the latter has always stood in the path of reform, stop not in their work to ask, Is it the spirit of Christ or antichrist which has done these wicked deeds? They know it is in the name, and by it the unholy tree which has brought forth such fruit is known, and must no longer "cumber the ground."

Instead of a seemingly useless controversy in regard to the name or the spirit of Christianity, would it not be better to try to dispel the fearful ignorance everywhere found in regard to the physiological and hygienic laws of life, by the light of scientific knowledge? Very close to each other lie the spiritual and physical natures, and what conduces to the growth and development of one also contributes to that of the other. I was surprised and gratified in finding in a number of the *Theosophist*, published by the Theosophical Society in Madras, India, a statement of the platform of the society, it being so similar to that of the Free Religious Association, and have copied it, thinking that it may be interesting to other readers of your paper:—

"In our humble opinion, the only essentials in the Religion of Humanity are virtue, morality, brotherly love, and kind sympathy with every living creature, whether human or animal. This is the common platform our society offers to all to stand upon; the most fundamental differences between religions and sects sinking into insignificance before the mighty problems of reconciling humanity, of gathering all the various races into one family, and of bringing them all to a conviction of the utmost necessity, in this world of sorrow, to cultivate feelings of brotherly sympathy and tolerance, if not actually love.

"Having taken for our motto in these fundamentals unity, in non-essentials full liberty, in all things charity, we say to all collectively, and to every one individually: Keep to your forefathers' religion, whatever it may be, if you feel attached to it. Brother, think with your own brains, if you have any. Be by all means yourself, whatever you are, unless you are really a bad man. And remember, above all, that 'a wolf in his own skin is immeasurably more honest than the same animal under a sheep's clothing.'"

R. F. BAXTER.

INGERSOLL TO A BEREAVED MOTHER.

Editors of The Index:—

With all your skill and industry in picking out the wheat from the mass of published chaff, it is still possible that the subjoined letter from Ingersoll may have escaped you. It seems to me worthy of reproduction in your paper, embodying, as it does, the unwritten creed of thousands who, recognizing the great impenetrable, can yet believe that beneficence and justice, beyond human comprehension, await them on the other side, when this mortal shall have put on immortality.

R. E. WHITMAN, U.S.A.

CLIFTON SPRINGS, Sept. 14, 1885.

It is not long since a lady of this city was suddenly overwhelmed by a great affliction that, coming like a thunderbolt upon her, for a time threatened her life. Her son, and only child, had gone on a short business journey, expecting soon to return. Sudden and fatal illness overtook him, and a brief telegram announced the dreadful tidings to his heart-broken mother. The terrors of the Calvinistic creed, in which she had been brought up, and according to which, as she well knew, there was no hope of future happiness for the unconverted young man, added greatly to her agonizing grief over his death, until her friends feared that her reason, if not her life, would be destroyed. A lady friend, who had sympathized deeply with and vainly sought to console her, informed Col. Ingersoll, and begged him, if possible, to write something which might at least relieve in a measure the terrible apprehension as to the fate of her son, under which she was suffering. The following is his letter, which was in a good measure effective:—

My dear Madam,—Mrs. C. has told me the sad story of your almost infinite sorrow. I am not foolish enough to suppose that I can say or do anything

to lessen your great grief, your anguish for his loss; but maybe I can say something to drive from your heart the fiend of fear,—fear for him. If there is a God, let us believe that he is good; and, if he is good, the good have nothing to fear. I have been told that your son was kind and generous, that he was filled with charity and sympathy. Now, we know that in this world like begets like, kindness produces kindness, and all good bears the fruit of joy. Belief is nothing, deeds are everything; and, if your son was kind, he will naturally find kindness wherever he may be.

You would not inflict endless pain upon your worst enemy. Is God worse than you? You could not bear to see a viper suffer forever. Is it possible that God will doom a kind and generous boy to everlasting pain? Nothing can be more monstrously absurd and cruel. The truth is that no human being knows anything of what is beyond the grave. If nothing is known, then it is not honest for any one to pretend that he does know. If nothing is known, then we can hope only for the good. If there be a God, your boy is no more in his power than he was before his death,—no more than you are at this moment. Why should we fear more after death than before? Does the feeling of God toward his children change the moment they die? While we are alive, they say God loves us. When will he cease to love us? True love never changes. I beg of you to throw away all fear. Take counsel of your own heart. If God exists, your heart is the best revelation of him; and your heart could never send your boy to endless pain.

After all, no one knows. The ministers know nothing. All the churches in the world know no more on this subject than the ants upon the ant-hills. Creeds are good for nothing except to break the hearts of the loving. Let us have courage. Under the seven-hued arch of hope, let the dead sleep. I do not pretend to know, but I do know that others do not know. I wish I could say something that would put a star in your night of grief,—a little flower in your lonely path; and, if an unbeliever has such a wish, surely an infinitely good being has never made a soul to be the food of pain through countless years.

Sincerely yours,

R. G. INGERSOLL.

—San Francisco Post.

D. A. WASSON.

Editors of The Index:—

Personally, I should be pleased to know something of the literary history of our optimist of optimists, Mr. D. A. Wasson. If you think that an editorial or other note on this subject would interest such of your readers as have had their attention called to him by Mr. Iles, I shall be glad if you see fit to enlighten us.

Very truly yours,

F. O. DORR.

TROY, N.Y., Sept. 4, 1885.

[Mr. Wasson, who was born in Maine in 1823, studied at Andover and North Yarmouth, and entered Bowdoin, where he remained but a year and a half. Began the study of law, which he soon abandoned in disgust, and in 1848 entered the Bangor Theological Seminary. About this time, he became interested in the writings of Carlyle, Emerson, Thoreau. An unsuccessful effort was made by a number of students to have him expelled as a heretic. In the last year, the students made up their creed without consulting him; and he refused to sign it. Still, in 1851 he was settled in Groveland, Mass., as a minister of the orthodox church. At the end of a year, he withdrew, and in the same village formed an independent society, for which he spoke six years, when he broke down with an incurable spinal disorder. His first essay, "The New World and the New Man," appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1858, as did the poem "All's Well." Subsequently, his other poems, "Seen and Unseen" and "Joy Month," with a series of essays entitled "Rest and Motion," "Communication," "Mr. Buckle as a Thinker," "Individuality," "Hindrance," "Ease in Work," "Light Literature," and "Originality," appeared in the same publication. In the *Christian Examiner* were printed from his pen papers on "Buckle on History," "The Sword in Ethics," "Theodore Parker," "Wendell Phillips," etc. In the *Radical* appeared his poems entitled "Ideals," "The Plover," and "The Confession," also essays on "Doubt," and other subjects; in the *North American Review*, "Epic Philosophy" and "The Modern

Type of Oppression"; in the *Old and New*, a paper on "Jesus"; and a second one on "Theodore Parker," in the *Radical Review*; and an article on "Rights," in the *International Review*. His contributions to *The Index* have been numerous. Some years ago, he projected a work on the political history of our country from 1775 to 1801, but, after elaborating some chapters, lost his sight and could no longer read his own notes; and it is not likely that the work will ever be completed. He has also had in hand another work on the fundamental principles of "The Political Life," one chapter of which was the paper printed in the *International Review*, under the title of "Rights." Other chapters have been written, and the work would long since have been completed but for his loss of sight. Mr. Wasson was an earnest anti-slavery man, but his physical condition did not permit him to take a very active part in the movement. His great interest is and has long been to bring about a reform of political ideas, and to some extent of political methods. He has had to work against very great obstructions. For the past thirteen years, he has not been able to write at a table or desk; and at no time for more than twenty-five years has he been able to walk a mile without suffering.—B. F. U.]

THIS is the view that the *Woman's Journal* takes of the movement to interest Catholic women in the election of school committee men in this city: "The facts are simply these: the majority of women voters have shown a determination to discriminate against any candidate for school committee who is suspected of conniving at the closing of school-houses to accommodate liquor-shops. The city is so evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats that a few thousand votes might very likely turn the scale. The number of women voters in Boston has increased so largely during the past two years that the liquor-dealers and their friends have become alarmed. Certain Democratic politicians have accordingly exerted themselves to get up a scare among Catholic women, by representing to them that the Protestant women were making a crusade against the Catholic members of the school committee, and that they must vote to defend their own side. From twelve to fifteen hundred Catholic women have registered in consequence. Nearly three hundred of these are from Ward 6, where no woman has ever before voted. . . . It is a pity that sectarian and partisan issues should have been raised in regard to the schools, and doubly a pity that they should have been so brought up as to mask the real issue raised last year, which was a temperance one. Upon the true point in dispute, if understood, the majority of Catholic women would be in hearty accord with Protestant ones; but, of course, if the question is represented to them as one of Catholic vs. Protestant, or Democrat vs. Republican, they will be likely to go with their own church or party. Nevertheless, it is better that the gospel of school suffrage should be preached of contention than not preached at all; and we are thoroughly glad of anything which arouses the mothers of the Commonwealth, both Protestant and Catholic, to take a greater practical interest in their children's schools. The mothers and the schools will both be the better for it."

BOOK NOTICES.

IDEOLOGY: Mental Anaesthesia self-induced, Miraculous Cures self-made, Involution and Evolution in the Human Mind as in the Whole of Things. By Dr. La Roy Sunderland, Foundation Fellow of the Society of Science, Literature, and Art. London. Two volumes in one. Published by J. P. Mendum, Boston, 1885. pp. 338. Price \$1.50.

Forty years ago, La Roy Sunderland gave experimental lectures on mental phenomena, which excited the wonder, not only of the crowds that flocked to hear him and to witness the performances of his subjects, but of physicians and scientific men generally. He had been a successful revivalist, and was led, by observing how a certain class of minds were affected, to make those experiments and investigations the results of which are given in this work on *Ideology*. Dr. Sunderland (whose death occurred a few months ago) was familiar with the nervous and psychological phenomena now known under various names, such as "faith cure," "mind cure," "Christian science," "metaphysical cure," "magnetism," "staturvolence," etc. He held that all these phenomena,

including religious "conversions," the "trance," and other so-called spiritual manifestations, and all mental epidemics, are to be accounted for by elements that inhere in human nature. They are produced by something in the mind, and not by something external to it. They are induced "by faith, by ideas, by expecting them, by the force of habit, and by sympathetic imitation." "We need not," says the author, "go to another world, nor leave the confines of the living organism, to find the conditions and forms of force by which all these phenomena are induced. They cannot be said to be produced at all, only as they have been previously suggested by external occurrences; that is, some ideas suggested with which certain phenomena are associated, and whenever they occur they are by what I called self-induction many years ago." "Miraculous cures," mediumship, witchcraft, clairvoyance, religious revivals, gullibility, fascination, etc., are treated at length; and, incidentally, the author gives his views in regard to the Bible and Christian theology in very plain and forcible language. The claims made by Dr. Buchanan in regard to psychometry he discredits, and he finds much to criticise in the theories and claims of not a few of his contemporaries. The work is, in some respects, open to criticism; but it contains considerable information, and is worth reading.

B. F. U.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN BROWN, Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia. Edited by F. B. Sanborn. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885. pp. 645.

Mr. Sanborn was intimately acquainted with John Brown, was to some extent associated with him, knew all his plans, has had access to all correspondence and papers preserved by his surviving children, and is therefore better qualified, probably, than any other man to write an accurate memoir of the fearless leader of a forlorn hope at Harper's Ferry, who died on a Virginia gallows twenty-six years ago. The record embraces the entire period of his life,—his boyhood, his early manhood, and those later years during which his career in Kansas and the event at Harper's Ferry and its results forever associated his name with the struggle in this country which gave freedom to the slaves. "What the South slew last December," wrote Victor Hugo, March 30, 1860, "was not John Brown, but slavery." Brown's letters reveal, as no mere description can, his rugged strength, his devotion to what he conceived to be duty, his hatred of slavery, and his strong religious feelings. The entire narrative is extremely interesting, and the work is a valuable contribution to the history of the memorable period with which the name and fame of John Brown are identified. On page 626, Mr. Sanborn thus sums up the character of the grim old hero: "I knew John Brown well. He was what all his speeches, letters, and actions avouch him,—a simple, brave, heroic person, incapable of anything selfish or base. But, above and beyond these personal qualities, he was what we may best term a *historic* character; that is, he had, like Cromwell, a certain predestined relation to the political crises of his time, for which his character fitted him, and which, had he striven against it, he could not avoid. Like Cromwell and all the great Calvinists, he was an unquestioning believer in God's foreordination and the divine guidance of human affairs. Of course, he could not rank with Cromwell, or with many inferior men, in leadership. But, in this God-appointed, inflexible devotion to his object in life, he was inferior to no man; and he was in fame far above more gifted persons, because of this very fixedness and simplicity of character. His renown is secure."

B. F. U.

BRICKS FROM BABEL. A Brief View of the Myth, Traditions, and Religious Beliefs of Races, with Concise Studies in Ethnography. By Julia McNair Wright. New York: John B. Alden. pp. 181. Price 60 cts.

The short studies in ethnography which appear in this handsome volume were written, the author says, "to throw light on many important passages in Holy Writ, and to show that the finest learning and most recent discoveries have not antagonized the Mosaic author, but have followed the path he traced." The work, which is founded on the statements in Genesis, gives an account of the "dispersion at Babel" and the wanderings of Noah's descendants, quoting from Rawlinson, Prichard, Taylor Lewis, and others, to sustain the views advanced. Those even who dissent from some of the conclusions of the author will admit that she has given considerable

attention to the subject, and has presented the popular view in a very attractive manner.

THE September number of the *Freethinkers' Magazine* contains the following articles and notes: "The New Consolation," by T. B. Wakeman; "Food and Drink," by J. M. Peebles, M.D.; "Religion means Bondage," by Mary E. Tillotson; "History of Conservatism," by Rev. E. P. Powell; "Truth, Original Poem," by Eva Barnes; "Extracts from Letters," "National Liberal League," "Milton Woolley, M.D.," and "The Bruno Statue," Editorial; Book Reviews, All Sorts, Freethought Directory, The Freethought Press. After this year, this magazine will appear monthly, and will be somewhat enlarged, and the price raised from \$1.50 to \$2. [Salamanca, N.Y. H. L. Green, editor and publisher.]

THE *North American Review* for October is a strong number. Its opening article, "Inhuman Crime in England," by Cardinal Manning, is followed by "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois," by E. B. Washburne; "George Eliot's Private Life," by E. P. Whipple; "Vice-President's Politics in '64," by Gen. B. F. Butler; "America and the Vatican," by W. W. Astor; "How to quell Mobs," by Gen. Fitz John Porter; "Letters and Recollections of Grant," by Admiral Ammen; "The President's Policy" (a symposium), by J. B. Eustes, Wm. R. Grace, and Theodore Roosevelt; "A Letter from Milliken Bend," by Gen. Grant; and "Notes and Comments," by several distinguished writers.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Parker Memorial Science Class will resume its Sunday sessions next Sunday at the usual hour, 12.15 P.M., in the parlors of the Parker Memorial. At this opening session, the address will be by B. F. Underwood.

NEXT Sunday evening, Col. Ingersoll will lecture on "Myths and Miracles" in the Boston Theatre. Charles Ellery Davis will give an illustrated lecture on the same evening, at Paine Hall, on "The Origin of Man."

JOHN B. ALDEN has brought out a *Manual of Co-operation*, which contains an epitome of George Jacob Holyoake's *History of Co-operation*, arranged by the American Sociologic Society, with an introduction by Mr. Holyoake. This little volume of seventy-eight pages, which will be welcomed by those interested in social and economic problems, is very cheap, being but thirty cents in cloth, and in paper covers ten cents.

In his work on *Ideology*, La Roy Sunderland says: "My own definition of religion would be that it is that sense of *obligation* which controls the human mind in the fulfilment of all the relations of life. This sense of what ought to be done or left undone is older than all creeds, older than all Bibles, and does not depend upon prayer or faith or revivals." According to this definition, religion is identical with morals, or with moral intuitions."

SAYS the Springfield *Republican*: "The Athenæum Club of London, the chief centre of literature and science, has admitted three Americans to membership this season,—Manton Marble, Cyrus F. Field, and Daniel G. Thompson, the last named formerly of this city and author of the *System of Psychology* which has attracted much more attention in Great Britain than here. . . . The English reviewers have been generally favorable to the character of Mr. Thompson's work as a genuine contribution to psychological thought."

SAYS the *Woman's Journal*: "Dr. Stirling's motion for the enfranchisement of women has been carried without division in the Assembly at Adelaide, Australia. So says the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, a copy of which has been forwarded to us from that far-off land by Mrs. M. G. C. Leavitt. The irrepressible question of woman suffrage crops up at the ends of the earth, and it seems as if the antipodes were further advanced in some respects than we are."

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD informs us that he will lecture only in New England during the coming season. He will repeat his courses upon "America in the American Poets," "The Pilgrim Fathers," and "Emerson," and will give the following single lectures: "Carlyle and Emerson," "Emerson the American," "Whittier's Poetry of America," "Lowell's Poetry of America," "Puritanism," "New England in England," "Our Debt to Holland," "The British Parliament," "Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, or the Gospel of Toleration." His address is 73 Pinckney Street, Boston.

In an article on Harriet Martineau in the *Christian Register*, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer remarks: "As for the religious opinions of her later life, it is sufficient to say that they were the outgrowth of her earnest research, were held with no loss of devotion to duty or clouding of human affection, and that they seemed suited to her temperamental and intellectual needs. Whether they were the wisest and fullest or not, they afforded her the solace and cheer which her earlier faith did not, and enabled her to call herself 'probably the happiest single woman in England.' If the life beyond had more for her than she thought, and, according to the confident belief of the devout Florence Nightingale, her loving and beloved friend, she was 'so wonderfully surprised' at death, she had taken excellent measures betimes to make it useful to her fellows as well as agreeable to herself 'that Harriet Martineau be perpetuated.'"

SAYS the New York *Christian Advocate*: "One of the most perplexing of the mysteries of human nature is the way in which some ministers will allow themselves to be used as stool-pigeons for all sorts of schemes to defraud the public or to undermine the principles which they are set to defend. They do this sometimes by giving certificates to unworthy persons, letters of introduction to individuals whom they do not know, testimonials of ability to lecturers of whose moral character they know nothing, and recommendations of patent medicines. One of these lecturing villains, armed with letters from our ministers, has blighted the lives of three reputable young ladies in as many places. Kindness of heart accounts for some of these errors; the fear that the applicant or some of his friends will be offended, for more; and doubtless a *quid pro quo* in popularity or presents or dinners, for some."

UNITARIAN ministers and papers often remark that the great mass of Liberals outside of the churches are deficient in reverence and the religious spirit. The same complaint is frequently

made by orthodox people against the Unitarians; and, in the *Philadelphia Times*, it finds expression in the following paragraph: "Mr. Hale's notion has been the pet theme of some advanced liberal preachers for the last fifteen or twenty years. The secret of it is simply that there is not in their so-called liberal churches religious enthusiasm or worshipful spirit enough to keep them from utter dullness; and, having no religion in their churches and seeing no ground or use for such things, they are out on a hunt for a substitute. The favorite substitute, long broached, has been that now made prominent by Mr. Hale,—social herding and harmless amusements. It is very difficult to reason with people who do not know the difference between the uses of a ball-room, a billiard-room, or theatre and a church. There is a difference, however."

MOST deplorable is the condition of day laborers in Italy. Not many months ago, the authorities thought it necessary to order that dead animals be buried in quicklime to prevent the peasants digging them up and eating them, as it is said often, happens. Mr. Beauchamp's description of the agricultural laborers in Italy reminds one of the condition of the French peasants before the Revolution or of the slave-field laborers in pagan Rome. He writes: "Those who have seen these unhappy persons moving in gangs at early dawn toward the fields where they are to work, conducted by an overseer on horseback, can scarcely have avoided a mental comparison between them and the slave droves of ancient times. Whilst they work in line from sunrise to sunset, the horseman continually passes up and down to watch that there may be no shirking or neglect of the task set by the employer. Men and women bending to the ground, shivering in the chill mists of morning, toiling in mournful silence, they might be but a herd of human cattle, resembling their fellows, but belonging to a different and degraded race of captive helots."

SAYS Richard A. Proctor, in *Knowledge*: "The great philosopher of our age is not anxious to be followed by a train of disciples: he would preach no new religion. But he knows, what others have felt, that the purifying of old religions from the dross of ages is no destructive process. Through the infinite azure depths of the cleared sky, the real glory of the universe is beginning to be seen. Purified,—even it may be to perfect transparency,—religion will remain religion still. It will have its temples, but temples not made with hands; its worship, but a worship cleansed from all that is unworthy; its code of morals, but a code based on reason and on justice. One characteristic alone, which has been associated with religion, the religion taught by pure science will not possess. Its very essence will be freedom from all intolerance. Because it recognizes in all true forms of religion a yearning after good, a desire to feel the presence and power of something outside of us that makes for right, science can be intolerant only of intolerance. The religion of science is indeed in harmony with all true-aiming religions, discordant only with what is self-discordant, the jarring voice of cruelty and hatred."

THE CRIME AGAINST THE CHINESE.

The country is to be congratulated that the national administration has moved so promptly to protect the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming. A greater outrage than was committed against these unoffending people can hardly be conceived. The government Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company, on whose mining property the Chinese were at work, have been investigating the matter in connection with three Chinese consuls, appointed for the purpose by their government. It is clear that the perpetrators of the outrage had no excuse except that the Chinamen were working for less pay than seemed to these ruffians good. They wanted the places for themselves and their friends and at higher wages. They accordingly warned the Chinese to leave within a certain time. And this entirely illegal and unjust decree the poor Chinamen were preparing unresistingly to obey, thinking from experience that they would find no friends in this country to protect their rights or themselves from personal harm. But their villainous enemies did not even await the execution of the decree they themselves had made. Before the appointed time had expired, the Chinese colony was fiercely attacked; and men, women, and children were indiscriminately and brutally massacred.

There is no doubt that the Chinese government will demand reparation for this dastardly offence. But no apology that may be asked for, no sum of money that can be demanded, however readily the American government might meet these conditions, will save the honor of this country or answer the demands of justice. Nothing can atone for such a wrong, nothing clear the skirts of this nation for complicity in it, but the legal trial and punishment of the ringleaders in the massacre for the crime of murder. The prompt action of the government at Washington in ordering an investigation, and, still more, in placing troops at Rock Springs to protect the recalled Chinese miners at their work, induces the hope that this kind of reparation will be offered by our government, whatever else the Chinese government may ask for.

The American government owes it to itself no less than to the Chinese to take the most efficient action to this end. There can be little question that the recent Congressional statute abrogating the treaty that had previously existed between this country and China, and prohibiting the further coming hither of Chinese laborers, has tended directly to foster just that spirit of contempt and persecution toward the Chinese as a class which has broken out in this act of atrocious barbarism and cruelty. Congress, it is well understood, enacted that law,—against the judgment of the President and his cabinet, and against, too, the best ethical and political sense of the country,—simply because two or three of the States of the Pacific Coast called for it; and, in the close contest between the two great political parties, the Congressional politicians on neither side dared to risk offending those States. The law, in fact, was a bid for the Presidential vote of the Pacific Coast, as were also the resolutions passed by the national conventions of the two parties. The statute is a dark blot on our national legislation. It is opposed to all the traditions and professions of the country in behalf of equal freedom to the people of all nations who may voluntarily come to its shores. It singles out one nation from all others on the globe, and says that no poor immigrant seeking to better his condition shall be received therefrom. The negro among us has been emancipated, and is working in peace; the nation is beginning even to do justice to the native In-

dian; the country welcomes the Irish, the Scandinavian, the Pole, the Italian, no matter how poor or squalid they are. The Chinese alone, through this statute, are branded as a Pariah race, unfit to live on these shores. This is an indignity and an injustice which this nation has committed against the Chinese people; and it need be no wonder if marauders like those who figured in the Rock Springs massacre should take it for granted that any outrage against a people thus branded was only following the national bent, and might be ventured with impunity.

This is a position which the United States cannot afford to take before the civilized world. Whatever may have been the weaknesses of political parties in forming their platforms, or of Congress in meeting partisan exigencies, the executive power of the nation has a very different responsibility, and must face the public judgment of the most enlightened nations of the world upon its actions. These unhappy Chinese at Rock Springs were living in this country before the new legislation, and had a perfect right, even by the new law and treaty, to remain and pursue their vocations. Their rights to domicile and protection were thus guaranteed to them in the most solemn manner. The honor of the nation was even more concerned in protecting them, so long as they were law-abiding and peaceable, than if they had been native citizens. Is this nation to admit before the court of international public opinion that it has no moral concern whether it observes or not an obligation of this nature, or no physical power to punish and prevent such crimes as were perpetrated by some of its own citizens against a colony of helpless Chinamen who were under its special protection? The question in this case is not even the broad one of justice and equal rights which was involved in the recent statute; but it is simply whether this country is a land of civilization and law, whether the United States government can keep the commonest obligation of international honor, and guarantee the commonest international security to life and liberty. It so happens, too, in this case that there is no question of State rights concerned, no divided authority between an individual State and the national government. The massacre took place in a Territory, and the power to deal with it is in the national administration at Washington.

Nor can this outrage upon the Chinamen at Rock Springs be dignified into a battle of the great social conflict that is going on between capital and labor. In that conflict there is an honorable struggle on the part of labor to secure withheld rights and privileges. But no wrongs which labor may suffer can justify or excuse such a cowardly atrocity as the murder of inoffending men, women, and children belonging to a weaker laboring class, in order that their opportunity for work may be seized by men who have greater brute strength. Labor reformers and protectors, even if looking merely to the interests of their cause, and not considering the questions of justice and mercy involved, cannot afford to take the Rock Springs murderers upon their shoulders any more than the United States government can pass over the crime in silence. The labor cause will be only subjected to the condemnation of all humane and fair-minded people, if its organizations ally themselves with or attempt to palliate deeds of such savage fury.

The newspapers, both secular and religious, so far as we have seen, have discussed this matter from a high stand-point, and have demanded that the national government shall meet the case so as not only to give prompt satisfaction to China, but to make also the offenders understand that

such barbarian violation of the common laws of civilization and humanity, not to speak of treaties and statutes, cannot be repeated with safety. To the orthodox religious journals, this unprovoked massacre of Chinese laborers has, indeed, a religious bearing of no small importance. This is called a Christian land. Its religious faith is almost exclusively Christian. Its churches are largely engaged in the support of missionaries, in China and other Asiatic countries, for the conversion to Christianity of the benighted heathen populations of those lands. But what must these so-called benighted heathen think of a country's religion as illustrated by this massacre of their countrymen? Acts tell more than words. The Chinese government might well say to the Christian Churches of the United States, "Recall all your missionaries: they are evidently more needed at home than in China." And, judged by the moral precepts of Jesus, which party at Rock Springs were nearest to him in discipleship,—the forbearing, unresisting, heathen Chinamen or their Christian assailants?

WM. J. POTTER.

"WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR SISTER TO MARRY A NIGGER?"

We have been accustomed to many peculiar forms of sex arrogance, but to none that could be more strikingly instructive than that now urged in objection to woman's betting on horse-races. If this indulgence is moral, whose is the quarrel for her share of it? If it is not, who is wisely man's apologist for his own perversion? The "inferior" sex has long participated as spectator in this sport, and evidently has grown impatient over the exclusiveness of its cogener. Either one thing or the other, it evidently sees, should be established. The old split-judgment will not serve nobler notions of right. Shall we in future subject our souls to sex-virtue or to virtue in its simplicity? It is encouraging when women thus question against antique barriers. The sex that frequents brothels and saloons with impunity, and sows its wild oats in early life under the wink of a generous, too indulgent society, has no prior claim to the immoralities any more than to the moralities of life.

Once, we were gravely asked the question, "Would you like your sister to marry a nigger?" and dull heads thought they found in it an answer to the anti-slavery case. Now, the traditionalists knock again: "Would you like your sister betting at horse-races?" But the imposing solicitude comes to-day, as it did before, from an opaque, moral impulse. Surely, if brother, why not sister? Society is the friend of inequality. When it "gives" woman in marriage, it really takes for granted a certain resignation of personality. And it has a remarkable way of pursuing this train of imperious wrong. It throws women to the street for sins their husbands transact without formal discredit. The young man who indulges an appetite is regarded as one who has the Lord on his side working for some future blessedness of the soul. The girl who offends goes the way of Satan. God, we are informed, gave to animate nature a one-sidedness which it is our duty to emphasize. What horrible injustice is emitted through such theories! Let us suppose a higher ideal. Let us put decency upon self-sustenance. Shall we, with consistent souls back of our words, say to woman that we owe her less than this? Shall we particularly apologize for her appearance upon the field of male dishonor? Shall we look with horror when she swears or smokes or drinks or chews or gambles or carouses or fights? Until man recog-

nizes the sin to be rated by the act, and not by the actor, we should sit with still tongues. There's no use raising a big noise, and endeavoring to frighten us by bringing a supposititious case into the bosom of one's family. What are we prepared to do,—to go unequivocally the length of virtue, or to give privilege on the side of vice to favored individuals? Shall all men wed justice, or shall they be spared who disdain to be just where justice does not predicate sufficient pleasure? Perhaps I go a step too far for the pulpit-humor that is lily-fingered with the brokers and hard-knuckled with the petty vices that disfigure society. But, in view of woman's need and man's candor, I should think no hard word too hard for the case.

I have a quite reasonable grief ready for the day when my own sisters go into frenzies over the endurance of an animal. I feel sure the editor of whose narrowness I complain is not the only person capable of proper feeling and discrimination in presence of such an occasion. To-day and here, this matter is not at all personal. I do more than exercise a weak regret over facts thus divulged. I hate as much to see men in such petty circumstances as I do to see women ruled by them. And, if men *must* enter so absurd a claim as they do to the employment of a partial virtue, I say, with every serious instinct alive within me, and from regard for an ideal that is not split and torn by easy consciences, that woman should glory in sharing the dissipation. The obvious truth, that men see the ugliness of the sport—the dire moral effects of it—when demonstrated in woman, gives me some hope that they may duly come to know the intrinsic wrong of the whole diversion. To-day, they think the error is in the sex. Later, they must realize that it is in the gambling itself. In the mean time, the phantoms of ruined sisters should not deter us from a rational interpretation of the facts at hand.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

THE WARNER SILVER SCHEME.

The plan proposed by Mr. Warner will, at the first blush, offend bimetalists, in that it adopts and adheres, at all hazards, to the gold level of money. In seeming, this is an abandonment of the bimetallic theory of money. It will, furthermore, disappoint a certain retaliatory sentiment against what is felt to be a great wrong by a powerful creditor interest, effectuated by surreptitious legislation. It seems to leave to these manipulators the undisputed enjoyment of their spoil. This is no exaggerated statement of the feeling of many thoughtful students of the animus, methods, and results of the monometallic propaganda.

Fully appreciating and largely sympathizing with that sentiment, I am yet convinced that statesmanship demands this concession to a monetary status, so firmly intrenched in the general business thinking and practice, even though that status may have been achieved by cunning and fraud, and its toleration may be a continuous spoliation of debtors and strangulation of productive industries. We must build in the present and on the present, and be content, in remedial legislation, to simply liberate the natural forces and allow them to work a gradual cure of past wrongs.

The great end is to arrest the downward movement of prices, and recover to the market an upward or, at least, a stable and healthy tone. Statesmanship in monetary legislation is chiefly concerned to render money terms fixed, certain, and definite in meaning, and so to organize its mode of supply as that it will have uniformity and stability of value or purchasing power. That

stability can be maintained only in one way; namely, by such a constitution of it as that increase of volume will go on *pari passu* with increase of the commodities to be transferred by it. Value in economics being in the nature of a ratio between two quantities, stability of value is secured by stability of the quantitative relation between those two terms. Until very recent years, the believed sufficient and only available guarantee of that permanence and uniformity in the volume and consequent value of money lay in the fact that the combined supply of the two metals would increase approximately as commodities and commerce increased. Indeed, all contracts for the payment of money were made virtually on the assumption of the right of the money volume to be increased as the metals increased, without any legislative restriction; i.e., free coinage. That right is now denied all over the western world by limiting ultimate or definition money to gold alone. True, on any standard, the actual money volume (which determines the prices of all things, even the value of the standard metal itself) is much greater than the quantity in sight of the metal denominated "standard." It has always been held to be legitimate and beneficent to supplement standard coin by a token coinage and various forms of paper currency, and by that means to increase the volume of money to an indefinite amount, so long as it could all be kept at the metallic par. The liability of that departure is believed to be amply provided against by the quality of convertibility on demand. But there is one principle in such a constitution of the money volume which is not open to superficial observation, and which is yet of vital importance to be understood. That principle is that the value of the money metal itself, like every other value, fluctuates, and is lowered, not merely by accessions of money metal and metallic money, but as well, and to the same extent, by accessions of paper money. No matter in what part of the inter-communicating commercial world the accession to the money volume is made, whether by metal or paper, the metallic level is affected proportionately all over the world by the addition. That lowering in the value of the metallic money is manifested by the enhanced price of commodities at the particular place, and then everywhere. That diminution in the value (purchasing power) of money, metallic or other, is not merely manifested by enhanced prices, but is the same fact. Price, being the money equivalent of commodities, is also, of necessity, the index and register of the commodity equivalent of money. Any other meaning of value than what is called "value in exchange" is value-less in this discussion.

Now, although in civilized communities the money value is made up of standard coin, supplemented by paper, yet, since there is a safety limit to the paper portion, no matter whether that limit is one of coin to one, three, ten, or a thousand of paper, still, if it is to be kept within that limit of assured parity with gold, the quantity of paper must be definitely proportioned to and limited by the amount of gold. Another important principle right here is that, so long as our silver coins, though legally "standard dollars," are kept at par, as at present they are, by limitation of quantity, they cannot be used as a basis for paper issues without jeopardy to the gold standard, but must continue to hold in the currency a place that can be just as well and safely filled by paper, without the silver at all. Under the present policy, the silver constitutes no enlargement of the metallic base; but, as before stated, the money volume is strictly limited in some definite proportion (i.e., the safety limit) to the quantity of gold alone,

and the problem is how to enlarge the metallic base without departure from the gold standard.

Mr. Warner's plan does enlarge it by the whole amount of silver offered to the mint on the terms proposed; namely, the market value in gold. This restores to us, not indeed unlimited coinage of silver, but the enlargement of the metallic basis indefinitely up to the whole production of the mines. The certificates for dollars issued for bullion thus deposited are guaranteed redemption in lawful money, to be kept at par with gold or its value equivalent in bullion. These certificates, which will be money, will be held in check of excessive issue by convertibility on demand into "world's money, a hundred cents to the dollar."

The test and regulator of proper money volume is prices. That is the universal regulator in commerce. Money in excess raises prices, checks export, makes "balance of trade" against us, drives paper in for redemption, bullion goes abroad, money volume is reduced, prices fall in consequence to the international level again. This incessant rise and fall of prices constitutes the beautiful automatism of international equilibrium.

If it is asked, Which metal under the plan will, in going abroad, thus check excessive issues of paper? the answer is, The alternating variations of relative demand in different countries will determine. It suffices to say there will be absolute freedom from statutory constraint, and there will be no obstruction or uncertainty in converting on demand certificates into "world's money." Bullion, constituting the legal basis, going out and coming in to the country according as prices are high or low here, has always constituted the automatism of money distribution. These three things—prices (as modified, of course, by tariff laws), money volume, and money value—are correlated and reciprocally regulative facts, and under free conditions can never depart from their normal international level any farther than the slight alternations of surface current, which are but the vibrations of the scale-beam alert to equilibrate the ever-varying and countervailing pressures of supply and demand,—those imperious forces whose unchecked interplay is the harmony, is the imperial law, of economic science.

If the fall of silver was caused, as all competent economists now believe, by demonetization, then this restoration of it to unlimited monetary use must restore it to at least the market ratio of sixteen to one, unless the United States are too inconsiderable a force in the commercial world. No one who has any competence of thinking on the subject will deny the tendency of the measure toward that end. I am convinced that a careful estimate of the quantities involved in the question will compel the conclusion that the measure will, within the period of a few months, make the "silver dollar worth a hundred cents," or, as bimetalists prefer to put it, will squeeze out the abnormal, oppressive, inequitable, monopolistic *twenty-five per centum too much* value of the gold dollar, and bring it down to the silver value, where it of right ought to be, and surely would have remained under conditions of free competition of both metals for money uses.

The great shrewdness of the scheme lies in its power to bring about this change without shock or breach of continuity, so that bankers and "able financiers," whose narrow range of intellectual habit forbids their going outside of the closed circle of money terms in discussing value-change of money, will never know how it was done, since they will not have to "open a new set of books." There will be no hoarding of gold, but rather eager unloading, since it must fall in value. The

direct profit on the silver monetized will accrue to the public treasury. The only legislative fixity or constraint, contemplated by the scheme, is the fixing of the dollar definition to $23\frac{1}{4}$ grains gold, or $\frac{1}{100}$ pounds; and, per consequence, the "dollar of account" at its market equivalence in bullion and the automatic operation of domestic and foreign prices will do the rest.

True, silver is handicapped at the start, since the amount which would go to the making of one hundred and twenty legal dollars must count for only \$100. Silver deposited is effective in proportion to the number of dollar units it is taken for; and the economic effect is, therefore, impaired one-fifth. This is the necessary consequence of starting at a non-competitive gold ratio, but that ratio cannot remain the same under the competitive conditions the plan establishes. The essential and paramount feature of bimetalism is not any particular ratio, but the unrestricted use of both metals as a basis for paper issues. This method will graduate the market change, so as not to shock or disturb vested rights, real or imaginary. It ameliorates the situation by taking gold out of its monopolistic intrenchments, and putting it again in open competition with its world-old rival and ally; and, when the market ratio of sixteen shall have been achieved, every last shred of pretext or plausible objection on ethical grounds to the unlimited coinage of silver at brassage will be gone. There will be no danger that any popular government will ever try the experiment of monometallism again. An easy way to universal bimetalism will thus be opened, and a more rational one than the envious method of "driving Europe into it" by total suspension of coinage, and so intensifying her industrial distress. That plan is very much like the man's freezing his dog into compliance by holding him out-doors in his shirt-tail of a cold night. It is a strange objection to our taking the initiative in this silver business, that by so doing we shall help England out of her Indian difficulty.

Like every measure of justice and beneficence, this benefits all concerned, ourselves first and chiefly, and then Europe and the world. Only parasites and wreckers will be disturbed by it.

If it shall have the good fortune to get itself enacted (and I believe it will at the next session of Congress), it will come speedily to be accounted the greatest piece of remedial, ameliorating, financial legislation the world has ever seen.

It only remains for me to add to this already too protracted paper one suggestion of extrinsic effect, politically. The chief pressure of popular demand for a restoration of unlimited coinage comes from the West and South, while the opposition is from the great money centres. For it is arrayed the party of hope and enterprise,—young America; against it, that of privilege and intrenched possession. It is productive adventure against manipulatory financiering, industry against security-mongering, boldness and energy against parasitism and cunning, competitive equal-chance-for-all against monopoly and competence.

In short, the movement is in the ancient spirit and traditions of Democracy before its alliances with slavery. The inauguration of this movement as a party measure, and the business revival that will surely come of it, will make the Democratic party again the foe to privilege, restriction, monopoly, and centralization, and recover to it its ancient renown for championship of freedom and equal rights to all.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, Aug. 15, 1885.

THE DESIGN ARGUMENT.

Among the recent publications is a volume of sermons by Dr. R. Heber Newton.* Although these sermons, the author informs us in the preface, were called forth by "certain onslaughts upon Christianity which are notorious for their telling expression of the crude and coarse scepticism which many circumstances combine to make popular at present," referring to lectures given in New York City by Col. Ingersoll, they are in part directed against the positions of thinkers of acknowledged ability, to whose thought, should they be named, Dr. Newton would never think of applying the words "crude and coarse."

One of these sermons is devoted to an exposition and defence of the famous "Design Argument." "When," says the author, "the pert little atheist, Aristodemus, talked big in the street of Athens, Socrates easily refuted him by this very argument." "Every one knows how Paley used a watch to prove design, and how he turned this reasoning to establish design in the more wonderful mechanism of nature." "The argument from design has ever commended itself most strongly to the human mind. It is the argument by which most men satisfy themselves of the being of a God. The adaptations and contrivances of nature seem to prove, beyond question, a planning mind. In each of them, men see a thought realized, and thus recognize a forethought." Dr. Newton is confident that "marks of adaptation and tokens of contrivance are still found on every hand"; that nature abounds in "astonishing tokens of adaptation," "striking illustrations of design," and "purposed contrivance." He takes up some of the scientific objections to the design argument, based upon evolution; and, although what he presents in reply is familiar to readers of modern discussion, it is well worth reading for its vigorous and earnest eloquence.

But, when this design argument is repeated, with so much confidence in its soundness, to counteract the influence of Col. Ingersoll's lectures, it should be remembered that the argument has long ceased to give satisfaction to many of the ablest theistic philosophers, whose view of it is expressed by Prof. Royce, instructor in philosophy in Harvard College, who says in his recently published work, *The Religion of Philosophy*, "Wrangle upon wrangle, ceaseless balancing of probabilities this way and that, and opinions and ridicule and abuse forever and no result,—such is this empirical teleology that seeks a world-manufacturer, and cannot discover him." "One and all," says Mr. Fiske, in *Cosmic Philosophy*, "they [Xenophon and Cicero, Voltaire, Paley, and the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises] challenge us to explain on any other hypothesis than that of creative design these manifold harmonies, these exquisite adaptations of means to ends, whereof the world is admitted to be full, and which are especially conspicuous among the phenomena of life. . . . It was Mr. Darwin who first, by his discovery of natural selection, supplied the champions of science with the resistless weapon by which to vanquish, in this their chief stronghold, the champions of theology." Many of the eminent thinkers who do not deny, even if they do not admit, teleology in a large sense maintain, as Romanes expresses it, "that natural theologians can no longer adhere to the arguments of such writers as Paley, Bell, and Chalmers, without deliberately violating the only logical principle which separates science from fetishism." Viewed in the light of modern science, adaptations which to Paley and the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises

* *Philistinism*. Plain Words concerning Certain Forms of Modern Scepticism. By R. Heber Newton. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

seemed unmistakably to exhibit intention and contrivance prove to be the adjustment of objects to their environment in a manner which, if it does not exclude the possibility of design, at least fails to reveal any trace of it.

"According to teleology," says Huxley, "each organism is like a rifle-bullet fired straight at the mark; according to Darwin, organisms are like grape-shot, of which one hits something and the rest fall wide. For the teleologist, an organism exists, because it was made for the conditions in which it was found; for the Darwinian, an organism exists, because, out of many of its kind, it is the only one which has been able to persist in the conditions in which it is found."

"These successful adaptations which are so much admired in nature," says Felix Adler, "do not resemble the purposeful action of intelligence working directly and deliberately toward its ends, but appear to be the final fortunate outcome after countless tentative efforts, after countless miserable failures."

Dr. Newton seems to have no doubt that order, harmony, and adaptation are necessarily proof of a designing intelligence that produced them. But supposing a personal, intelligent, designing Being who created or manufactured the universe, must there not (reasoning from what we know) be order, harmony, and adaptation (or fitness) in his divine nature, to enable him to perceive, reflect, design, and to execute his designs? If this Being does not cogitate or reason, but perceives truth without the labor of investigation, he must still possess an adaptation or fitness thus to perceive as well as to execute his designs. To say he is *without* order, harmony, and adaptation, is to say he is a mere chaos. If a Being or substance without order, harmony, and adaptation, or a divine chaos, can create an orderly universe, there is no consistency in saying unintelligent substance could not have worked itself into the forms we behold. If order, harmony, and adaptation *do* exist in the divine mind, they must be eternal. If the order, harmony, and adaptation in God are eternal, they must be *independent of design*; for that which never began to exist could not have been produced, and does not therefore admit of design. *If order, harmony, and adaptation are independent of design in the divine mind, it is certain that order, harmony, and adaptation exist, which are no evidence of a pre-existent, designing intelligence.* If order, harmony, and adaptation exist which were not produced by design, which are, therefore, no evidence of design, it is unreasonable and illogical to infer designing intelligence from the fact alone that order, harmony, and adaptation exist in the Cosmos.

If it be said that the order, harmony, and adaptation in Deity to produce his thoughts and to execute his plans are eternal, why may it not be affirmed that the formation of matter into worlds, and the evolution of the various forms of vegetable and animal life, are the result of an eternal and inherent principle of order and adaptation? Is it more reasonable to suppose that the Cosmos was created or constructed by a Being in whom exist the most wonderful order and harmony, and the most admirable adaptation (which order, harmony, and adaptation had no beginning), than to hold that the Cosmos in its entirety is eternal, and the self-producing cause of all the manifestations we observe in the world?

The plan of a work is as much evidence of designing intelligence as the work which embodies the plan. For instance, the plan of a locomotive in the mind of Stephenson was as much evidence of design as the piece of machinery after its mechanical construction. If God is an infinite Being, his plans must be eternal, without beginning, and

therefore uncaused. If God's plans are not eternal, if from time to time new plans originate in his mind, there must be an addition to his knowledge and purposes; and, if these admit of addition, he must be finite. But if his plans had no beginning, if like himself they are eternal, they must, like him, be *independent of design*. Now, the plan of a thing, we have already seen, is as much evidence of design as the object which embodies the plan.

Since the plans of Deity are no proof of a designing intelligence that produced them (for they are supposed to be eternal), the plan of this universe, of course, was no evidence of a designing intelligence that produced it. But since the plan of the Cosmos is as much evidence of design as the Cosmos itself, and since the former is no evidence of design, it follows that design cannot be inferred from the existence of the Cosmos.

The absurdity of the *a posteriori* argument for a God consists in the assumption that what we call order, harmony, and adaptation are evidence of design, when it is evident that, *whether the universe was created or not, order, harmony, and adaptation must have existed from eternity, and are not therefore necessary proof of a designing cause.*

The Hindu, in accounting for the position of the earth, said: Whatever exists must have some support. The earth he imagined resting upon the back of an elephant, and the elephant upon a huge tortoise. He forgot that his own premise, that whatever exists must have some support, required that the tortoise should rest upon something. The inconclusiveness of his reasoning is apparent to a child. He who uses the design argument says:

Order, harmony, and adaptation are evidence of a designing intelligence.

The earth and its productions show order, harmony, and adaptation.

Therefore, the earth and its productions are the result of designing intelligence.

As the Hindu stopped reasoning when he fancied the earth upon an elephant and the elephant upon a tortoise, so the theologian stops reasoning when he says God made the world. But as surely as from the premise that whatever exists must have some support follows the conclusion that the tortoise rests upon something, as it rests upon the elephant, does it follow from the proposition that order, harmony, and adaptation are proof of an intelligent designer, that the order, harmony, and adaptation in a supposed designer are evidence of an intelligent designer who made him, as the various parts of Nature, adapted or fitted to one another, are evidence of an intelligent designer who produced them. If we grant the premise, we are led to the conclusion that there has been a succession of creative and created gods in the beginningless past.

Men who attempt to explain the mysteries of the universe by the theory of an intelligent designer, and who argue from the order and fitness in the world, remind us of the ostrich that, having buried its head in the sand, so as to render itself invisible to its pursuers, fancies there is no further need of exertion to escape from the dangers and difficulties that surround it.

That the Ultimate Reality of which all phenomena are manifestations is, in some way inconceivable to us, psychical in its nature, we are far from denying; at the same time, as Prof. Adler says, "the terms 'consciousness,' 'intelligence,' and 'will' have a meaning only when used with reference to the discursive minds of men or of other sense-bound creatures like ourselves. Carried beyond that sphere, they are mere ideas, of whose corresponding reality we know nothing." Our only object in this article has been to point out

what we conceive to be some of the fallacies of an argument which, as Mr. Fiske says, belongs to "the primitive fetichistic habit of thought."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

RECEPTION TO MONCURE D. CONWAY.

All who love progress and reform rejoice to see that the author of *The Earthward Pilgrimage*, *Sacred Anthology*, *Idols and Ideals*, *Demonology*, and other brave, scholarly, powerful books, still keeps that vigor of thought, nobleness of purpose, and comprehension of what our age most deeply needs, which gave him a foremost place among the Abolitionists, and has since made him a mighty prophet of new truth. His work in London—first as a defender of liberty during our great war, and then as the leader of a large congregation of advanced thinkers—has closed with honor and success. He has returned to his native country, and resumed his place among our own pathfinders and pioneers. His friends wish to meet him in Boston, spend some social hours in his company, and hear him once more tell us what present burden of duty is laid upon us by the eternal laws of truth and justice. Such an opportunity will be given on Friday evening, October 9, in Chapel Hall, adjoining the Meionaon, Tremont Temple. The doors will be open at 6 P.M., and a substantial supper will be ready at 6.30. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside; and Mr. Conway will deliver, at 8 P.M., an address prepared for the occasion, and entitled "Our Armageddon." Thus, we shall be told what part we can take in "the battle of the great day," still going on against popular delusions and iniquities in high places. Before the close of the evening, sufficient opportunity will be given for social intercourse. All who are interested in the speaker and the objects of the meeting are invited cordially. Not only the members of the Free Religious Association, but all friends of social reform and advanced thought, are earnestly called upon to meet with us. The price of reserved seats is only fifty cents; and the more promptly the tickets are sold, the easier it will be to make the occasion what we all wish to have it. Our friends will find it decidedly for their interest to secure seats as soon as possible after the opening of the sale on Monday, September 28, when tickets may be procured at the office of *The Index*, 44 Boylston Street, and of Mr. D. G. Craudon, 11 Hanover Street; also at Oliver Ditson & Co., 449. 451 Washington Street.

FREDERIC M. HOLLAND,

Sec'y F. R. A.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"For my own part," says Richard A. Proctor, in *Knowledge*, "I regard even the doctrine of a future life as open to scientific discussion, and not necessarily a religious doctrine at all."

WHEN people are afraid to come in contact with others not of their religion, party, or nationality, or "social standing," and manifest indifference or aversion toward them through impoliteness or rudeness, it shows that they have not yet attained to that disposition and spirit which leads to brotherhood and sisterhood.—*Christian Socialist*.

MR. T. B. WAKEMAN informs us that contributions received for the Bruno statue at Rome amounted, September 15, to \$339.20. He desires to raise it by subscriptions to \$600, when the proceeds of a lecture to be donated by Col. Ingersoll will, it is expected, increase the amount to \$1,000. Mr. Wakeman's address is 93 Nassau Street, New York.

PIRON, the French author, having been taken up by the watchman of the night in the streets of Paris, was carried the following morning before the lieutenant of police, who haughtily interrogated him concerning his business or profession. "I am a poet, sir," said Piron. "Oh, oh, a poet, are you?" said the magistrate: "I have a brother who is a poet." "Then we are even," said Piron; "for I have a brother who is a fool."

EVEN the most modified and modernized forms of Christianity, as sects, having an historic connection and a kinship with the old theology, cannot escape its influence, which is shown in various ways, among others in unscientific methods of thought and a slowness to welcome or value truth till it has been theologically christened and consecrated, so that it can be designated and described in the terms of the old faith. In this stage of thought, the heart often clings to the old; while the intellect distrusts it, and begins to make excursions in quest of new truth, somewhat timidly at first, trying to make science seem friendly by endearing it with pet theological names.

A WOMAN'S Congress is to be held at Des Moines, Iowa, October 7, 8, and 9. The following are among the topics to be discussed:—

"Is the Law of Progress one of Harmony or Discord?" Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, New Jersey; "Comparative Effects on Health of Professional, Fashionable, and Industrial Life," Anna D. French, M.D., New York; "The Production and Distribution of Wealth," Rev. Augusta C. Bristol, New Jersey; "The Work of the World's Women," Mrs. H. L. T. Wolcott, Massachusetts; "Justice, and not Charity, the Need of the Day," Mrs. Mary E. Bagge, New York; "Organized Work, as illustrated by the Methods of the W. C. T. U.," Miss Frances E. Willard, Illinois; "The Ministry of Labor," Miss Ada C. Sweet, Illinois; "The Need of Adjustment between Business and Social Life," Julia Holmes Smith, M.D., Illinois; "The Advantage of the Spoken over the Written Word," Miss Frances F. Fisher, Ohio; "The Religion of the Future," Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, New York; "Women Physicians in the Hospitals for the Insane," Jennie McCowan, M.D., Iowa; "Human Parasites," Leila G. Bedell, M.D., Illinois.

For *The Index*.

THE WAY OF LIFE.

With our fancy blindly leading,
We are speeding
Through the mazy path of life,
Where in waiting all-devouring
Death is glowering
Over all our wretched strife.
Stepping, stepping down the ladder,
Growing sadder,
Every year's another round
Nearer to a fearful spasm,
And a chasm,
Deep within the silent ground.
Tossing, tossing on the ocean
Of emotion,
We steer our ships for harbors there,
By the stars that guide our dreaming
By their beaming,
O'er the billows of despair.
Doubting, doubting, not perceiving
Or believing
Mystic forces o'er us roll,
Which our instinct half discerning
Turns to yearning
Aspirations of the soul.
Thus we live our life, declaring
We are bearing
Silent burdens inward pressed
By a hand whose phantom fingers
Ever lingers
Round each sorrow, unconfessed.

A. D. MARCKES.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 1, 1885.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

THE TRUE CONQUEROR OF DEATH.

An Address on Passion-tide, delivered in New York the Sunday before Easter, 1885.

BY W. L. SHELTON.

There is always something strange and mysterious about great religious festivals. They deal with the great mysteries of nature. The annual celebration of the greatest of all the festivals of Christendom takes place at the close of the season of Lent. On Wednesday before Easter, in the afternoon as the day draws to its close, in the Vatican at Rome, the great church dignitaries assemble in the Sistine Chapel. The pontifical robes will be put off, the regal splendors of the papacy will be laid aside, and while the whole assembly remains kneeling before the crucifix of the Saviour, and "The Last Judgment" of Michel Angelo looks down upon them from the walls, there will arise within a hidden enclosure the slow, solemn, mournful strains of the *Miserere*. Then, as the evening hour comes on, in one country and in one continent after another, the strain will be taken up by the various churches; throughout Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic across the plains of America to the coast of the Pacific, on, even into Asia. Yes, Japan, China, India, and Arabia will take up the strain; and thus the chorus of wailing and sorrow and lamentation will sweep around the earth. Again on Thursday and again on Friday, all Christendom will give utterance to this chorus of lamentation. Then, a day or two later, the strain will change. On Sunday, the music will rise into a pean of joy, the mournful tones of the *Miserere* will have changed into the exultant strain of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, Easter will close the festival of Passion Week.

You know what mystery this festival celebrates. It is the mystery of death. What is death, and what does it mean? No experience in nature has puzzled the mind so much as this. Philosophy and religion have always been speculating about it. The world has come to think of it as a grim,

unearthly fiend reaching out with skeleton hands to devour all living creatures as its victims. How shall we deal with that skeleton hand? Shall we put it out of our thought, as though it were a chimera? Shall we go to meet it with a manly indifference, or shall we cower before it with an unspeakable terror? Have we no way of conquering that unearthly power? Can we not rise up in the majesty of our spirit, and say that we will defy it? The Christians would say: We can: we have a Conqueror of death. Behold the picture of the death of Jesus! It is their conception of the victory over death which they celebrate in the festival of Passion Week and Easter.

What is this wondrous story of the death of Jesus? I tell this story, not as it actually took place, but as an ideal picture which arises in the minds of men. We have to remember that religious pictures are never pictures of reality: they are the constructions of the aspirations of men, and not the relations of actual history. The story of the death of the God-Jesus falls into a group of four several pictures,—the institution of the Sacrament, Gethsemane, the Trial, and Calvary. Jesus knew that he was about to die: he assembles the little group of chosen disciples in a small room by themselves to celebrate the passover. To a great teacher, it was the most momentous hour of his life: the prophet must lay down his mission; he must put his gospel into the hands of another, and he knew the danger. Would they retain it pure? Would they hand it down as he had taught it? Could he make them appreciate it? One only way and hope was possible,—to bind them to his own personality: if only his figure could continue a reality to them, the gospel he had to preach might still continue genuine as he had taught it. They gather around the table to eat the passover: he tells them of his death; he is to die, die for them, die for the race of men; they must appreciate the significance of that death. He must give them a memorial. He takes the bread upon the table, breaks it, and hands it around among them, and says, "This shall stand for my body, which dies for you." He takes the cup of wine, and hands it to them, and says: "Drink ye all of it: this is my blood which shall be shed for the remission of sins. I drink and I eat no more. But ye henceforth, when ye eat of this bread and drink of this wine, remember that it shall be a symbol of my sacrifice. This do in remembrance of me." But the symbol and the memory are not enough: he must bind them to himself by a promise which he gives of the future; he must establish in them an unspeakable trust and an undying faith. He tells them that he will continue with them. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. Behold, I go away, but I come again. In my Father's house are many mansions: I go to prepare a place for you, that where I am there may ye be also. Abide in me, I am the vine, ye are the branches: as the branches cannot bear fruit without the vine, so ye cannot bear fruit unless ye abide in me. Thus, he had done all that he could: he had consigned his mission into the hands of his disciples. And so we come to the second picture.

Now, for a few hours he must be alone. The consciousness of the death agony which he must endure has come upon him: he must steady his soul to an unshaken and undying faith. He takes three of his disciples, and goes out alone into the city, down through the narrow streets, out through the gate, down across the brook Kedron, up on the side of the Mount of Olives. It was now late in the evening. There was a little secluded garden there which was called Gethsemane. He enters

alone with his disciples, stations them by the gate, goes forward a few paces alone, and kneels down to pray. The spirit had not yet conquered. The God-Jesus was not yet triumphant. It was the awful solitude of the situation which appalled him,—to die and to die alone! For a time, he cannot lift up his soul to a stand-point of willingness and faith. Yes, for a moment, for an hour, he thought of escaping, he could not submit. He tried to pray. He calls out to the very Jehovah that was to crucify him, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." He is not yet ready. He rises up, he cannot be alone, he must have companionship for a moment, even if it be an earthly one. He goes to speak with the three friends waiting at the gate; but, alas! he finds them asleep. He goes back and tries to pray, and again cries out, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." The struggle was growing intense. The God-Jesus and the man-Jesus stood locked together in their final conflict. In that great agony, it is said that he sweat, as it were, great drops of blood. Jehovah, looking down on his agonizing Son, sent an angel to comfort him; but still the spirit could not conquer. Again he rises for a moment from the awful struggle, and again he finds his companions asleep. Once more, he goes forward alone, and begins to pray; and then the spirit conquers, the man-Jesus was subdued, the God-Jesus stood up complete and at one with himself. He bows his head in submission,—"Not my will, but thine be done." From that hour, he needs no companionship: he stood up in his godlike majesty, ready to meet his fate.

And so we come to the Trial. He goes out through the garden, he descends the side of the mountain, calm and serene and undisturbed. He knows the fate that is approaching. He meets a group of his enemies. They have come out by night to capture him, and to take him to his death. He has no fear. He announces himself boldly to them, he is Jesus whom they seek. They take him before the Jewish Sanhedrim and try him, and endeavor to get him to convict himself. (The accounts of these trials are very contradictory, but I give them as best I can.) But he has nothing to say, he knows that he must die. They take him before Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor. Again, he has nothing to say, he knows that he must die. Pontius Pilate sends him to Herod, but he has nothing to say. Again, they bring him back before Pilate, and exact at last a reluctant sentence of condemnation. In silence, Jesus awaits his doom. Through all the agonizing scenes of those trials, he had maintained his supreme godlike equanimity. Last comes the fourth picture: it is Calvary. They take him and lay the cross upon his shoulders, and lead him outside of the city to the place of crucifixion. The cross is raised, and he is nailed upon it. Then comes for the last time a new struggle between earth and spirit. Gethsemane must repeat itself upon Calvary. For an hour, it looked as if the spirit would succumb, the man would lose his godlike divinity. It was at the dying hour, that hour when the nature of man is breaking up, the vital spirit appears to be losing its control, and man succumbs to the power of nature. He had at first in this hour of weakness to conquer all human animosity. The man-Jesus had been wronged, he was being crucified, wantonly, wilfully crucified by the very men whom he had loved and lived for. And was not the man-Jesus to have one stray thought of anger against those who had wronged him? No: the God-Jesus could have no anger. He conquers, as he cries out in sublimest burst of universal love that ever fell from the lips of man, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." But the struggle was

only half over. The God-Jesus must maintain his faith, and physical strength could not sustain him. At that hour of deathly weakness, an agonizing doubt breaks into his mind: What if Jehovah himself would desert him? What if he had been mistaken? Might he not have been all wrong? Then, in a tone of unutterable anguish, he cries, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Was the spirit to succumb? By no means. At the last hour of life, when the soul seems flickering like a candle just about to go out, there comes sometimes a sudden, reviving gleam of light, a new strength. That moment came to Jesus. There swept over his mind a sudden consciousness of what he was accomplishing, the act of infinite atonement he was making, the complete, the universal cause of humanity for which he was making the sacrifice. The doubt falls away, the God-Jesus assumes the supremacy. With an expiring aspiration, "The work is finished. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my spirit," the head falls. Jesus was dead.

Such is the story of the death of Jesus which the Christian Passion Week celebrates. I would not depreciate its power as a picture. I do not believe any other literature has anything like it. If we may take it by itself as a dramatic sketch, it is a masterpiece; as an example of faith, supreme faith even unto death, it is sublime; as an example of the complete supremacy of soul in nature, it is godlike. As we read, we feel ourselves lifted into an atmosphere of soul-life which is altogether different from the life of nature round about us. We become conscious that, like Jesus, we, too, can become as gods by making the soul-power within us supreme. The will can become master of itself even unto death. The man-soul within us has been taught its power, it has learned its supremacy.

This, however, is not the significance of the death of Jesus to the genuine Christian. To him, Passion Week exists only for Easter. He points to an entirely new group of pictures which tell of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus. The story of the resurrection changes entirely the aspect of the Passion. Death had given up its power: Jesus had risen from the grave. To the Christian, he becomes the type of the conqueror of death. We conquer death only by dying: that is the lesson of Passion Week and Easter to the Christian. But, to the rationalist, the picture of the resurrection utterly destroys the meaning of the passion and death of Jesus. Easter annihilates the significance of Passion Week. The death of Jesus had been only an illusion. Jesus knew all the while that he was to arise again. The story of his passion no longer gives us the lesson of the godlike soul that will maintain its supremacy even unto death. The lesson now becomes one of submission to death for the sake of another life. We conquer death only by dying: that grim power has become so terrible to our thought that it has destroyed the satisfaction of existence. This life has become a failure: death is the only reality. We can only conquer death by annihilating life. We will sacrifice this earthly existence, we will go to meet that spectre, we will cast ourselves into its power, we will succumb. When once we have succumbed, by our very submission we shall escape out of its clutches, we shall rise into a new existence where death itself shall have no power: then we shall be free to live. What a different aspect this gives to the passion of Jesus! Is this a brave, true conception of life? Shall the man-soul within us, that would lift itself into a God, be cowed and succumb, and give up its glorious possibilities of life through cowardly fear of death? No: this is not a brave conception of life. We must repudiate this type of the conqueror of death. To the true,

genuine, complete life of our age, it has no meaning. Easter is an anachronism in the nineteenth century. Would you see a conception of life for which this has a meaning? Look at the wan, emaciated figures on the canvas of a Ribera. They are the monastics of the Middle Ages. To them, indeed, life was a Passion Week, death a Good Friday, and eternity an Easter. We must look for the origin of the festival of Passion Week in an entirely different age from the present. It is the antique type of the conqueror of death which Passion Week would celebrate.

We shall be interested, then, in tracing the origin of this picture, because it will explain to us the complete change which the theory of life has undergone. The two ages of the world will stand posed antagonistically to one another, and with them the two conceptions of life. This type of the conqueror of death of course did not come from Jesus himself: we know nothing about the death of Jesus save his crucifixion. Whole centuries of cosmopolitan thought wrought itself into this picture. As the civilization of antiquity was coming to its close, the thoughts of the various nationalities fused together; and it was really out of such a fusion that the story of the death of Jesus has come down to us. Judaism, Platonism, Magianism, have all drawn their lines into the picture. As the culminating thought of antiquity, I would like to give you a sketch of their conception of what they called the "City of God." The most graphic account of it comes from the pen of St. Augustine.

One distinctive feature in the theory of life of antiquity was their faith in the guiding hand of Providence. All that took place took place by divine will and consent: Pagan as well as Christian acknowledged this fact. The whole plan of creation and the future of the world had been arranged and established by divine authority. Nature was nothing, God was everything. At the same time, at the close of antiquity, to the philosophic observer one fact was very plain,—the civilization of the world was on the decline. Everything wore an aspect of decay. Two great cities had stood for two great types of civilization,—Jerusalem and Rome. Jerusalem was now a mound of ruins: Rome itself had fallen beneath an attack of barbarians. Society was in a state of dissolution. Christianity looked on calmly and indifferently. The religions of the various nationalities had fallen into ruin; philosophy itself was on the decline; all the great forces which had been at work in nature for the development of earthly civilization now appeared to have exhausted themselves; everything wore an aspect of decay. What, then, could be the explanation of it? The Christian teacher was ready with his reply. Death was the explanation of it. The world was dying; it had been dying from eternity; earth was undergoing the penalty of original sin. Away back at the beginning of creation, a principle of evil had entered into life, when the will of the creature had broken the will of the Creator. The doom of death had been pronounced upon creation. The very angels of heaven had been the first to call this doom down upon themselves: heaven itself had been divided. Again, on earth, this experience had been repeated. Man had sinned, Adam had broken the divine command, and with him all the race of man was doomed to die. Not only was the whole future of earthly creation vitiated by this act, all life from the lowest protoplasm to the man who was made in the image of his Creator must suffer this penalty: suffering woe and sorrow was the penalty for the entire creation. The very stones and substance of earth must perish. Yes, the world must die. Earth itself and all its glory must be annihilated because

of this crime of man. From the hour of Adam's sin in the garden, the whole earth became a degenerate and dying world. Earthly life was in decay; the whole world was dying; earth itself was a failure.

And still there was a hope: Deity was just, but it was merciful. A principle of good had been left in the world. From the hour when the sentence of doom had been pronounced, these two principles of good and evil had stood in mortal conflict with each other. They are represented by the Christian writer in the figure of two cities in conflict,—the city of God and the city of man, the city of heaven and the city of earth. By the will and mercy of the Creator, the city of God shall ultimately triumph, and atonement shall be made. Deity himself would send a conqueror of death. All history previous to the coming of this conqueror thus became a prophecy of his coming. The cities in conflict must have their symbols and representatives on earth. The Hebrew race and the religion of Judaism stood for the type of the city of God: Assyria and Rome and the pagan religion stood for the type of the city of man. All Judaism was reconstructed into an allegory. The events of their history and their entire literature become a prophecy of the coming of that conqueror, and of the final triumph of the city of God. The ark of Noah itself symbolizes the Christian Church, even unto all the details of its structure. The history of the Hebrews from the time of Adam down to the birth of Jesus stands for a repetition of the six days of creation. From Adam to Noah was one day; from Noah to Abraham and the Patriarchs, the second day; from the Patriarchs to the Judges, the third day; from the Judges to the reign of David, the fourth day; from David to the Captivity, the fifth day; from the Captivity to the time of Jesus, the sixth day. But the Hebrew race was a reality as well as a symbol. The two cities existed within that city: they, too, were of earth; and death was upon them as well. The division of the people into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel signifies their spiritual conflict. But, at the close of these second six epochs of creation, the conqueror comes. Jesus makes the terrible sacrifice; the power of death was broken; the prophecy of death had been completed. Judaism ceases then to be the heavenly city. Their nationality had done its work as a prophecy for the world: it was no longer needed. Jerusalem was allowed to fall at the hands of the Romans, lest the world should still treat it as a great symbol. From that time, the Christian Church in conflict with the world becomes the true symbol of the city of God and the city of man. But, though the power of death had been broken, it had not been annihilated: the penalty must be executed. There were two deaths, the first of the body and the second of the soul. The death of the body must be endured, but from the death of the soul there was a possibility of escape. The doom was still upon the earth, the death-fiend still had its power. But the aspirations of man were now lifted to another sphere of invisible existence. The world was dying: let it die. We must hate this earthly life, and everything connected with it. It is not a genuine life, it is only a scene of trial and temptation. To be even sensible of joy in this earthly existence betokens a degenerate nature, perhaps beyond all hope of salvation. Earthly love itself is a crime. All our life is but a race to the grave. As soon as we begin to live, we begin to die: life has no reality, think nothing of it, let it alone. We accept the atonement of Jesus, we give up this life, we surrender ourselves into the hands of death; and then death itself shall be annihilated, the triumph of the city of God will be complete, new heavens and a new earth will

arise, and death itself shall be swallowed up in victory!

Such was the antique conception of the city of God and the Dying World. Such is the conception which Passion Week and Easter would celebrate. But the world did not die, the civilization of the nineteenth century has given the lie to the prophecy of antiquity. Out of the ashes of antiquity has arisen an entirely new civilization. The future beckons us with its promises: the past is only a graveyard. No philosopher, no religious enthusiast of antiquity, could have anticipated this extraordinary palingenesis. Yes, a new age has arisen; and we have a new conception of life, a new conception of future, a new conception of religion. Our whole civilization stands upon a different basis.

And, now, against the antique conception of the conqueror of death, I would like to pose a rationalistic life of this new civilization. I would like in a very brief way to give you a picture of one man whose life to me as a rationalist has been the inspiration that the death of Jesus was to me as a Christian. I reverence John Stuart Mill. I look upon him as the greatest and purest mind that has arisen in our century. He represents our new civilization. This man began life as a rationalist. He never knew what it was to have a faith in supernaturalism. For him, God had been struck out of the constitution of things, providential dispensation had no meaning, eternity was an illusion. Two things, however, were real and genuine to him,—humanity and natural law. Natural law was the basis of his philosophy: the cause of humanity was the ground of his religion. To establish a faith in this philosophy, and to live up to and spread this conception of religion, was the aim of his life. He was one of those rare natures which makes a unity of its life. No upheaval and downfall of the efforts of his youth had to take place before he began the mature life of man. He was one of those "happy warriors" whom Wordsworth has described as realizing their maturity, the pure plan of life which their childhood and youth had laid out for themselves. No waste was necessary: all his youth could be a glorious preparation for his manhood.

One crisis, however, did come to him. It was just as he was beginning to enter public life. He had completed the preparation of his youth: the enthusiastic life of the man was about to begin. But, strange to say, the enthusiasm did not come. Almost the very hour when he was beginning to live, all his enthusiasm appeared to be on the decline. He had set up one ideal for himself,—to become the reformer of the world: that was his aim. But now he asked himself, Suppose I could accomplish all that I wish, suppose I could reconstruct society as I aspire to do, would that give me complete joy and satisfaction of life? And, to his own astonishment and despair, his self-consciousness responded, No. Then would have been the time for the Christian to have made his appeal. St. Augustine should have arisen out of the grave, and stepped into this age of the nineteenth century, and addressed him in the language of antiquity: It is true, John Stuart Mill, this work will not give you satisfaction. Earth and all earth's possibilities are a failure. Out of the past, I can prophesy of the future. I bid you come to Jesus, accept this Conqueror of death. You cannot take any satisfaction in this earthly existence, because death awaits you. Annihilate this life, give up the cause of the happiness of humanity, make eternity and God your aspiration. But St. Augustine would have made his appeal in vain. This man knew well enough that the trouble lay, not with the possibilities of earthly existence, but, on the contrary, somewhere with

himself. He discovered that he had made one mistake. There was still something in his mind as well, something of that antique doctrine of the annihilation of one's own personality. He had adopted humanity as the object of his devotion: the good of an aggregate humanity was the aim of his life. But humanity, after all, was a thought, an abstraction. That aim could appeal to only half his nature. There was something else in him that was hungering and thirsting for activity: the man must feel, the man must love, he must have personal relations. He could not work for the race of men as an ideal, unless he could have a personal feeling for men as individuals. The right and the demand of the feelings have their cultivation and satisfaction: that was the discovery that saved him. He turned to music, he turned to poetry, he turned to friendship. The man learned to love: he made friends and he loved them. But there was one friendship that moves one almost to tears by its tenderness, its pathos, and its power. I do not know of any other such great thinker in all history that could think so deeply and yet love so profoundly. The glory of the man was not in his thought, but in the personality back of it, which created that thought.

It would be difficult to give any idea of the extent and diversity of his work. He was a great thinker and a great writer. He wrote a great work on Economics, another great work on State and Ceremonial Institutions, one great work on Logic, one on Metaphysics, and another striking work on Religion; but he did not write them simply as a thinker. He wrote them all really as a teacher of religion. The dull details of economics are very dry to me; but, when I read his great work on Political Economy, I felt myself actually stirred by it to religious enthusiasm. To him, the science of economics might become the study of the reconstruction of society on a principle of justice. I know of nothing quite so dry and abstract as the study of logic, but I found his great work on this subject to be a study of life. Even when he writes on metaphysics, he breathes the same tone of a writer of religion. Man, what he can accomplish, what he can make of himself,—that is always his theme. I read his *Essays on Religion*: I saw him reason God out of the universe; but it was only to raise up the real substance of religion,—humanity. Everything that he said and did had a religious character and significance about it. What a world of religious tenderness he expresses, when he looks out upon the suffering world, and exclaims to himself, "They who have had their happiness can bear to part with life; but, oh! it is very hard to die without ever having lived!" He loved humanity; and, with the spirit of a great religious teacher, above all he loved the weak and the suffering and the wronged. Justice, universal justice, was his ideal, that the world might have complete happiness. We are awed by the strength of his religious devotion, by the spirit of complete self-abnegation with which he sets up a new immortality,—the immortality of our work for humanity. That was satisfaction enough as a religious stimulus to him, without any thought of a personal resurrection. Such was his religion. Such a humanity was a religious stimulus to him. He had no other religion, and yet he had enough.

But he was not only a thinker and a writer. The religious spirit within him could not stop with that. He must go out and act. He must endeavor to see the thought of his life executed in the life of society. Wherever he could put his hand into activity, he wrought. It is almost painful to witness the intensity with which he labored, the unwavering enthusiasm which he

displayed; but it is sublime to witness at the same time the complete serenity of his mind. He went into Parliament. He took up there the cause of the suffering and the oppressed. Justice to woman, the enfranchisement of the laboring class, a genuine equivalence in all the actions of the State,—they were his plea. At the close of his life, twelve of his friends published a little memorial volume. One told of the work he had done as a moralist; another told of the work he had done as an economist; another described what he had accomplished as a teacher of religion; still another told what he had affected as a literary critic; and then another told of his work as a philosopher; then of his practical life, what he had accomplished for the cause of labor in Parliament; another described his career in the India House. These all told of his public life and work, but they do not tell so much of the personal man. The real memorial volume must be the man himself. It is doubtful whether any other man of this century has left such a stamp of his life and thought upon society. Oh, it is soul-stirring to read what he thought and to read what he did! It was a whole, complete life. When we survey it, we become conscious that at least one man has made a religion of this earthly life. We become conscious that this earthly life can become to us a religion.

At the close of his life, he went down to the grave. He, too, met death face to face. He went down to the Land of Silence, where there is "no work and no knowledge and no wisdom." But he went down calmly, serenely, with folded hands of submission. He awaited that immortality of the work which he had accomplished for humanity. For himself, I do not suppose he anticipated any personal resurrection. The hero of life's struggle and of life's religion fell into the slumber of death. He had his peace. Was this a brave death? Far better: it was a brave life. As we stand at the entrance of the celebration of Passion Week and Easter, I venture to say that John Stuart Mill as truly conquered death, as truly lived and died for a religious ideal, as did Jesus of Nazareth. Understand me. I do not set up this man as a God, like Jesus, before whom we are to bow down, though I would bow down in reverence before the glory of such a life: I simply set him up as a type of a possible rationalistic religious life, which our new civilization has given us.

And what, then, are the characteristics of this new civilization, that lead us to reject the entire thought of antiquity? First and foremost, we have learned to look upon nature not as a creation, but as a process. We know that we have to deal, not with the will of a deity, but with natural law. A new psychic force has come into existence,—a capacity for calculating natural causes. That psychic force is man. By means of this psychic force, we ourselves become creators. To create is not to bring the material substance of nature into existence out of nothing, but to shape that existence when made. We know nothing as to its origin. It has even been disputed among theological writers as to whether Deity itself created it. We create by constructing our pictures of thought into the substance of material reality. We ourselves can shape existence. We can make nature. That is the new discovery of philosophy. The hand of fate is lifted from our shoulders. What a load of enthrallment the ages had to endure, when they thought of all this vast expanse of nature and of life as only executing the pre-arranged design of a creative will! That was the burden which antiquity had to carry. One only lesson of life was possible. That was to submit. The chain of design, with its inflexible links, held

us, too, in its meshes. The doctrine of predestination was a doctrine of doom, whatever it might promise. What wonder that the thought of antiquity gave up in despair, and that all civilization should collapse! What centuries of thought has it taken to lift the minds of men out of that conception, to place the creature in the position of a creator! But that hour has come. The will of a creative deity was only a myth. The plan of predestination was only a black shadow cast upon nature by the reflection of man's own thought. We ourselves become the predestinators. Hence, we deal not with the plan of the past, but with the infinite possibilities of the future. That future, at least to some extent, we can create.

Secondly, we have discovered that the process of nature is not a movement downward, but an evolution upward. Antiquity had only two great theories as to the process of the universe,—the philosophic doctrine of rotation and the Christian doctrine of predestination. The philosopher had said that nature is only a repeated rotation. History was always repeating itself. But even this hope had been taken away when philosophy succumbed to Christianity. Then came a theory of doom. It was bad enough to be predestined, whatever we might be predestined to; but to be predestined downward, to feel that the whole nature of things—back, yes, from eternity itself—was moving always down, ever down. Yes, that was a deathly picture. The world was in a process of slow dying and slow decomposition. The burden of woe upon antiquity became stupendous. But this, too, was only that grim shadow cast upon the world by speculative thought. Instead of the theological theories of nature spun out of the minds of men, we have to-day the scientific investigation of the universe; and that has revealed an entirely different state of things. From the lowest form of life up to man, nature has been always an evolution upward, ever upward, toward something higher. We can even trace the process itself. Step by step, we become assured of this evolution. Faith becomes knowledge, and we know it. The rotation movement of the philosopher becomes the spiral movement of the scientist. The downward-pointing spiral of antiquity has become the upward-pointing spiral of the nineteenth century.

Thirdly, this process of evolution must affect man as well. Instead of our earthly civilization being in its old age and decline, we learn that it is just now approaching its maturity. Maturity comes when knowledge comes. We have to estimate the maturity of a society, not by its upward conditions, but by the state of its thought, by its capacity for knowledge, by its appreciation of its own environment. We know of men, physically full-grown men, who continue as children, because they cannot, will not, think for themselves. They cannot act as mature individuals, because they cannot place themselves in the life round about them. Not until there could be a definite understanding as to the processes of nature, and as to the relation of man to outward law, could there be any actual maturity of society. Until then, the world continues in a state of tutelage to its ancestral traditions. The science of the nineteenth century now begins to give us this knowledge. For the first time, civilization actually approaches its maturity. Nature, then, is not a creation, but a process. The process of nature is not a movement downward, but an evolution upward. These three aspects of the thought of our new civilization entirely change the meaning of life and the significance of death.

I come, then, to the one single thought of my discourse. We conquer death by living, and not

by dying. The true conqueror of death is he who lives truly, and not he who dies truly. We repudiate the antique type of the conqueror of death, because that type comes from a wrong conception of life. A new conception of life gives a new conception of religion and a new conception of death. There may be, after all, no death to conquer. When the Christian, out of his antique pictures of thought, asks us, with awe and fear, Dare we die? we reply: On the contrary, we dare live. Our concern is not with death, but with life. This earthly life is what we have to deal with. It is to this earthly life that we have to give a religious significance. We have to live truly, to live justly, to live completely, to live up to the full extent of our existence. The drama of life is of deeper significance than the tragedy of death. Life is the conqueror of death. This is the new type of that conqueror we would set up,—not a moral death, but a moral life. Thus, existence becomes a reality to us. The Gorgon head will be annihilated.

We would deal tenderly and truly with the religious pictures of antiquity. We repudiate them as airy speculations about an unknown land of the future, only, on the contrary, to make of them a substantial reality now. The thought of antiquity was in the childhood of the world's religious aspirations. The aspirations were pure, but they were only dreams. You know how the thought of the child pictures all its expectations of the future. All its anticipations of real life as it is taught it by its elders become transplanted into an unreal fairyland,—the land of princes and gold and cities and fairies, where the child can have all that it wishes and be all that it wants to be. Thus it was with our antique Christianity. While the thought sinks, desponds, and despairs, the heart dreams and hopes. The world was to die; but a new Jerusalem was to arise,—an invisible land of pure and complete delight, where earth's failures could be obliterated, the efforts of life could be taken up again, the aspirations of the soul could be complete, the glory of the highest could be realized, the heart of man would find its own. But the glory of maturity is to make a reality out of the pure aspirations of childhood. Our civilization now stands at its maturity. We take up this picture of the New Jerusalem. The religious effort of the future shall be to put an earthly substance and reality into it. The aspiration of the heart now becomes the thought of the mind. The thought of the mind shall henceforth become a material reality.

They have told us, if in this earthly life we have our only existence, "we are of all men most miserable," that the thought of death would annihilate the ambition of life. But I reply: On the contrary, just because we may have only this life to live, we feel bound to live it truly, to live it completely, to make all of it that we religiously can. We can put eternity into a single lifetime, if we only will. They tell us that earthly society itself cannot live forever. They look back for a few ages to the cradle of our race, when the glaciers of the geological times were melting away and reconstructing the outward surface of the earth for the possible existence of man; they look forward to the future, and as the tides of the ocean lash the shores of the continents, and slowly but gradually lessen the speed of the earth's rotation, they point to the time when the day of our earth shall have lengthened itself into a year, the whole outward surface of nature will be changed, the earth shall die, and, like the moon, spin its course around the sun, an arid, lifeless mass of clay. From its cradle, society will have gone down to its grave. And, be-

cause of this limitation of our race-existence, they would tell us that it was not worth while for the effort of man to waste itself to create a city of righteousness that must die. But I reply, On the contrary, just because the life of our race does not extend into eternity, but may come to its close at an hour that we know not of,—just for that reason we must make society now, we must create society, we must realize our religious ideals on earth, we must transpose eternity into time.

This new Jerusalem shall arise. Antiquity mistook the birth-throes for the death-pangs of history. A dying world? Oh, no! the world has just begun to live. Man now begins to feel his godlike capacity as a creator. The sculptor of eternity must carry out his ideals into materials of earthly reality: not until then can they become a religion. The race of man is that sculptor. Weak though we may be, we propose to carve out in time that new Jerusalem, the kingdom of righteousness, the kingdom of the good, and the kingdom of love. This was the kingdom and the city that Jeremiah wept for, that Jesus died for; this was the city that John Stuart Mill and George Eliot lived for. And the time shall come when Jesus and St. Augustine, Immanuel Kant and Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill and George Eliot, shall be grouped together as a coterie of great souls who have lived and died, not as conquerors of death,—for death itself will have lost its significance,—but for this glorious moral kingdom of righteousness. When, on Easter Sunday, the chimes shall send out from the churches their peals of jubilation throughout Christendom, we, too, can respond in spirit to those chimes. It will not be their Easter, but our Easter,—our Easter of promise for this moral kingdom of the good on earth. No single walls shall bound that city, no one continent shall contain it. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see. All have gathered themselves together, they come to it. Its sons shall come from afar, and its daughters shall be nursed at its side. The nation and the kingdom that will not serve it shall perish,—yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. This earthly city, too, shall have its river of the water of life, though there be no throne of God from whence it may come. The aspiring soul of man, and man's divinity, shall be its well-springs. Though God and the Lamb of God be not there as its sun, the glory of virtue shall lighten it, the majesty of the moral law shall be the light thereof. Thus, death itself shall be swallowed up in victory. We shall dare to live; for we shall know that we conquer death by living and not by dying. Life shall be our Easter offering.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CARDINAL DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY.

Editors of The Index :—

However much Roman and Greek Catholics and orthodox Protestants may differ from each other and among themselves on minor points of the Christian system, they are all agreed upon what they deem its cardinal doctrines. They believe in man's fallen condition, and in the necessity of his redemption through faith in the vicarious sufferings and death of Jesus; in the plenary inspiration, infallibility, and divine authority of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and that all righteousness other than that resulting from a belief or "saving faith" in these fundamental dogmas is but as "filthy rags." It is true a small minority of professed Christians have rejected all, or nearly all, the distinctively so-called evangelical doctrines; but the question arises just here, Can it be possible that the overwhelming majority of Christians have, notwithstanding all the learning, scholarship, profound thought, and "genius for religion" arrayed upon their side, been entirely mistaken as to the nature, character, and teachings of Christianity? It seems to me that those bearing the Christian name,

who make war upon the doctrines of grace, redemption through shedding of blood, etc., are unwittingly doing greater damage to Christianity than it is possible for Col. Ingersoll and all his allies to do; that Christianity, without its fundamental doctrines, might indeed have a name to live, but to all practical intents and purposes would be as dead a thing as Spiritualism would be minus its phenomena.

Yours very respectfully,

W. C. BOWEN.

A WARNING.

For *The Index*.

I.

I stepped on the shadow
Of Death as he passed,
And verily counted
That moment my last.

No fear of a Future
Took part in the play
Of thoughts that were losing
The sweet light of day.

A shock and a tumult,
A crash and a strife,
And all that relates to
The aim of my life

Swept o'er me and through me,
As if to remind
I had housed with the sluggard,
And loitered behind.

If this penance hath hinted
The value of time,
Hath taught me to reckon
Delay as a crime,

The days yet uncounted
Shall balance the cost
Of all I have suffered,
Of more than I've lost.

II.

When the Demon of Torture
Overtakes and assails,
And the skill of Cotylous
Little avails,

What is it that sheddeth
The balm of relief?
What anodyne softens
The pain and the grief?

'Tis the presence of friendship,
The touch of a hand,
'Tis the kindness that speaketh
In tones to command

The Demon to loosen
His hold and depart,
That Hope may return to
Her nest in the heart.

This much have I pondered
While couched in my room;
And fair as the rainbow
That spanneth the gloom

Shall be the remembrance
Of faces that shed
A magic that blunted
The thorns of my bed,
That wrought on the Demon
Of pain till he fled.

GEORGE MARTIN.

BOOK NOTICES.

JUIFS ET CHRÉTIENS. By Isidore van Cleef. Second edition, with a Letter from Renan. Paris: Anguste Ghio, Palais Royal.

This pamphlet is a vigorous protest against the oppression of the Jews, still pushed to shameful extremes in Europe, and perpetuated even in Massachusetts by a law which forces the tradesman who has closed his shop on Saturday, in reverence for his own religion, to keep it shut on Sunday also, in submission to the demands of Christianity. Such facts are supposed by the author to be sufficiently familiar to his readers; for he seldom goes into details, except when he insists on the superior capacity of the Hebrews for accommodating themselves to all climates and social conditions. Some of his characteristic sentences may be translated thus: "Intolerance has been an institution in every Church, as much among the Jews as the Christians." "Toleration does not mark the progress of a religion. It is the fatal signal of its decline." "The moderation and tolerance of the priests of any sect are in an

inverse ratio to its authority and power." "Let the creed fall: lift up the race,"—"Abaissez le dogme: relevez la race."

F. M. H.

Of greatest public interest among the contents of the September *Century* are Gen. Grant's article on "The Siege of Vicksburg." "A Woman's Diary of the Siege of Vicksburg" gives an inside view of the hardships and anxieties suffered by the besieged. The "Memoranda on the Civil War," besides a communication from Gen. Grant, embrace: "Who projected the Canal at Island No. 10?" by Gen. Schuyler Hamilton; "The Charge of Cooke's Cavalry at Gaines' Mill," by Gen. Philip St. George Cooke; with "Recollections of a Participant in the Charge," by Rev. W. H. Hitchcock; and a continuation of the discussion in regard to "Gen. Beauregard's Courier at Bull Run," by Major Campbell Brown. Wendell Phillips Garrison describes the Prudence Crandall persecution of 1833, and the encouragement given by his father to the brave schoolmistress who wished to educate "young ladies of color." The article is entitled "Connecticut in the Middle Ages." Lieut. Schwatka has a paper on "The Great River of Alaska." Mr. Howells continues his illustrated Italian papers. Miss Alice Maud Fenn describes the pastoral attractions of England in "Among the Red Roofs of Sussex." Edmund C. Stedman completes his series of papers with an article entitled "The Twilight of the Poets." George W. Cable writes on "The Silent South." Among the short essays are "Huddling in the Town and Living in the Country," "Some Causes of the Present Depression," and "The Sensitiveness of Cities." Among the "Open Letters" are: "Family Religion," by Washington Gladden; "Political Education," by J. B. Peterson; "Women and Finance," by Miss Emily F. Wheeler; "A New Solution of the Indian Question," by Eugene V. Smalley. This number contains the eighth part of "The Bostonians," by Henry James. Poems are contributed by Owen Innsly, Dora Read Goodale, Amanda T. Jones, and others.

The *St. Nicholas* for September, a charming number, has a long and varied table of contents, attractive features of which are a fanciful tale by Frank R. Stockton, entitled "The Battle of the Third Cousins"; "A Great Financial Scheme," by Sophie Swett, a funny story with a good moral; "Spiders of the Sea," by C. F. Holder; an entertaining article on "Nicknames." The number is well supplied with poems and verses. Of the serials, "Sheep or Silver?" is concluded; while both "Driven Back to Eden," by E. P. Roe, and "His One Fault," by J. T. Trowbridge, are evidently working to satisfactory conclusions. Schubert is the subject of the "From Bach to Wagner" paper, and Edmund Alton tells about Congressional Investigations and Republican Simplicity in "Among the Law-makers." The illustrations this month include a full-page engraving direct from nature, by Elbridge Kingsley, and a full-page drawing, by Alfred E. Sterner, called "By the Sea." W. H. Drake contributes two full-page illustrations to "Driven Back to Eden"; and there are drawings by Monks, Birch, L. Hopkins, Francis, Rogers, Taber, and others.

The *Catholic World* for October is an unusually readable number. Its contents are, "The Light of Asia and the Light of the World," Rev. John Gmeiner; "What Earth's Traveller said to his Heart," Edith W. Cook; "In the Adirondacks with Rod and Rifle," Martin Burke; "Rose of the Sacred Heart," Mary C. Crowley; "Hawthorne's Attitude toward Catholicism," Rev. A. F. Hewit, D.D.; "The Baron of Cherubusco," Rev. J. Talbot Smith; "Some Recent Italian Novels," Maurice F. Egan; "Sonnets," J. B. K.; "Solitary Island," Part III., Chap. XIII. Part IV., Chap. I., Rev. J. Talbot Smith; "The Negro: How can we help him?" Rev. C. A. Oliver; "American Philosophy," R. M. Johnston; "Katharine" (concluded), E. G. Martin; "English Voices on the French Revolution," Agnes Repplier; "Relations between the English and Scotch Pirates and the Reformation Movement," Sarsfield Hubert Burke; "The French Radicals and the Concordat."

The *Unitarian Review* for September is up to the high standard of this magazine, which always contains essays, reviews, etc., by scholarly representatives of "Unitarian Christianity." In the number for this month is continued "The Infinite Knowable"

(part three), by Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D.; "A Justification of Judaism," by Claude G. Montefiore; "Jacqueline Pascal," by Mary Bartol; "Biblical Exegesis and Historical Criticism," by Prof. E. P. Evans; "The Elimination of Warfare," by Rev. Edward F. Hayward; "Editor's Note-Book," which includes "Theological and Literary Intelligence," and "Things at Home and Abroad," and "Review of Current Literature."

Although this work has been eulogized by the secular press, it has been bitterly attacked by the greater part of the religious press, because the author, from the highest intellectual and moral grounds, denounces some of the superstitions which have crept into Christianity as essentially irreligious, and the men who, knowing better, teach those superstitions, as essentially dishonest.

The Religion of Philosophy; OR, THE UNIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

A comparison of the chief philosophical and religious systems of the world, made with a view to reducing the categories of thought, or the most general terms of existence, to a single principle, thereby establishing a true conception of God. By RAYMOND S. PERRIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

"A work which aims to teach a true conception of God, of life, and of morality."

"Mr. Perrin's able work offers a deep interest. . . . It is a remarkable book."—*Morning Post, London, Eng.*

"There has not for a long time appeared any book in the English language which, from the purely intellectual and philosophic side of it, is deserving of a more careful study."—*Times, Philadelphia.*

"It is a work which appeals to the scholarship of the country."—*Prof. Youmans, in the Popular Science Monthly.*

"The author is no imitator. He has a well-defined theory of his own to advocate; and he advocates it with clearness and energy, and does not hesitate to give heavy blows at what he conceives to be the narrow views of most Christian theologians. 'The religion of philosophy,' as delineated, is not simply a scheme of thought; it is broadly and intensely practical."—*Wm. J. Potter, in the Mercury, of New Bedford, Mass.*

"The author makes a masterly analysis of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, and subjects his theory of the *Unknown* to a most close and searching criticism. It is an extraordinary work, one of the most important contributions from the press of recent times."—*F. S., in The Index, Boston.*

"Mr. Perrin writes with habitual good taste and unvarying decorum of the beliefs which he holds false in basis and spurious in sentiment. . . . His sympathy is so frank and so thorough with the true sentiments of Christianity, his aim so high and his argument so modest and earnest, that even those who will repudiate his conclusions will find satisfaction and enjoyment in reading his pages."—*Sunday Herald, Chicago.*

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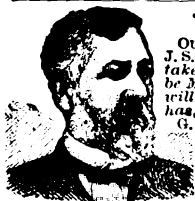
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

COL. INGERSOLL'S lecture in the Boston Theatre last Sunday evening on "Myth and Miracle" was in thought as well as in rhetoric and diction one of the best he has given in recent years.

DR. ANNA KINGSFORD, of London, is author of a work entitled *The Perfect Way*, in which, with much grace of style, it is said, she argues that life "is a series of reincarnations, by which the soul acquires its experiences; that the deeds and aspirations of our life predetermine entirely the quality of the next incarnation." This is a very old theory.

AMONG the numerous models submitted for the statue of J. J. Rousseau to be erected in Paris is one by M. Carrier Belleuse, which represents the philosopher in the fields, studying a flower which he holds in his hand. Rousseau was the author of a dictionary on botany, a fact which is not generally known; and his love of the country exercised an influence on his speculations.

IN consequence of the inauguration of compulsory vaccination in Montreal, one evening last week a mob surrounded the East Branch Health Office, and completely wrecked the building and broke the windows of the Central Police Station. "The constables then charged the mob, clubbing right and left, and succeeded in dispersing them, but not before they had wrecked the greater portion of the court-house windows, which are opposite the City Hall. The mob broke up into different bodies, and proceeded to wreck the windows of the *Herald* office and of the offices of the medical health officer, chairman of the finance committee, and public vaccinators."

AN educated Chinaman, Wong Chin Foo, who has lived in this country the past twenty years, asks: "Did all your Sumners, Lincolns, Phillipses, and Beechers,—did all such spirits die in freeing the negro, or have they also been blinded by race prejudice to think the torturing of Chinamen no inhumanity?" He affirms that "in no place in China or any other heathen nation would the in-

habitants be allowed by popular consent of law-abiding citizens to butcher gangs of defenceless men, no matter who or what they were." Courtesy prevents his suggesting that China send missionaries to the United States. The Chinese are noted for their politeness.

THE *Golden Gate*, one of the best Spiritualist papers published in this country, does not approve the use of the words "free thinker" in a way implying that Spiritualists are not free thinkers. It says: "Spiritualists are natural free thinkers, with the difference that they have attained to a positive knowledge of a future life. Given the necessary amount of proof, and all free thinkers must necessarily become Spiritualists." That Spiritualists have "attained to a positive knowledge of a future life" may fairly be questioned; but we do not doubt that many of them better deserve to be called free thinkers than some of those who regard themselves as free thinkers *par excellence*. Another class of Spiritualists there is who can in justice hardly be called free thinkers or any other kind of thinkers.

REFERRING to Francis W. Newman, the *Presbyterian* says, "Standing on the verge of the grave, he sees nothing but its darkness, and professes no hope of anything but 'to lie in cold obstruction, and to rot.'" This is the usual theological way of defining the position of those who, not satisfied with the proofs for the popular belief in immortality, have the honesty and frankness to say so. Prof. Newman's words are: "Especially, I never could make a dogma of life after death. For ten or fifteen years, I thought this to be a weakness on my part; and I diligently amassed all reasonable pleas on the side of the dogma. I barely account it, now for about nine years, to be unproved, but not disproved, and not to deserve inculcation as a truth until it has been accepted after such a free discussion of both sides as the religious (among us) never allow or dream of." These words show candor and love of truth, with a predisposition in favor of the doctrine of immortality, but inability to accept and unwillingness to teach it as proved,—a position quite different from that of one—if such a one there be, which we doubt—who "professes no hope of anything but 'to lie in cold obstruction, and to rot.'"

THE National Liberal League will hold its next annual meeting at Cleveland, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of this month. Col. Ingersoll will be the chief attraction. Last year, he was elected president; and, although for months he made no response, neither accepting nor declining, his name was used with no protest from him, and, finally, he was persuaded to allow his acceptance to be announced. At the last annual meeting, it was evident that the movement for "repeal" had collapsed, and that only a new departure could save the League from the same fate. Although the "repeal" resolutions which had a few years previous driven Col. Ingersoll from the League were left unrescinded, and some bitterness shown toward those whose persistent opposition to the policy of the League was the cause of its defeat, it was well understood that

the talk about the repeal of postal laws was to be stopped, as was sufficiently indicated by the election of Col. Ingersoll. Indeed, the new leaders were not interested in continuing a policy that would bring neither members nor money. They, it is now freely stated by prominent members of the organization, East and West, have the past year been "running" the League with the use of Col. Ingersoll's name, for the money it has enabled them to raise for themselves. Some months ago, we made mention of the fact that their circulars declared that the object of the League was State secularization, and called upon all Christians and non-Christians, who believed that the State and religion should be separated, to render financial aid; and that at the same time the League, through its officers, was engaged in the work of combating Christianity, and advocating Agnosticism and "Secularism," thus professing to have one object and working for another, and soliciting money for one purpose and using it to accomplish a very different one. We now repeat what we then said: that, if the work of the League is to consist in a crusade against religion in general and Christianity in particular, or in the system known in England as "Secularism," the leaders should have the consistency and honesty so to state to the public, and cease asking Christians or others for money, on the pretence of wishing it only for the cause of State secularization. Furthermore, if Col. Ingersoll accepts the presidency for a second term, he ought, in justice to himself and to the liberal movement with which his name is prominently identified, to become the actual head of the organization, raise it above the enmities of the past and the selfish interests of a few individuals, make its work correspond with its platform and its official announcements, and the organization itself worthy of the support of the Liberals of the country.

THE German government has expelled thousands of Russians from its frontier provinces. Fifteen hundred people living in Königsberg alone, whose only offence is that they are of Russian birth, have been compelled to cross the German border. Large numbers of those expelled were merchants, who had, by years of hard work and honest dealing, established themselves in business. The amount of loss and suffering caused by this high-handed proceeding is enormous. The fact that no protest has been made by the Czar against this action, which has aroused intense indignation among many of the Russian people, and interfered seriously with the trade arrangements of Germans living in the frontier towns and cities of the empire, seems to indicate that the measure was known to him, and had his concurrence in advance, and originated in and has been carried out for political reasons. The object of government is to protect the people in the exercise of their rights, and to promote their well-being. When it orders outrages like that above mentioned, it is nothing short of a cruel despotism, sadly out of keeping with the high intellectual and moral character of the German people.

RELIGION AND THE MORAL FACULTY.

It is a common averment among theologians that the religious sentiment is man's highest prerogative, because it lifts man into vital communion and union with Supreme Being. But this is a fallacious proposition, unless it be understood that the religious sentiment is necessarily inclusive of the moral sense, and, still more, that the essential core, the *sine qua non* of vital religion, is practical morality. The proposition is untrue of religion and the religious sentiment in any sense as separated from ethics. If the religious sentiment and the moral sentiment are to be spoken of as representing distinct functions of the human mind, as commonly they are, and are thus to be compared together, then must the moral sentiment be placed the higher. It is, in fact, the saving power of religion, keeping it from its own ruinous degradations and abuses. The religious sentiment by itself, considered merely as a sense of relation to an overruling Power, is liable to fall into the grossest errors and excesses. History is full of its aberrations and wrong-doings. The pathway of religion in the world is paved with monstrous superstitions and immoralities. It is the moral sentiment that has lifted religion to its own possible heights. Only by the restraints of the moral law has religion been trained for its athletic tasks in the civilization of mankind. The moral faculty must be placed highest, because it brings the law to all the other human faculties and sentiments for their best use and service. Morality is not capable of any excess; but devoutness, in the ordinary sense of the word, may be superabundant and need control.

If only it were true that the religious sentiment actually lifted man into vital organic union with Supreme Being, the case might be different. That, in our view, is the real significance of genuine religion,—organic, vital relationship of the finite human life with the eternal, universal power. But, in this relationship, moral life is the chief factor. Too often, however, the religious sentiment, though its legitimate function may lie in this direction, has only served to lift man to commune with his own puny conceptions of Supreme Being. Only a few rare souls have felt the influx of a mental and moral life undefined and unnamed. For the most part, it has been man's habit to make his gods in his own image. Male and female created he them. They have been subject to human infirmities. He made them corruptible, temptable, false, licentious, ferocious, after the manner of men. Nor can it be truly said that all this belongs only to the mythology of the heathen religions, and is not to be found in the so-called revealed religions. Look at the character of Jehovah in the Old Testament. It is a magnificent conception in some of its features, but still a very human one,—a mighty monarch, arbitrary, resorting to stratagem and falsehood to accomplish his purposes, and capable of revenge, senseless wrath, and cruelty. And this conception of Supreme Being, though much softened in the progress of history, was reflected over into the New Testament, and, yet more, has cast its shadow down the pages of Christian theology.

Now, what has saved religion from those deleterious effects of its own misdirected development of sentiment and of creed-mongering? What has purified religion from its own historical corruptions? What but the steady growth in the human heart of the moral sentiment, and the increasing authority of the moral law as a supreme and all essential factor in religion? Religious reformers and prophets the foremost religious

teachers of all faiths, have made it, indeed, a chief part of their mission to recall the mass of the people around them from dependence on sentiment and ceremony to practical works of justice and mercy. Isaiah, Amos, Jesus, Buddha, Confucius, Socrates,—they all laid the highest emphasis on *right conduct* in the religious life. Faith, trust, belief, worship, were, to such teachers, good in their place; but they regarded the moral vision and the righteous deed as the highest evidence and crown of vital religion.

From the records of religion herself, therefore, and out of the mouths of her greatest teachers, may be drawn the proofs that the most priceless jewel in her diadem is the perception of moral law, and that she has nothing higher nor better to offer than rectitude of life. The moral faculty it is that judges and discards unjust schemes of theology, and emancipates the religious sentiment from a debasing thralldom to immoral deities. Whatever, in the light of increasing intelligence, the human mind may retain of the beliefs or institutions of the past, or whatever it may have to let go, one thing is becoming more and more clear,—that it must hold on to rectitude as the one pearl beyond price. Whatever conceptions may be entertained about the Infinite Eternal Power, this must come nearest to its essential life. Boldly, but truly, did Emerson say, "The safety of God, the immortality of God, the majesty of God, do enter into a man with justice." However wide and high the realm of religion, ethics is sovereign therein.

WM. J. POTTER.

WOMEN VOTERS AND OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

I cannot let the occasion pass without expressing my heartfelt satisfaction at the tone which *The Index* has taken in heartily welcoming the new additions to the women voters on school matters in our city. Whatever the motives which have prompted this movement, the fact itself is to be accepted with joy, as a sign of increased interest in the welfare of the schools, and of a determination on the part of some, at least, of our fellow-citizens to take their share of labor and responsibility in trying to secure good management for them.

It is, perhaps, true that the large number of women who have asked for assessment lately, especially in the Sixth Ward, where there has been no voter before, represent the Catholic population; and many timid people have at once raised a cry of danger to the schools from sectarian influence. On the contrary, I hold it to be the best safeguard against division and sectarianism that men and women of differing faiths should interest themselves in the schools. It is those who stand aloof from them, and try to withdraw children from them, that we are to fear; not those who will come into convention with us, and help us to elect the best persons of any church or party to take care of the schools. Every intelligent Catholic, and there is a large class brought up in that faith who are liberal and intelligent, knows that the public school is more important to the foreigner and the workingman than it is to the wealthy American. It is the chance for his children to gain an education, which will give them a fair chance with any others in the battle of life.

We have already welcomed these children to the school bench, we gather them into our high and Latin and normal schools, we fit them to be teachers, and employ them in our schools. All this is right; and it is also right and most desirable that they should enter into the councils of the

school committee and in the discussion of principles and of interests that should there take place, should learn to defend their own rights, and respect the rights of others. If we demand of them, as we rightfully do, that they should come upon the board, not as Catholics, but as patriotic citizens seeking the good of all, not the ascendancy of a part of the community, we must apply the same rule to Protestants, and give no favor to any attempt to enforce doctrines or practices of any sect or church.

I see no danger from Catholic influence in the schools but what is called out by the claim of superiority on the part of Protestants. It is too late to say that this State was founded by and for Protestants. If they wished to found a theocracy, they should have laid their walls less broadly, and shut out the foreigner and the heretic from participation in the State. The true basis of our government is the entire freedom of the State from the Church and the Church from the State; and it is on this basis only that public schools can be maintained in a country where Jew and Christian, Mohammedan and Buddhist, Catholic, Protestant, Methodist, and Quaker have equal rights before the law. The Catholic Church is doing many good things, especially in the promotion of temperance and chastity. If it is now taking hold of the great movement of woman suffrage, and giving its sanction even to the present limited form of it, it is an ally to be welcomed.

I fear, however, that we must believe the disclaiming of the priests, who deny their sanction to the movement. They are not yet ready to come into it. I think it is an independent movement, partly political and partly prompted by interest in education, which has brought forward so many women at this time. I trust that the number will be raised to two thousand women voters this year, which, Judge Russell once said, was necessary to secure the safety of our schools.

I agree fully with Col. Higginson in considering the action of the majority of the women voters last year as unwise and unfortunate; but I do not think they acted from direct hostility to the Catholics, although one reason why I consider their action so injudicious was that I was sure it would lead to this charge.

I think we are indebted to another class of women for this large accession to our ranks this year,—to the remonstrants. They have helped on the agitation of the subject; and, by their assertions that the ignorant women would vote while the educated women would not, they have led both classes to consider the question. And the one class have rightfully asked, "Why should not I vote as well as another?" and the others have asked, "If I am better fitted to judge in this matter, is it not my duty to vote, and throw all the influence I can in favor of the best care of the schools?" I know of instances where this has been the direct effect of the action of the remonstrants. And, now, I want to say one word to these same remonstrants. I will not ask you to vote until your own judgment and feeling prompt you to do so, but I do ask you to take an interest in the public schools. You claim that women, without suffrage, possess a great power of influence. Will you not exert it to help in elevating the character of pupils, teachers, and school committee? I understand that you have organized societies, and meet to discuss these great questions. In our school suffrage societies, we urge our members to visit the schools, to become well acquainted with their spirit and methods, to give to the teachers encouragement and sympathy, to help to create a public opinion which shall demand the highest

moral character in our school committee. Will not you discuss these questions in your societies, and throw your influence in favor of liberal and upright management? If you do not approve of our way of working, I ask you to work in your own way. While you number in your ranks such women as Clara T. Leonard and Phoebe Adam and Kate Gannett Wells, you can wield a great power for good. And I am sure that you can contribute, even when not voting, as I believe we do only more directly by voting, to the purification and elevation of our school system, which is the great end we have in view.

So I hope we shall all work together in the coming election, and return to the board the able women and the admirable man who were lost last year, with the best representatives our city can furnish of the broadest and truest interest in education.

EDNAH D. CHENEY.

INFLUENCES ON OUR PROTESTANT RELIGION.

Calvinism, which has struck such deep roots into our democracy, was the product of a condition of society characterized by grievous inequalities and the fierce play of passions of hate and revenge. Its comparative inexpensiveness in making salvation depend on faith rather than on the performance of rites and works; its principle of equality in humbling, irrespective of station, all men before a divine potentate; its extension of the hope that, while the rich and noble held the kingdom of earth, the poorer classes, compelled to carry its heavy burdens, might possess exclusively, as elect, the kingdom of heaven in eternal glory and happiness,—these inducements constituted it essentially a religion to attract the common people. In settling the American colonies, this class transplanted the strong feelings which sustained Calvinism; but that its harsh features have remained unsoftened so long in the theology of the Church is striking evidence of how men, generally rational in other spheres of life, will continue formally to assent to religious tenets which exercise little or no practical influence on their conduct. The several reasons underlying the phenomenon in this country it is not within the province of the present article to give. It is with accelerating, not retarding influences we desire at this time to deal.

Potent and many have been the former evolved by the wonderful material changes of the past quarter of a century. Think of the sweeping revolution the civil war caused in the economic and social affairs of the Southern people, and, to a large extent also, of the people of the North! Think of the advancement made in improved facilities and methods for production, transportation, and communication; of the growth in trade, commerce, and manufactures, in wealth and culture! Think of the vast infusions into our population of foreign elements, with their more or less peculiar ideas, customs, and manners! These movements constitute a prodigious combination of causes effecting change in the conditions and beliefs of American society.

Moreover, scientific investigation has been throwing up from nature's fathomless mine fact after fact pregnant with mighty import to human power and thought. The expansion of every segment of knowledge has diffused a flood of light upon man, his nature, origin, and destiny. No marvel is it, therefore, that the decomposition of old religious beliefs and the composition of new ones, always at work in society, is more than usually rapid. For what is religion but one of the streams flowing out of man's consciousness? And what is his

consciousness but the product of the action on one another of internal and external energies? The perpetual revelation of facts and forces, the on-rushing stream of improvements, the new fast becoming old in the succession of something better, the feverish fluctuation, the constructing and destroying on every hand, emphasize the imperfection and mutability of things present, and impress the mind with a profound confidence in the self-sufficiency of man. These influences, with the sweeping play of the principle of equality, have weakened his veneration for authority, and perhaps unduly exalted him in his own measurement. The disappearance, therefore, of the virtues of humility and trust has been apparent; and a marked decline of reverence for the clergy, and of faith in a theology representing man devoid of self-lifting goodness, is naturally to be expected. An inquisitive, sceptical, self-assertive spirit has undermined the dogma of infallibility, applied anyhow short of the Unseen. The position to which the clergy are being driven by the forces of increased knowledge and cosmopolitanism is to subject the infallible Bible, which Protestantism substituted for an infallible pope, to the same test of individual conscience and reason as any other book. That literalism of ecclesiastical interpretation which killeth is dissolving in the sunlight of a spiritual, life-giving symbolism. The cosmogony of Genesis becomes a hymn to creation, and Biblical accounts, generally, of supernatural events legends fraught with allegorical significance or poetic beauty. Jesus takes his proper place as a symbol of what ought to be, an ideal son of humanity.

Calvinism rendered invaluable service in inculcating the principle anew that religion is an inward condition of grace. To belittle the externals of religion, and teach men the duty of self-examination, was the way of progress. And Goethe—incongruous though may seem the mention of that oecumenical genius in this connection—contributed vastly in the same direction, when, in *Faust*, he located the devil in the carnality of man. Notwithstanding the unprecedented interest in experimental science, the growth of the introspective element in the thought of this century is emphatic. The exhumed facts of scientific investigation are turned in a multitude of ways to the account of enhancing man's power to know himself, and, therefore, his power of realization. In the growth of this, the supreme end of knowledge, lies the grand resultant of the agencies contributing toward the perfection of the religious character of society. The method of comparative research, applied in all directions, has yielded an abundant harvest of spiritual as well as physical truth. The revelations in philology, literature, and ethnology, in chemistry, geology, physical geography, biology, medicine, political economy, emphasize the uniformity of cause and effect in all the movements both of mind and matter,—the unity of nature, of man, of God. They draw closer the relations between man and man, and between man and the lower animal and vegetable kingdoms. Great service have they done in hastening the reconciliation of apparently opposing interests and forces, in expanding the sentiment of brotherhood, and causing the human soul to feel akin to all the universe, from star to glow-worm.

What does all this advancement in knowledge, what do the increased power of locomotion and communication, and all the vast material changes wrought these later years in the conditions of American society,—what do they signify for the Protestant Churches so numerous distributed in its midst? To our seeing, the modification of religious belief and feeling, even within the orthodox

pale, is working rapidly toward the end which may be briefly expressed as follows:—

First. Full extension of the right of private judgment.

Second. Complete renunciation of the dogma of infallibility applied to the Hebrew Bible.

Third. Elimination of the polytheistic element, as embodied in the "mystic triangle" of church theology. There shall be one God, sending many sons to earth as saviors of man.

Fourth. Promotion of the pantheistic sentiment, accompanied with a proportional waning of the anthropomorphic conception of Deity.

Fifth. Disappearance, as a doctrine, of the notion of special providence, or divine interference in the course of events,—a notion which still lingers respecting apparently irregular phenomena whose laws of operation have not yet been definitely ascertained.

Sixth. As corollary to the above, disbelief in miracles as part of the Christian dispensation.

Seventh. Growth of the supreme attribute of love, manifesting itself in larger veracity, justice, charity, self-renunciation, faith,—faith in God, in man, in the constitution and drift of things.

GEORGE W. BUCKLEY.

HUMAN PROSPECTS.

The old theological or Oriental notion, which was diligently inculcated for so many centuries, that what is called the world, or creation, had an abrupt beginning at the dictation or fiat of some arbitrary, creative will a few thousand years ago, vitiated all thought, as long as it was prevalent. It narrowed and belittled the human or Christian mind in every way. It made of cosmos a cheap, temporary affair, a manufacture out of nothing, into which it was finally to relapse, when a certain scheme of salvation had been worked out. According to the chronological figures on the margins of the pages of old-fashioned Bibles, the world had been in existence exactly four thousand and four years, when the advent of the so-called Saviour took place. Taking a new departure from that event, it was to run on a certain number of centuries till the second advent of the Saviour aforesaid in the clouds, to gather the elect, a comparatively small and intellectually cheap crowd, when it was to collapse in a final catastrophe. The primitive Greeks, with their scientific intellects, knew better than to entertain the idea that something could be summoned into existence out of nothing, at the fiat of an arbitrary will. Standing on our little Delos-like isle of a planet, we now look out into the immeasurable star-depths, conscious that creation is the ceaseless play and activity of eternal forces, having infinite space and infinite time to deploy in, to use a military term. Onward and on flows the stream of creative might and power. Generation after generation of conscious beings arise and vanish on its current; but, still, the stream rolls on with undiminished might, with ever new generations appearing on it. Ten thousand years hence, on the surface of this planet, the verdure of spring will be as fresh as it is now. Down to a quite recent date, human progress was a blind groping in the dark, so to speak. Now, we can intelligently co-operate with the divinity that shapes our ends. Looking forth into outer space, our minds are expanded and dilated by the feeling infinite of eternal duration and limitless room. The history of our own planet and of all modes of life on its surface is a history of gradual and orderly evolution and development. We now see that human progress has but just commenced in earnest, that henceforth it is likely to be a grand triumphal march.

We now have a correct historic sense or feeling of orderly continuity and coherence. The theological haze has been dispersed, so that we see clearly, as from some mount of vision. We now know that there is no finality; that a gradual process of transformation is the lot of all things and institutions; that "naught may endure but mutability." To be sure, a given state of things may last for centuries, for many centuries; but, at last, it undergoes transformation. Where are the foremost historic races about which we read in the pages of such a primitive historian as the Father of History, Herodotus? They have become contemptible in every way. In the Persian of to-day, who would recognize the imperial race of the time of Herodotus, whose sway extended from the Indus to the Danube,—in fact, covering the entire area of primitive civilization? And, before Persian supremacy, the dynasties and priesthoods of the valleys of the Euphrates and Nile were in the foreground for century after century. Yet, long as was their control of human affairs, long as they represented the high-water mark of primitive civilization, they vanished utterly, and became the merest traditions; and their annals, recorded on baked clay (*terra-cotta*), are now interesting solely to the archaeologist. Yet the conservative Babylonian, Ninevite, and Memphite undoubtedly supposed that the institutions, priesthoods, and royalties of his day, in their environment of colossal architecture, were to be as enduring as man himself on the face of the earth, were to be *ne plus ultras*. No matter how tough-fibred and inveterate an institution, custom, usage, or belief may be, the time arrives at last when it becomes utterly obsolete, and must "go," when the *Zeitgeist* will disown and repudiate it. For all things are in a state of evolution and gradual change. But the human mind was not fully aware of this fact until recently. For instance, the great poet of liberalism and revolution in the early part of this century—namely, Byron—supposed that human affairs revolved in a vicious circle; that they were dominated by an inevitable fatalism and necessity, as by some omnipotent spell of enchantment, from which there was no possible extrication or escape; in other words, that there was no hope for human kind, because the future would only be a repetition of the past in *saecula saeculorum*. Byron had seen the tremendous spasm of oppressed humanity known as the French Revolution to disincumber itself of the incubus of priests, kings, and nobilities, and attain to an enjoyment of its inherent rights, end in a brutal and mindless militarism; to wit, that of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was finally crushed out by the reactionary triumph of the Holy Alliance. In view of this apparent failure of the Revolution in his day, and with his ignorance of the fact that radical changes are only evolved gradually, Byron, with his eye fixed on the ruins of Rome, the standstill Rome of the popes, wrote or sung:—

"There is the moral of all human tales:
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
First freedom and then glory; when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last.
And history, with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page: 'tis better written here,
Where gorgeous tyranny had thus amassed
All treasures, all delights that eye, ear,
Heart, soul, could seek, tongue ask."

But even thus soon, when only a little more than half a century has elapsed since the death of the great poet of pessimism and misanthropy, the ruined, papal, stand-still, weed-overgrown Rome, which he knew and used as an illustration to point his doctrine of despair and hopelessness, is no longer "the Niobe of nations," but has taken a new departure, as the civil and flourishing metropolis

of a united and liberalized Italy, being no longer merely the gloomy head-quarters of a close corporation of bigoted Italian priests. But, perhaps, in view of the current corruptions and venalities and frauds of our own politics and political parties, and the greed for lucre and the prostration of everything in the dust at the feet of Wealth, and the vast monopolies which Wealth creates here with its Caliban-like drudge, Labor, the observer may be inclined to adopt the pessimism of the Byronic verse, and say that the Great Western Republic, too, is to come finally to the same end and abyss which engulfed the primitive Roman republic. But the precedents furnished by primitive history are of little pertinence or significance in these days. We have reached too advanced a stage of development to refer to them as affording any reliable data whereby to cast our own horoscope as a nation. The primitive republics and kingdoms and hierarchies were realities which have forever passed away. The eye of the truly modern man no more reverts to the dead past for wisdom or knowledge to guide him. The world of to-day, or the modern part of it, has forever cut loose from the past, and is moving on a route of its own in its own way. All the live people of to-day are moderns in every sense of the word. Not but that the great American Republic may prove a failure. But humanity, with its future of uncountable years and centuries, will not prove a failure; nor will that freedom which is the birthright of organized spirit fail ultimately to be achieved and realized. Our popular government by universal suffrage or majority rule is only a step in advance of the old-fashioned, hereditary, personal governments. Our government is still personal, is still wielded by such persons as are shrewd enough to get themselves elected to be its administrators. It has all the cumbrous official machinery and expensiveness of the old systems of civil authority, and affords the means and temptations to all sorts of corrupt practices. The community is not yet in existence which is capable of real, rational self-government, which is a kind of government which will require little or no officialism or money to wield it. It is an ideal kind of government which the future is yet to realize. It will have arrived

"When the State House is the hearth,
And the Church is social worth."

Then politicians and party leaders and parties and all the social and political vermin which are engendered by contested elections will have disappeared; for the dreams and ideal politics of Plato and Christ and St. Augustine and Bacon and Campanella are yet to be realized on this planet, in spite of the seemingly ineradicable defects and basenesses of poor human nature. Meantime, the hopes and prospects of mankind are not staked on the fortunes and fate of any single community or any single cast of the dice of the Destinies, to borrow the personalities of mythology. The Eternal in the long run is found to have played always with loaded dice, and is always sure of winning. But we mortals, being short-lived, are impatient and anxious for grand results and accomplishments in our own brief day; and, not being gratified, we are inclined to give the game of human progress and development up as lost. The Creative Power, which is always in the present tense, and which pervades infinite time and space, is, unlike finite intelligences, patient, and can afford to be, because that Power is eternal. How shall we name that Power? One of the old Norman kings used to swear by "the splendor of God." Picton vaguely but sublimely calls it "the splendor of all things gathered into unity and expanded into infinite totality." At least, this is an all-inclusive formula. Meantime, the revelations of

modern science have produced a new kind of pessimism and despair. In the old, narrow, and limited nature of primitive knowledge and theology, with man and his earth central and a supernatural world, the abode of the Cosmoplast, or Creator described in Genesis, directly overhead, the situation was snug and comfortable for everybody who lived up to the requirements of the established articles of faith. Man was somewhat and somebody, and not as now a mere infinitesimal minnow in an infinitesimally little creek of a boundless universe.

The author of *Natural Religion* states the new pessimism, to which I allude, in the following terms, namely: "The more our thoughts widen and deepen, as the universe grows upon us, and we become accustomed to boundless space and time, the more petrifying is the contrast of our own insignificance, the more contemptible become the pettiness, shortness, fragility, of the individual life. A moral paralysis creeps upon us. For a while, we comfort ourselves with the notion of self-sacrifice: we say: What matter if I pass? Let me think of others. But the other has become contemptible no less than the self: all human griefs alike seem little worth assuaging, human happiness too paltry at the best to be worth increasing. The whole moral world is reduced to a point: the spiritual city, the goal of all the saints, dwindles to the least of little stars. Good and evil, right and wrong, become infinitesimal, ephemeral matters; while eternity and infinity remain attributes of that only which is outside the realm of morality. Life becomes more intolerable the more we know and discover, so long as everything widens and deepens except our own duration, and that remains as pitiful as ever. The affections die away in a world where everything great and enduring is cold. They die of their own conscious feebleness and bootlessness." Meantime, what if it is true, as Kant alleged, that space and time, boundless as they are, are nothing but modes of consciousness,—states of consciousness of ourselves, of us seemingly petty men? Is there any boundless universe in the absence of conscious spirit or organized intelligence? Is there any darkness or light, any sound or silence, any limitation or illimitation, without us, petty men, as factors? Let us, then, not be alarmed at the august revelations of science, but preserve our equanimity in the presence of the ever "widening and deepening" objective world, because the venerable dictum of philosophy is true,—that there is nothing great in the world but Man, and nothing great in Man but Mind. What are mere extension and bulk and distance, however great, to spiritual force or thought?

B. W. BALL.

WHAT IS EVIDENCE OF DESIGN?

"I cannot," a friend writes, "discover any flaw in the logic of your article on the Design Argument; but, if it be true that order, harmony, and adaptation are no evidence of design, why do we connect these qualities with intelligence, whenever we see them in works of art?"

This question, which is a fair and proper one, we will endeavor to answer. Works of art are evidence to us of intelligence, not, as is popularly supposed, because of their adaptations alone, but because we have learned by experience that they are the productions of intelligent beings. We trace the connection from design up to an intelligent being, because we have previously traced the connection down from the designer to the design. An artificial machine is proof of human agency, because we have learned man made the machine,

or because we know that other machines are constructed by man, and that the particular work referred to, while it is different from the productions of nature, has sufficient resemblance to other inventions known to be of human origin, to enable us to infer that it, too, was made by man. Had we not ascertained that men make machines, or, if the work in question did not resemble some of the productions known to be the result of intelligence, its existence would not be evidence to us of a human origin. We have seen a natural chair, formed of roots at the base of a tree, which was almost as convenient for use as though it had been constructed by man. But its fitness was no proof of design, because there was too little similarity between it and chairs made by man to allow the inference that it was the work of an intelligent being. Mere adaptation, however complex, is not necessarily evidence,—is not evidence *a priori* of design, of which it is a valid indication so long only as its authorship is known to be confined to human intelligence. So far, in answer to the above question.

It may be said, however, that when, for the first time, we see a work of art, we infer from its resemblance to other human productions that it was made by man; and, since there is some analogy between some of the productions of nature with whose cause we are unacquainted, may we not reasonably infer that the latter, like the former, have been produced by a conscious, intelligent, designing being? Thus, in its last resort, the design argument takes for granted what it aims to prove. The only point, as an able writer has observed, which the analogical argument in question is adduced to prove, is that "the relations subsisting between an Unknown Cause and certain physical forces are so far identical with the relations known to subsist between human intelligence and these same forces that similar intellectual processes are required in the two cases to account for the production of similar effects; and, hence, that the Unknown Cause is intelligent. But it is evident that the analogy itself can have no existence except upon the presupposition that these two sets of relations are thus identical." The point which the analogy is adduced to prove is therefore postulated by the fact of its being adduced at all, and the whole argument resolves itself into a case of *petitio principii*.

We do not wonder that F. W. Newman, himself a theist, says, "Design, represented as a search after final causes, until we come to a first cause and then stop, is an argument, I confess, which in itself brings me no satisfaction."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THOMAS DAVIDSON will lecture on "Giordano Bruno's Philosophy and Free Thought," in the German Masonic Hall, New York, October 30.

THE parlors of the Parker Memorial were filled and overflowing last Sunday at the opening session of the Science Class. President John C. Haynes congratulated the Class on the unexpectedly large attendance and the auspicious beginning of this season's work. "The Modern Method of Mind Cure" was the subject of an address by the writer of this paragraph, which was followed by an extremely animated and interesting discussion, in which Dr. E. J. Arens and Mrs. Arens, Dr. Dutton, Mr. D. H. Clark, Mr. William Mitchell, and others, participated. Next Sunday, Mr. Edward P. Adams will give a lecture before the Class on "Ventilation."

FRIENDS of Mr. M. D. Conway and of the Free Religious Association must not forget the literary and social festival in the lower hall of Tremont Temple, to-morrow, Friday evening. Doors open at 6 o'clock, supper at 6.30, Mr. Conway's address at 8. O. B. Frothingham has also announced his intention to be present, and will doubtless make a speech. Col. Higginson will preside. Tickets (50 cents each) for sale at *Index* office, 44 Boylston Street; and also by D. G. Craudon, 11 Hanover Street, and by Oliver Ditson & Co., 451 Washington Street.

"ORGANIC SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENTIFIC THEISM" is the title of a work by Francis E. Abbot, Ph.D., in press, and soon to be issued by Little, Brown & Co., Boston. This volume, we understand, had its origin in two articles, published in 1864 in the *North American Review* on "The Philosophy of Space and Time" and "The Conditioned and Unconditioned," and in the lecture given last summer before the Concord School of Philosophy on the question, "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" The object of the work is to show the revolutionary influence of modern science on modern philosophy and the logical results in the sphere of religious belief.

THE venerable Elizur Wright thus concludes a letter in the Boston *Sunday Herald*: "Free thought, free trade, self government, universal co-operation,—working inversely as the square of the distance, to be sure,—justice and human kindness are the destiny of the future, and, instead of destroying social organization and introducing universal brigandage, will finally make the cosmopolitan State itself better without a church than the Christian or any other church has ever been."

SAM JONES does not think much of unstudied sermons. "It takes just three things," he says, "to make up a good sermon,—thought, study, and prayer. Now, some preachers say that they don't have to study any. They say they open their mouths, and the Lord will fill them. Well, so he will fill them. Just as soon as you open it, he will fill it with air. That is all I know of that he will fill it with. There's many an old air-gun shooting round over this country."

ON his return from the Adirondacks to the White House, President Cleveland received this "message from the dead," which had been written by Mrs. Helen Jackson only four days before her death: "From my death-bed, I send you a message of heartfelt thanks for what you have already done for the Indians. I ask you to read my *Century of Dishonor*. I am dying happier for the belief I have that it is your hand that is destined to strike the first steady blow toward lifting this burden of infamy from our country, and righting the wrongs of the Indian race."

ON Sunday, September 27, there was in Montreal a procession of nine or ten thousand Catholics, the object of which was to induce God to take away the small-pox. The procession was headed by a beadle, in a felt hat and gold-braided coat, who carried a staff, like a drum-major. Behind him was a priest, carrying a crucifix, on each side of which was an acolyte, carrying a large candlestick and candle. Behind these came about thirty acolytes, each dressed in the white and black of his office, and bareheaded. Then followed three hundred little boys and, behind them, as many little girls, in charge of a dozen nuns. Next came six hundred young ladies, wearing blue ribbons, and about sixteen hundred matrons, of all ages, many of them leading little children.

Following them were some two thousand men, and then more boys and girls and women, "until," one account says, "the eye grew tired counting." The priests chanted prayers; and all in the procession, which wound in and out at different streets of the infected district, the people in the houses, meanwhile rushing to the doors to see it, carried rosaries, and said their prayers and chanted in turn. The procession finally closed by the return of the crucifix to the parish church where it had formed. "There could be no doubt," says the *Montreal Witness*, from which the above facts are taken, "of the fervency of those who took part." Of course not. And there is as little reason to doubt their deplorable ignorance in regard to the laws and conditions of health. While asking God to remove the small-pox, they were spreading it; and we are not surprised to learn that the number of deaths daily has largely increased since this procession moved through the streets. "What can science do for the people?" asked a clergyman of us, at the close of a lecture in Montreal a few years ago. What would it not do for the people, if priestcraft and superstition did not keep them in stupid ignorance, and make them believe and live contrary to its plainest teachings? We often hear of the good work the priests do. Who shall compute the evil they do in opposing science and the conditions of progress?

"POE NOT TO BE APOTHEOSIZED" is the title of a communication that fills the first columns of last week's *Critic*. It is a protest, supported by new testimony, against Prof. Minto's eulogy of the poet in the new volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

WE take the following from a Western paper: "Some years ago, a lady in Boston died. Her husband, being a strong Spiritualist, desiring to hold communication with his departed, inquired if she was happy. 'Oh, yes,' was the reply, 'I am happy here; yet, after all, it isn't Boston.'"

THE following beautiful and touching epitaph is from a churchyard in Massachusetts:—

"I came in the morning—it was spring,
And I smiled;
I walked out at noon—it was summer,
And I was glad;
I sat me down at night—it was winter,
And I slept."

VERITAS.

For The Index.

The rose thou gavest me,
O Truth, from thy full store,
Hath stolen a charm from thee,
And dropped it at my door!

I love the sweet behest
That urged the stranger in:
The flame of its unrest
Hath scotched the head of sin!

No more in aimless ways,
By shadows weird and dim,
Is life unmanned, through days
Transfixed in horror grim.

The wandering minstrel mine
Hath brought, with tongue and lyre,
A song of essence fine,
Transfused with godly fire.

My doubt no longer hies
To conjure with the Fates:
When now the stranger flies,
I leave the homestead gates.

The hours of youth were long,
To-day my bride hath come:
Well may my heart wax strong,
And Satan's lips be dumb!

HORACE L. TRAUDEL.

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

Misgovernment of Great Cities.

Read before the Liberal Union Club, Boston, May 23, 1885.

BY FRANK P. CRANDON.

Great cities are essential to the development of any important or influential national life. They gather into themselves the resources of the nation, and so organize its stores of wealth, its enterprise, and the results of its genius and culture as to render each efficient in promoting the common good. They are the centres of power. Without the facilities which through them are afforded for commerce and manufactures, without their aggregations of capital, their business systems and institutions, and their fostering care of art, science, and literature, it would seem impossible that there could be any civilization or progress.

These great municipalities are the exponents of the national advancement in material wealth, in commercial importance and influence, and in all forms of intellectual and moral culture. In times past, they have been the agencies through which civil and intellectual freedom have been conserved, even if they may not be credited with having been the nursery in which liberty was cradled. They constitute the medium through which we must study many of the most important and interesting phases of history, and are the sources of all the greatest enterprises of the world.

So thoroughly do cities become representative of national life and characteristics that it is frequently said that London is England, Rome is Italy, and Paris is France. In a less comprehensive but, nevertheless, very important sense, it might properly be said that New York represents America, Boston stands for New England, and Chicago for the great West. A thorough acquaintance with either of these great cities is equivalent to knowing well the people by whom they are surrounded.

Notwithstanding their important relation to all that is significant or influential in national history, it is nevertheless true that there has never been

developed anything which, even by courtesy, could be called a science of municipal government. Indeed, it is only within these latest years that the fact that there could be such a science has even been suggested. But the pressure has been constantly becoming more and more imperious. Monstrosities which are the legitimate fruit of the haphazard system, or rather lack of system, which characterizes the government of many cities, evils of administration and burdens of taxation that had become almost unendurable, the astounding frauds which have been brought to light within the last few years in New York and Philadelphia, and the usurpation of power by demagogues through the aid of the most degraded elements of society, have at last forced an inquiry as to what form of municipal government will most efficiently correct present abuses, and reduce to the minimum the opportunities for harm to the body politic.

Men begin to ask whether the municipal authority may not be so organized and administered that it shall promote and protect the interests of both the corporation and the individual; whether the evils which I have alluded to and others, equally apparent and subversive of the ends of good government, are inherent in our municipal system, or only incident thereto.

And some effort has been made to ascertain the principles which underlie a legitimate municipal authority, and the most efficient means of making the application of those principles practical. Not a very great deal has been accomplished by this study. The problem is complicated and many-sided. Its solution depends on the concurrent action of the wise and the patient and the self-sacrificing. But, whatever difficulties may embarrass the subject, we have good cause for congratulation in the fact that the problem is being studied, and not studied in vain.

The evils growing out of the misgovernment of cities may be grouped in two general divisions. First, those which are the legitimate fruit of systems which are in themselves vicious, and which can only be corrected by a radical change in the governmental machinery. And, second, those which result from the abuse and corrupt use of agencies which, in themselves, are proper and beneficent, but which in the hands of designing men come to be efficient aids of fraud, and the most obnoxious forms of wrong-doing. This class of evils can only be corrected by devising some means which shall keep the government in the control of its best citizens. Can this be done? And if yes, then how?

After first noting some of the difficulties of the problem, I shall endeavor to make a few suggestions as to the possibilities and methods of its solution. As a primary proposition, it may be stated that the lack of a general and comprehensive act of incorporation has been the cause of endless embarrassment and difficulty in the management of city affairs. In many States, the method of municipal incorporation has been by the granting of special charters. These charters possess no uniformity as to the powers conferred, but in each case represent such powers as the persons asking for them deemed it desirable to have, or such as the legislation could be induced to confer.

Frequently, it happened that neither the incorporators who were seeking charters, nor the legislators who granted them, were persons who had had such experience in municipal affairs as to guarantee that the corporations which were to be created would be possessed of needful powers and restrained by proper limitations. Ordinarily, almost as a matter of course, there would be found but little difficulty in starting off the new municipality, for its most obvious needs would have been

recognized and provided for; but, as little or no thought had been taken as to the future demands which would be made upon it, and no adequate provision had been made for the needs of a largely increased constituency, it would by and by be demonstrated that the powers and privileges which were amply sufficient for the small constituency were too limited when the growth of the city demanded increased facilities and improvements.

An attempt would then be made to meet these demands, not by abrogating the original act of incorporation and substituting for it such a system as should be comprehensive and sufficiently elastic to respond to all legitimate demands that should be made on the governing power, but by amendments and additions, and the substitution of boards and commissions, until the whole system became inextricably involved. We have, in this country, had an extensive and disastrous experience in this constant effort to meet new demands by supplemental legislation; but, so far as I can ascertain, we have not yet even approximated the achievements of our English cousins in this patchwork style of city government.

The English Municipal Reform Bill was passed, I think, in 1834. Since then there have been passed seventy additional acts, all of which are in force, and which are applicable to all boroughs. These are supplemented by nineteen further acts, which, to a greater or less extent, affect these municipal organizations.

In addition to these acts, I find it stated in a number of the *Contemporary Review* that there was, at least until recently, comprised within the limits of one Poor Law Union two municipal boroughs with town councils, eleven local board districts, three boards of guardians, twenty-four bodies of overseers, five burial boards, two school boards, and one highway board. In all, forty-eight local authorities, each acting independently, and having jurisdiction in the same territory,—a condition of things that would seem, in contrast, to render Babel a veritable haven of rest.

Our own experiments with this system of government by local boards and special commissions, whether these independent bodies have been created to meet some pressing need for which the organic act of incorporation did not make provision or whether organized in the hope of rescuing a part of the municipal machinery from the control of the Tweeds and McManeses and their disciples and imitators, have been alike disastrous: the first, because the *imperium in imperio* is necessarily self-destructive; and the second, because the vultures which prey upon the body politic will as certainly find the means to control these special organizations as they have hitherto found the means of dominating other governmental machinery; will man them with their own agents, and thus make them the subservient tools of a criminal regency.

Chicago struggled along under burdens of this sort for a good many years; but at last, in sheer desperation, it surrendered its original charter, together with all the ornaments with which subsequent legislation had decorated it, and organized under the general incorporation law of Illinois. So far as it has been tested, this law seems to have been wisely and intelligently framed; and, while it is adapted to the wants of small constituencies, it is sufficiently elastic to meet the demands of large cities. It, at least, possesses the important feature of making a single body responsible for the municipal government; and the executive becomes personally and directly responsible for the direction and administration of municipal affairs.

Under it, Chicago has thus far by no means attained to an ideal city government. Indeed, recent

events would indicate that it but illustrated how thoroughly a good agent may become prostituted to evil purposes. Nevertheless, the imperfections of our municipal government exist in spite of the character of its organic system rather than in consequence of it.

It is an important matter definitely to locate responsibility. When this responsibility can be subdivided among several independent bodies or is shared by the chiefs of various departments, it rests with no special weight upon any individual. But when it can be located, when the people can come to the derelict councilman or to the chief executive, and say, "Thou art the man," good men will always be more careful, and even bad men will become circumspect.

I am informed that Boston has recently made some changes in her municipal system, which, while they do not go so far in the direction of localizing responsibility in the person of the chief executive as is now true of the city governments of New York and Brooklyn, still largely increase the power of the mayor, and make him to a greater extent than ever before responsible for the conduct of municipal affairs.

I have very little doubt that you will find this change to have been in the right direction; and I shall be interested to note whether, after testing this principle, you will not be inclined to give it more emphatic application.

But no system, however good in itself, is self-executing. It is not enough that the government shall be founded on the right principle. Its administration must also be in the hands of trained and true men. This is a matter almost lost sight of in municipal affairs.

Men are selected for city officers for almost every other conceivable reason than that which should outweigh every other consideration; namely, their ability to discharge the duties that devolve upon them. They are selected because they are Republicans or Democrats or Mugwumps. Perhaps they are politicians, and must be paid for services rendered. It may be that they have influential friends who desire to provide for them in the public service, or for some equally insufficient reason they are placed in charge of interests for the care of which they are utterly incompetent.

A private enterprise, conducted on this plan, would soon come to a most disastrous result; and every intelligent man would declare that such a result was deserved and inevitable. But seldom is this rule applied in passing judgment on public affairs. There seems to be a kind of undefined belief that public interests can be cared for by almost any person, or that they can for the most part care for themselves; and, when disaster or evil overtakes us, we look for a remedy to some additional legislation or some new device rather than to the simple and common-sense plan of putting our affairs into the hands of skilled administrators. As to the methods of securing such officers, I shall have something to say farther on.

In the administration of city governments, we find misgovernment manifesting itself in so many forms that it would be impracticable to make note of all its phases. Nor would such an effort prove interesting, even if, perhaps, it might be instructive. To those pronounced and flagrant forms of misgovernment which arrest the attention of even the casual observer, I shall not at this time allude, except as I may suggest some method of correction. Permit me, however, to refer to some less obtrusive instances, which may not always be suggested to us in our examinations. And, first, let me note the liability to mistake, in connection with our public charities.

sentiment which pervades every rank and

condition of society, demanding that relief be given to the suffering and that the wants of the needy be supplied, is creditable to humanity. It has, too, most abundant opportunities for exercise. No proposition has been more fully confirmed by the experience of mankind than that "the poor ye have always with you." In many municipalities, the charge for poor relief is one of the heaviest items of expense. How to render this assistance so as to secure the greatest good and to do the least harm to those who are aided is a question very difficult of solution.

Public institutions, such as almshouses, hospitals, and infirmaries of various kinds, must of necessity be provided. In no other form can we meet the demands, which we have neither the right nor the disposition to ignore. These benevolences, however, are not always managed in the interests of either the inmates or of the municipality. Officers are appointed and dismissed according to their subservience to the appointing power. Employés who are utterly incompetent to discharge the duties devolving upon their positions, and others who are not expected to perform any duties, are carried on the pay-roll; and the semi-seclusion and retirement which seems to invest such institutions, to a certain extent, protects the details of their operations from public scrutiny. Complaints seldom receive attention, or are regarded as the querulous vagaries of an impaired intellect; and it is only in some of those spasmodic convulsions which occasionally rock to the very centre some city government that we obtain an inside view of these affairs. At such time, the public sensibility is apt to be shocked at the revelations which are made; and the people wonder that evils of such magnitude could have existed undiscovered in their very midst.

There is another form of public charity, which in the West we call "Outside Relief,"—i.e., temporary aid in necessitous cases,—which, in the aggregate, constitutes a very large expense, and the effect of which is not easily ascertained. Charitable aid in substantially this form seems to be a necessity in every community. Just how far it ought to be a gratuity is a matter deserving careful consideration. I am quite sure that this form of poor relief is frequently so administered as to encourage pauperism. It creates a class of dependants who become imbued with the idea that such support is an inalienable right. All stimulus to industry and thrift is lost, and "pauperism becomes a profession."

I have a friend who, at a time when there was great want and suffering among the poor of Chicago, established a free kindergarten, where, during the day, little children could be left by their mothers, who thus had freedom for any employment they could secure. This was continued until a change in business affairs seemed to obviate any further necessity for such a charity.

The school was then closed, and its patrons became indignant. There seemed to be no gratitude for favors received, but rather a sense of personal wrong in the withdrawal of what had come to be looked upon as a permanent arrangement for their benefit. It is a difficult thing to bestow a charity in such a way as not to do harm to the beneficiary. In so far as it is practicable, there ought to be some kind of *quid pro quo*. Aid granted should take the form of payment for some kind of service, even if the service be of no value to the donor.

Illustrative of another manner in which charities become perverted from their original beneficent purpose, I would refer briefly to a report as to the London Guilds, made by the City Companies' Commission, published not long since in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. These guilds or societies were originally benefit societies, or charitable associations,

and were under the care and protection of the city. In process of time, they became the trustees of various bequests made for securing an annual income to some charitable institution or purpose. The guilds were simply trustees of this property, never its owners. As years passed by, the operation of natural causes enormously increased the value of the properties under their care, so that they are now estimated to be worth from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000, and the annual profit about \$4,000,000. But the guilds, as trustees, only pay over to the charity fund the income on the original value of the bequests. As, for instance, where the rental of a certain realty was at the time the bequest was taken in charge of by the guilds \$100, it is now \$10,000. The guild, however, pays over to the charity the \$100, and pockets the \$9,900. Not a member of these guilds is entitled to a penny of this money. Yet, by a system of "payment of privileges," which is a polite way of saying the "purchase of a right to steal," these guilds, besides spending hundreds of thousands of dollars of these trust funds in banquetings and entertaining their friends in a sumptuous manner, pocket annually a handsome income for themselves.

The members of the guilds are, by virtue of said membership, invested with the municipal franchise, and are permitted to vote, either in person or by proxy, and thus are admitted to the very select number who control the affairs of the immense metropolis. Mr. Gladstone long ago characterized these guilds as associations for the cultivation of gastronomy, which occasionally gave a five-pound note to charity.

In a number of instances, like provision was made for the support of churches and schools in particular localities. The changes caused by the demands of trade long ago deprived both churches and schools of their constituency. But the farce of maintaining religious worship in one place and a form of instruction in the other is maintained, in order that the incomes appropriated to their support may not be sacrificed. The clergyman lives ten, fifteen, or twenty miles distant. He has no parish, and in some instances no congregation; but he comes to the church, and goes through a form of religious service once or twice on Sunday. In one instance, it was discovered that one man constituted the entire audience, and that he was paid a certain sum each week for playing congregation, while the clergyman conducted the service.

In the city of London there are several parishes whose limits do not extend beyond the walls of the church-building, but which are in receipt of very generous incomes. In an article on the Bank of England, by Henry May,—in the *Fortnightly Review*,—we are told that "this edifice [the bank] was greatly enlarged between the years 1770 and 1786, and was completed pretty much as it now stands in 1786, an act having been procured in 1780 to enable the directors to buy the adjoining church, land, and parsonage,—in fact, the whole parish of Christopher LeStock, to the rector of which non-existent parish the bank pays £400 per year to this day."

I am not aware of anything in America which parallels this condition of affairs. Our country is not as yet old enough for this, our conservatism is not of the right type, nor our veneration for such a class of "vested rights" sufficiently pronounced to afford favorable conditions for the existence of such abuses. I do not think it probable that they could maintain an assured footing among us. But we may be well warned against a system which tends in this direction, which is in itself vicious, and which must ultimately involve us in great embarrassments.

The efficiency and success of a municipal government depend in a great measure upon its police establishment. The protection of life and property, the security of peace and good order, the suppression of crime, and the arrest of criminals are the special care of this department. Failure in these particulars is a fatal defect. Success in this branch of the government would palliate and atone for many shortcomings elsewhere. So far as I am able to learn, our American cities have no well-organized and well-sustained police force. Perhaps Boston may be an exception to this statement. Almost everywhere, the police organization is used as a partisan political machine. The Republicans of Cincinnati and the Democrats of Chicago seem to vie with each other for an unenviable supremacy in this regard, and each seems likely enough in its turn to surpass the other. The difficulty is fundamental, and relates to the theory of organization. Appointments to the police force and promotion in the service are made at the dictation of professional politicians, and as a reward for partisan services. A failure to perform these services is equivalent to an application for discharge. Efficiency in the line of duty will not atone for a lack of zeal in elections, and skill in detecting crime is of less moment or value than skill in managing primaries and conventions. Thus, the *morale* of the force is constantly being depreciated. It is impracticable to appeal to its professional pride or its *esprit de corps*. And the members of the organization, instead of constituting a dignified and respectable department of the municipal government, degenerate into time-serving place-men. As a matter of experience, we have learned to expect at the end of a newspaper paragraph announcing the perpetration of a crime the assurance that no arrests have been made; and the comparative immunity of the criminal classes among us is a continual disgrace to our civilization.

The police system of some European cities is far more efficient than anything of the same sort in this country. Especially is this true of Paris. It may be objected that in the latter city the system is too efficient, and partakes too largely of a method of espionage and surveillance. I think that this objection would be valid. The Parisian police force would not be, and ought not to be, tolerated in Boston; but the reasons for this apply to some of the purposes for which the force is used, and do not apply to the plan on which it is organized.

I would make the police service a profession, in the same sense that the army is now a profession. Let its rank and file be composed of enlisted men, who should be subject to discipline and dishonorable dismissal for proper cause, in accordance with appropriate regulations adopted for the government of the force, but who could not be otherwise discharged. Let the officers be gentlemen trained to their profession,—men who hold a commission as honorable and desirable as that held by a military officer and subject to similar conditions. Let promotions be made for faithful and efficient service and in recognition of exceptional ability. Let the service be organized on the theory that it is a worthy profession for men of high character and ability, let it be lifted out of the domain of politics and take its proper position as a department of the city government,—which is in no way affected by the mutations which attend the annual elections,—and we would have, as a result, a police force which, either as to its *personnel* or the character of the work which it would perform, would be unexcelled.

The best method of raising the revenue necessary for carrying on the municipal government is

an intricate problem, and one which, at one time or another, has received a great deal of attention.

The systems in operation in different localities are widely different, and the proper discussion of any of them would not be practicable at this time. There are, however, two features of this subject which I am not willing to pass in silence:—

First, as to that class of *quasi* public corporations, such as street and elevated railways, ferries, gas companies, and the like, which derive all their privileges from the municipal government and are subject to its control. From modest beginnings, these organizations frequently grow to vast proportions, and their plant and franchise become a most valuable property.

When first introduced, the popular demand for this class of improvements ordinarily enables these companies to secure specially favorable terms from the municipality. As time passes, they become thoroughly established and wealthy, even if they do not become arrogant and defiant. Their contributions to the revenues of the city, however, continue to be based on the favorable conditions under which they were first brought into existence, and in no sense amount to a fair return for the privileges and immunities granted to them. In all such cases, the city might be protected by reserving to itself a fair proportion of the receipts of these companies, which should be in lieu of all other forms of taxation.

Under such an arrangement, the tax on the corporations would be determined by their own prosperity, being light when their earnings were small and larger with their increased ability to pay; and the city would receive a just return for the benefits it conferred.

Second, I would call attention to the exemption of certain properties from the payment of their share of the public burdens. I refer to the elaborate and costly church edifices which are so prominent a feature of every large city. Though I do not believe that the position is logically sound, nevertheless it is in accordance with the traditions of this people and in harmony with the principles on which our State and National governments are founded that buildings used for public worship should be exempted from taxation; and to this practice, as applied to modest structures of reasonable value, I do not offer any opposition. But it seems to me to be clear that the magnificent structures which abound in all our large cities cannot claim a place in this category.

It is scarcely a proper use of language to denominate them houses of *public* worship. Though they are nominally open to the public, still their appointments, their furnishings, the style of their services, their practically reserved seats, the restrictions as to the time of admission of any except pew-holders, and the accommodations provided for the public, all warrant the statement that they are really the private religious club-houses of wealthy parishioners, whose right to erect and maintain and enjoy them is unquestionable, but whose right to do all this at the public expense is by no means so apparent.

These institutions share in all the benefits of the city government, are protected by its fire department, are approached by streets lighted, cleaned, and paved at its expense, and, in the event of their unlawful destruction, the municipality would be liable to respond in damages for their full value. All this for the accommodation of a small fraction of the people! It seems to me that the value of these structures, at least so much of it as exceeds a certain reasonable limit, should be taxable. No principle is more firmly imbedded in our political system than that the support of religious worship and institutions shall be entirely

voluntary. The exemption of this class of property from taxation violates the principle, in that it is a forced contribution on the entire community to the extent of the exemption; and it is the less defensible in that the exemption is in favor of that portion of the community that could with the least difficulty meet its obligations.

If the matter was presented in the form of a direct tax for the support of the churches, it could not find any support in any quarter. Why it is the less objectionable because it takes the form of special exemption from a common liability, I am utterly unable to understand.

Another instance of the abuse of municipal authority (and the last to which I shall refer at this time) may be found in the legislation affecting railway corporations. The constantly increasing volume of railway traffic demands constantly increasing facilities for its accommodation. New railways are seeking entrance into, or a right of way through, all our large cities. The granting of new franchises as well as the regulation of the train service on all lines, the protection of those streets which are either crossed or traversed by railway tracks, and the construction of viaducts and bridges, are matters in which the municipality and the railway corporations are mutually interested, and which ought all to be considered and decided simply in accordance with their relation to the public interests.

As a matter of fact, the public interests have very little to do with such decisions. The railway companies have learned that any legislation which they may want, however necessary and proper it may be, and however much it may promote the general welfare, must be well paid for; that any privileges, however legitimate, which affect either their own interests or the interests of their patrons, can only be had by the payment of a price to the city government.

Within a few years, a certain railway corporation applied for a right of way into Chicago, on a route by which a great deal of the most valuable property of the city was seriously damaged. At first, no one seemed to think that the project could be *bona fide*; and, when it became apparent that the corporation was in earnest, it was still felt that it would be utterly impracticable for the company to secure from the city council such an ordinance as would enable it to carry out its plans. But the matter was in the hands of able attorneys and shrewd business managers. Step by step, it progressed, and finally became a consummated fact. It is freely charged and universally believed that the ordinance cost the railway company half a million of dollars. So far as I can learn, the charge has never been denied.

Within the last few months, another railway project was inaugurated. Application was made to the Chicago City Council in its behalf for an ordinance granting the right of way into the city, and for the right to lay its tracks in certain streets. The application was powerfully supported by one of the great railway organizations of the West, and as vigorously opposed by a rival company of equal wealth and influence. As the contest proceeded, it attracted very general attention and interest. In the discussions had in reference to the matter, it came to be openly asserted, both in private conversation and in the public press, that those members of the council who favored the proposed ordinance were in the pay of one corporation, while those who opposed it were classed as the paid agents of the rival company.

The idea that any members of the council advocated or opposed the ordinance on its merits, so far as these discussions were concerned, did not seem to present itself to any one.

I do not mean to affirm that the facts were in harmony with this theory. Indeed, it is very certain that the City Council of Chicago is, in part, composed of gentlemen of the highest integrity and character. But I notice these expressed opinions as indicating the standard of public sentiment. People have become so accustomed to venality on the part of municipal legislators that the first impulse is to interpret their official actions as the *quid pro quo* of money considerations, and experience proves that generally the theory is correct.

In support of my conclusions, let me quote a single paragraph from a pamphlet entitled "Problems of Municipal Government for Chicago," by Hon. D. L. Shorey, who has for many years been a member of the city council of that city, and who deservedly ranks among Chicago's best and ablest citizens. He says:—

"There is a wide-spread impression that a majority of the council is venal. Assuming that this is true, it certainly shows a very bad state of affairs, and that there is imperative need for reform in that body. The evil is even more dangerous than is generally supposed. The disease really exists elsewhere, and is only manifested in the council. There is an outside purchaser for every venal vote. In this case, the purchaser is the more dangerous man of the two. He is probably an officer in some moneyed corporation, he is sometimes a member of some fashionable church, stands high in financial and social circles, and is an influential factor in controlling public opinion. On the other hand, the council is largely composed of young and untried men, of moderate social distinction. Such men have neither the social nor intellectual fibre to resist a moneyed temptation,—and it is no marvel if three out of four of them are not able to resist such a temptation.

Mr. Shorey here admits judgment by confession, and his opportunities for knowing whereof he affirms are exceptionally favorable. Without waiting to determine whether, as Mr. Shorey says, the man who makes merchandise of a public trust is less culpable than the other man who purchases what the trustee offers for sale, we will, at least, agree that we have fallen upon evil times, if the public interests are to be subordinated to the office-holder's cupidity.

It is not strange if private corporations, finding that they can only obtain legitimate privileges and authority by the payment of a certain largess or bounty, attempt to secure, perhaps by the payment of an additional fee, perquisites and privileges which a proper regard for the public interests would deny them. The magnitude of this danger cannot be exaggerated. Private rights and interests are jeopardized, or, if maintained at all, are only so maintained at the price of an expensive litigation, which is a substantial denial of justice. Competition is prevented or crushed out by the potent agency of gold; and the public, bound hand and foot by its own trusted agents, is surrendered to the greed and avarice of private corporations.

(Concluded next week.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHAT IS FAITH?

Editors of The Index:—

I read with interest in your issue of August 27 an article by the senior editor, entitled "Faith."

While I have great respect for Mr. Potter and "faith" in his good intentions, I must protest against his use of the above word. "Faith," he says, "represents man's mental attitude when belief rests, beyond a question, on rational foundations."

Now, while I do not question Mr. Potter's right to

define the terms he uses, I do question the wisdom of his choice and the correctness of the definition itself.

Whatever else "belief resting on a rational foundation" may be, it most certainly is *not* faith, in the almost universally accepted meaning of that term.

"Faith," says Webster, is "belief, the assent of the mind to the truth of what is declared by another, resting solely and implicitly on his authority and veracity, reliance on testimony."

This is the first and most obvious meaning of the word, and of course does not necessarily include "evangelical or saving faith," which Mr. Potter says is the view usually accepted. This is the meaning the word has borne for ages, and is not in any sense the result of ratiocination, or "subject to and receiving the indorsement of science."

Faith and reason have always been regarded—and justly, too—as antithetical, as having nothing in common, the one ending where the other began.

Now, why Mr. Potter should take up this word,—worn out in the service of superstition,—burnish it up, transplant it from the age of miracles and moonshine into the broad light of the present day, and endeavor to make it do service in the cause of humanity, is not apparent, unless, perhaps, he imagines that some sort of theism is necessary; that humanity is not yet able to walk without crutches, and some kind of religion is an absolute *sine qua non*. If so, he is excusable, however positively I may differ from him in that conclusion.

Again, he says: "Faith is knowledge itself . . . become so familiar that it may be acted upon without thinking of the reason of the action."

If words have any meaning at all, to confound faith with knowledge is doing violence to language, is like confounding morality and religion. And no one ought to know this better than Mr. Potter himself. But he gives to faith a new meaning, thereby apparently hoping to make the word do service in a good cause,—the amelioration of man's social condition."

Why put the new wine of scientific sociology into the old bottles of ecclesiastical nomenclature? If "poetry is the grandest chariot in which king thoughts ride," why not permit Science to clothe herself in becoming garments, and ride in a chariot in which she can at least be recognized? What Mr. Potter misnames "faith" is simply confidence in the stability of Nature and the correctness of our interpretations of her, and cannot by any stretch of imagination or dialectical juggling be justly called faith. Under certain conditions, Mr. Potter says, "Truth and Righteousness are realities, and there is a Power in the universe ever working to give them the supremacy."

From this statement I must also dissent. Truth and righteousness are not "eternal verities," having a personality or even an objective existence. They are simply man's ideas of a correct and harmonious relation of things, man himself being the standard by which such relations are measured. Without the intelligent reasoning powers of man there would be neither truth nor righteousness. Man views the universe from his own stand-point, and—very properly, too—makes utility the criterion of morality. This he could not do, if truth and righteousness had an existence independent of him.

The theistic assumption that "there is a Power in the universe ever working to give them the supremacy" I regard as unproven. It contemplates a prearranged plan and an intelligent conscious Power working toward a definite end. If this power is said to be in the universe, then the statement is pantheistic. If outside,—supernatural,—then it is thinly veneered theism.

To my mind, "intuition, religion, conscience, and the wisdom of the prophets" may "give their assent to the proposition," but "experience, reason, science, and common sense" never.

"Doctrines once accepted as truth have been one after another announced to be superstitious, and have been discarded." Yes; and theism, too, bids fair to follow. The eye of Science is not dimmed in the glare of the great white throne, and the thunders of Sinai have no terrors for her.

Away in the dim recesses of antiquity, Isis and Osiris sat on the thrones of Egypt, and stamped their worship on the granite monuments of the Nile. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva arose in India, and swayed the destinies of the human race. Majestic Jove and lovely Juno, from the summit of Mt. Olympus, flung the silver fetters that bound the intellect of polished Greece and martial Rome. For untold ages, the gods

have squatted like toads upon the world, and dwarfed the minds of men. But each in turn have joined "that innumerable caravan that marches to the silent halls of death." To-day, the Christian gods—Jehovah, Jesus, Mary, the Devil, and the Bible—are on trial. Shall they be an exception to all that have gone before? They are not without able advocates; but they are weighed in the balance, and found wanting. *Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*, is written on the wall of fate; and they, too, must fold their tents like Arabs, and as silently steal away. And when the gods have all gone, have flitted away like birds of the night before the light of day, been banished to the Siberia of oblivion, what then? *Humanity will still be here*. Slowly struggling up from the mephitic atmosphere of ignorance, the slimy pool of superstition, and the bloody morass of religion, man will stand erect, and worship only the True, the Beautiful, and the Good,—the only trinity worthy of the name.

In that good time coming, man will no longer kneel in the dust before heavenly tyrants of his own creation, but, "emancipated, redeemed, and disenthralled," will stand firmly upon the apex of the world; woman, the queen of his heart, his equal, by his side; the banner of Reason unfurled to the breeze, kissed by the glad light of the sun of science; himself king of kings, lord of lords, and god of gods. There is much that might be said of modern attempts to galvanize the dry bones of "religion"; but, thinking that others may say it better, I refrain from trespassing further on your good nature.

Yours for human rights,

HARRY HOOVER.

PITTSBURGH, PA., Sept. 8.

[As stated in the article in question, it was our purpose to give to the word *faith* another meaning than that in common theological use. Words that have such a career in history as *faith*, *religion*, and the like, are not apt to pass out of existence; but they do take on new meanings suited to the progress of truth, and one method of progress is to give them new meanings. As to our friend's second criticism, his rhetoric, in the latter part of his letter, seems to deny his own logic. He protests against our statement that "Truth and Righteousness are realities,"—says that they have no eternal verity, but are only "man's ideas," etc., or creations of man's own intellectual faculty. But, in his picture of "the good time coming," he sees man worshipping, not any "tyrants of his own creation," but only "the True, the Beautiful, and the Good." It would appear, then, that "the True, the Beautiful, and the Good" represent something that is *not* of man's creation, but something, nevertheless, in which he cannot help believing. And this differs little from our own statement.—W. J. P.]

DID JOHN BROWN KISS A SLAVE-CHILD ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION?

Editors of The Index:—

I am indebted to John Swinton for a copy of your journal of September 17, which contains an article by Mr. W. S. Kennedy on the origin of the story that John Brown kissed a little negro child when on his way to execution. Mr. Kennedy says that the original statement of this incident is quoted in my *Life of John Brown*,—a book that was published within a few days after the death of the hero of Harper's Ferry. I have not read and rarely seen that book for several years, but I remember that my sole authority for that statement was the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. It should be remembered that the biography was completed on the day that John Brown was hanged. I had no time, therefore, to verify, by personal investigation, any of the statements in that book that were of recent date.

Mr. Kennedy quotes from a private letter from Mr. Sanborn the following words:—

"The child-kissing incident is a legitimate myth, but has no historical foundation, and, as I say, was physically impossible. Avis was a man whose word could be taken as to that. Moreover, Brown's first biographer, Redpath, who gave currency to the story, told me five years ago that it was not true. He depended on Ned House, the *Tribune* correspondent (as he said), and afterward he discovered that House had invented it. This agrees with what was otherwise known of House."

This is not a quite accurate statement of what I said to Mr. Sanborn. I never met Mr. House more

than once, and then he did not speak about that incident.

What I did say was that my sole authority for the incident was the *New York Tribune*, from whose correspondence that story was copied—if I remember rightly—word for word, and as a quotation. I first doubted the truth of the story some years after the death of John Brown, when I was informed that Captain Avis denied it. I never saw any public denial of it by Captain Avis, but trusted to the statement of a friend, who reported his repudiation. I was assured by some one of the Brown family, and I think also by Mr. Sanborn, that Captain Avis was a man of veracity, who sympathized deeply, not with John Brown, the Liberator, but with John Brown, the man, and that his word could be trusted. I never said that House had invented that story, but that Captain Avis' denial, as reported to me, with a rumor that I had heard confirming his denial, seemed to me a sufficient refutation of the story. As far as my testimony goes, therefore, the question of the authenticity of this story rests on Mr. House's statement, which was subsequently denied by Captain Avis. I did not give any other currency to the story than by quoting the most trustworthy journal in the country at that time.

Mr. House, I understand, will soon be back from Japan (or is already in this country); and, as soon as he arrives, I trust that some one will investigate the truth of this story.

I ought to add that I have not yet seen a copy of Mr. Sanborn's *Life of John Brown*. But there is no doubt in my mind that several stories told about John Brown, that were universally believed at the time, belong to the category of writings to which Colenso assigned the Books of Moses. They are "not historically correct." As soon as I can get the leisure, if I ever do get leisure again, to read Mr. Sanborn's work, I shall try to point out several other statements which may be termed legends of John Brown.

Very truly yours,

JAMES REDPATH.

[In regard to the incident in question, the *New York Sun* of September 27, after quoting from Mr. Kennedy's letter referred to by Mr. Redpath, says: "John Brown was hanged on Dec. 2, 1859. Mrs. Brown, accompanied by Mr. J. Miller McKim of Philadelphia, one of the early abolitionists of the Garrison-Phillips school, went as far as Harper's Ferry, whence, on the day preceding the execution, Mrs. Brown was permitted to go to Charlestown to see her husband, leaving Mr. McKim at Harper's Ferry. Mrs. Brown remained with her husband several hours in his cell, and then returned to Mr. McKim to await the arrival of her husband's remains. From her, Mr. McKim had learned the facts of her interview with her husband and many other events; and he had heard in conversation with others matters of interest in connection with the last hours of Brown. On the evening of December 4, Mr. McKim arrived with the widow at the *Tribune* office. Mr. Edward F. Underhill, who was then attached to the *Tribune*, was assigned to the duty of eliciting the occurrences which Mr. McKim had learned, and putting them into the form of correspondence,—as the more letters there were, the less could any individual in Virginia be suspected or detected as their writer. Mr. McKim told the story in question, not as an incident that he had himself seen,—for he had not been in Charlestown,—but one that he had heard from some person whom he could not name, and who, in his turn, had got it by hearsay. He distinctly declared that he could not vouch for its truth, but thought it might be true, and probably was true, as it would be characteristic of John Brown. The whole scene was intensely dramatic, and Underhill tried to maintain its quality in writing it out. How well he succeeded is evident from the deep impression it has made upon so many persons. But, in 1861, he had an opportunity at the jail in Charlestown of investigating the matter, and was informed by the jailer then in charge that there was no foundation whatever for the story; and he further said that, from his own knowledge of the surroundings at the time, it was impossible for the incident to have occurred. Many of the most dramatic events of history have probably originated in a similar manner, but the truth about them cannot always be established as clearly as in the present case." We are able to say, after corresponding with Mr. Underhill, that he indorses the *Sun's* statement as correct.—B. F. U.]

REFORM OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE.

Editors of The Index:—

It is rather a strange fact that the Japanese, while they speak a totally different language from the Chinese, and have the unexceptionable alphabet of their own, use the Chinese characters extensively in their writing. Although pure Chinese is used only in the highest style of the Japanese literature, yet the largest part of our literary works, which are intended for the general reader, are written in a mixture of Chinese and "Kana" (or the Japanese alphabet), called the "Kanamajiri" style. All our newspapers, for instance, are written in this style. In order to understand them thoroughly, therefore, we must be acquainted with many thousand different Chinese characters, each of them representing one whole word. The difficulty and inconvenience of the ideographic language need hardly be stated here. From the earliest age possible, our children are compelled to spend their time in enabling themselves to associate with each Chinese character its proper meaning. Oh, what a tedious and discouraging work it is! I sometimes hear that the American children are troubled with the irregularity in the spelling of the English words. But, if they be once informed of the labor of the Japanese children in struggling with the horrible literature of the Middle Kingdom, they will not, I think, complain any more of the difficulty of their spelling lesson.

Such being the case, comparatively few of our countrymen can get a thorough education in our (or rather Chinese) literature. Hence, the distribution of knowledge among the people cannot but be limited. Considering this state of things to be a great drawback in the progress of our country, some people in Tokio established last year a society called "Kana-no-Kai," whose object is to expel the Chinese characters entirely from our literary world, and substitute them by our own alphabet. The society issues, three times a month, a journal, in which everything is written with the Japanese letters. This journal is read and understood without difficulty by almost any of our countrymen, inasmuch as our alphabet consists of only forty-seven letters, and, moreover, our spelling is perfectly phonetic. The presidency of the "Kana-no-Kai" was offered to Prince Arisugawa, a nephew of the Emperor, and was accepted. The society has been so far a great success, the members being now counted by thousands.

There is another society, established only a few months ago, which is named "Rōmaji Kai" (or "Roman Letter Society"). The object of this society is also to abolish the Chinese characters; but, instead of replacing them by our own alphabet, it proposes to adopt the Roman letters. The chief organizers of this society are professors of the Tokio University. Since all Japanese sounds can be expressed by the Roman letters, and since anybody can be taught to understand the Roman letters in two or three months, the object of the society is far from being Utopian. Besides, as our intercourse with foreign nations becomes more and more intimate, it is very desirable that the majority of our countrymen should be able to understand the Western languages. The adoption of the Roman letters in our daily writing will be of great service for that purpose. At all events, the appearance of these societies almost at the same time clearly shows the fact that the Chinese ideography has had its day, at least in Japan; that it is inconsistent with the necessities of the modern civilization; and that, in spite of the desperate support which it receives from old customs and traditions, the time has come for its permanent departure from our literature.

Yours truly,

S. FUKUZAWA (a Japanese).

ITHACA, N. Y.

GEORGE ELIOT'S PRIVATE LIFE.

What some liberal critics would call the great mistake of her life, if not, as both English and American matronhood assert, the great blot on her character was her marriage to George H. Lewes. According to English law, the marriage was illegal. The wife of Mr. Lewes abandoned him after committing adultery. She felt, or pretended to feel, remorse for her conduct, and was received back into the household she had dishonored. Then some new seducer tempted

her to fly away from her husband and children. The home became homeless. By a technicality of English law, Lewes had forfeited his right to be divorced from his faithless partner, because, in a moment of compassion, he had received her back as his "lawfully" wedded wife. In this condition, as a twice-dishonored husband, he met with Miss Evans. He was fascinated by her, and she gradually became fascinated by him. There was no outward beauty on either side. Lewes was one of the homeliest men in Great Britain; and Miss Evans had no personal attraction, if we except the sweetness of her voice and the singular beauty of expression in her eyes. Each saw the visage of the other "in the mind." Miss Evans, repudiating the technicality of the English law, consented to be united to Mr. Lewes, went abroad with him, was married to him, we think, in some foreign city, and returned to England a kind of social rebel, frowned upon by all women except those intimate friends who knew her motives and never faltered in their friendship. As she never sought "society," and rather disliked it, she bore with exemplary patience all the social disadvantages of her illegal rather than immoral conduct. Seven years before her union, we find in one of her letters this remark about the novel of *Jane Eyre*, then the literary sensation of the season: "All self-sacrifice is good; but one would like it to be a somewhat nobler cause than that of a diabolical law which chains a man, soul and body, to a putrefying carcass." After her marriage, she wrote to her friend Mrs. Bray: "How any unworldly, un-superstitious woman, who is sufficiently acquainted with the realities of life, can pronounce my relations to Mr. Lewes immoral, I can only understand by remembering how subtle and complex are the influences which mould opinion." Whatever may be thought of the legality or morality of the connection, there can be no doubt it led to the happiest results to both parties. Lewes had been practically homeless for two years. There was danger that his children would grow up uneducated and uncared for. He was fast drifting into Bohemian habits. Four years after his new marriage, Mrs. Lewes states in her journal that their "double life is more and more blessed, more and more complete." A few weeks after, Lewes writes in his journal that he owes an intellectual debt of gratitude to Herbert Spencer. He says: "My acquaintance with him was the brightest ray in a very dreary, wasted period of my life. . . I owe him another and deeper debt. It was through him that I learned to know Marian. To know her was to love her, and since then my life has been a new birth. To her I owe all my prosperity and happiness. God bless her!"—*E. P. Whipple, in the North American Review.*

AN ELOQUENT PASSAGE.

In embryo, man lives all lives. The man of genius knows within himself the history of the human race. He knows the history of all religions. The man of imagination, of genius, having seen a leaf and a drop of water, can construct the forests, the rivers, and the seas. In his presence, all the cataracts fall and foam, the mists rise, and the clouds form and float. To really know one fact is to know its kindred and its neighbors. Shakspeare, looking at a coat of mail, instantly imagined the society, the conditions that produced it, and what it, in its turn, produced. He saw the castle, the moat, the drawbridge, the lady in the tower, and the knightly lover spurring over the plain. He saw the bold baron and the rude retainer, the trampled serfs, and all the glory and the grief of feudal life.

The man of imagination has lived the life of all people, of all races. He has been a citizen of Athens in the days of Pericles, listened to the eager eloquence of the great orator, and has sat upon the cliff, and with the tragic poet heard the "multitudinous laughter of the sea." He has seen Socrates thrust the spear of question through the shield and heart of falsehood, was present when the great man drank hemlock and met the night of death tranquil as a star meets morning. He has followed the Peripatetic philosophers, and has been puzzled by the Sophists. He has watched Phidias, as he chiselled shapeless stone to forms of love and awe. He has lived by the slow Nile, amid the vast and monstrous. He knows the very thought that wrought the form and features of the Sphinx. He has heard great Memnon's morning song, has lain him down with the embalmed dead,

and felt within their dust the expectation of another life, mingled with cold and suffocating doubts,—the children born of long delay. He has walked the ways of mighty Rome, has seen great Cæsar with his legions in the field, has stood with vast and motley throngs, and watched the triumphs given to victorious men, followed by uncrowned kings, the captured hosts, and all the spoils of ruthless war. He has heard the shout that shook the Coliseum's roofless walls when from the reeling gladiator's hand the short sword fell, while from his bosom gushed the stream of wasted life. He has lived the life of savage men, has trod the forest's silent depths, and in the desperate game of life or death has matched his thought against the instinct of the beast. He has sat beneath the bo tree's contemplative shade, rapt in Buddha's mighty thought; and he has dreamed all dreams that Light, the alchemist, hath wrought from dust and dew, and stored within the slumbrous poppy's subtle blood. He has knelt with awe and dread at every prayer; has felt the consolation and the shuddering fear; has seen all the devils; has mocked and worshipped all the gods; enjoyed all heavens, and felt the pangs of every hell. He has lived all lives, and through his blood and brain have crept the shadow and the chill of every death; and his soul, Mazeppa like, has been lashed naked to the wild horse of every fear and love and hate. The imagination hath a stage within the brain, whereon he sets all scenes that lie between the morn of laughter and the night of tears, and where his players body forth the false and true, the joys and griefs, the careless shallows and the tragic deeps of human life.—*From Ingersoll's Lecture on "Myth and Miracle."*

THE October number of the *Popular Science Monthly* is interesting and instructive. We can only give its "Contents": "New Chapters in the Warfare of Science, I. The Doctrine of Comets," by Andrew Dickson White; "The White Ant: A Theory," by Prof. Henry Drummond, F.R.S.E. (illustrated); "The Early Study of Plants," by Eliza A. Youmans; "On the Solar Corona," by William Huggins, F.R.S.; "The Relations of Railway Managers and Employes," by Dr. W. T. Barnard (concluded); "Tommasi-Crudeli on Malarious Countries, and their Reclamation"; "The Energy of Life Evolution, and How it has Acted," by Prof. Edward D. Cope (illustrated); "The Metaphysical Society," a reminiscence, by R. H. Hutten; "A Study of Recent Earthquakes," by M. A. Daubree; "The Trading-rat," by Mrs. E. D. W. Hatch; "Tissue Selection in the Genesis of Disease," by W. Henry Kesteven, M.R.C.S.; "Sketch of Prof. H. A. Newton" (with portrait); "Editor's Table: Official Science at Washington"; "Literary Notices," "Popular Miscellany," "Notes." New York: D. Appleton & Co.

HENRY JAMES' story, "The Princess Casamassima," is continued in the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mrs. Oliphant and Dr. Holmes each give additional chapters of their serials; and there is a pretty little Canadian story, "The Ogre of Ha Ha Bay," by Octave Thanet, author of "The Bishop's Vagabond." Mr. Warner continues his travels in the papers called "On Horseback," and Horace E. Scudder has a second scholarly essay on "Childhood in English Literature and Art." There is an entertaining paper, "The First Abbé Galant," narrating the life of an ecclesiastic of the seventh century, besides an essay on birds, and two poems, "Tacita," by James B. Kenyon, and "The First Guest," by Helen Gray Cone. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Among the articles of the *Sidereal Messenger* for September are: "Small and Large Telescopes," by S. W. Burnham; "Commensurability of Motion," by Asaph Hall; "Eclipses for Young Students," by H. A. Howe; "A Set of Tables for Computing Eclipses and Occultations," by George W. Coakley; and "Reports of European Observatories," besides interesting "Editorial Notes" on comets, meteors, eclipses, etc. (Carleton College Observatory, Northfield, Minn.)

THE leading articles in the bi-monthly *Christian Thought* for July and August are: "Is Prayer Reasonable?" by Dr. Noah Porter; "Capital and Labor," by Bishop Samuel S. Morris, of Michigan; and "The Vicarious Principle of the Universe," by A. H. Bradford, D.D.

Although this work has been eulogized by the secular press, it has been bitterly attacked by the greater part of the religious press, because the author, from the highest intellectual and moral grounds, denounces some of the superstitions which have crept into Christianity as essentially irreligious, and the men who, knowing better, teach those superstitions, as essentially dishonest.

The Religion of Philosophy; OR, THE UNIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

A comparison of the chief philosophical and religious systems of the world, made with a view to reducing the categories of thought, or the most general terms of existence, to a single principle, thereby establishing a true conception of God. By RAYMOND S. PERRIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

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"The author makes a masterly analysis of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, and subjects his theory of the *Unknown* to a most close and searching criticism. It is an extraordinary work, one of the most important contributions from the press of recent times."—*F. S., in The Index, Boston.*

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II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

TWO PROMINENT men who died last week,—Thomas Talbot, ex-Governor of this State, and Cardinal McCloskey,—both men of intellectual ability and of unblemished character, were of Irish extraction, but natives of this country.

LAST Sunday, in Montreal there was another procession, "the procession of the holy rosary," designed to stay the plague. Between five thousand and six thousand persons were in the procession, in which was borne the same statue of the Virgin that was carried during the cholera year.

THE rivalry between St. Louis and Chicago finds expression often in the style of the following item from a paper of the former city: "Chicago girls never visit friends outside of their own city in winter: they don't like people of other places to see their tracks in the snow on the sidewalks."

AT St. Catharine's, Ontario, members of the Salvation Army nursed a victim of small-pox, and thereby spread the disease, and now insist on visiting patients. All the cases are those who have attended the meetings of the Army. A petition numerously signed has been circulated, praying the Salvation Army barracks be closed until the danger of infection is past.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK's recent paper, read at the British Association, on the education of dogs, served to elicit some additions to the collection of dog stories, among which was one about a dog that growled at the bare mention of the late Conservative Opposition, and another of a dog that in three weeks learned to ring the door-bell, when he wished to enter the house.

THE New York World, in reply to a correspondent, says: "Thomas Paine died as he lived,—a devout and religious man. . . . Read his will (in which he bequeaths his soul to God, his Father, and his writings to his countrymen), and you will see that he was the founder of Unitarianism in this country, no more likely to change his views on his death-bed than his successor, the late Rev. Dr. Bellows."

THEODORE STANTON writes to the *Inter-Ocean*: "Albert Wolff said in the *Figaro* the other day that America was corrupting the artistic talent of Europe, that the applause of Paris was fast being outbalanced by the dollars of the Yankees. But, if the mature geniuses of Europe go to the United States simply to fill their depleted coffers, our budding ones come here for applause. The continent is, as I have often told you, covered with young Americans, often acting for nothing, sometimes even paying for a *debut*, who, loaded with the approbation of this very Paris, return home also."

SAYS the *Catholic Review*: "Our only safety is in Catholic schools, where our children will be free from the vassalage under which they have hitherto been laboring in our public schools; where our teachers shall be free, not only to give an occasional lesson in the catechism, but to give constant, positive instruction in their religion: they will not be afraid to introduce Catholic devotions and the beautiful Catholic practices and religious observances, which have such a powerful influence in moulding the character; in short, when the very atmosphere of the school-room shall be redolent of the sanctity, the beauty, and loveliness of their religion."

MR. GLADSTONE, who has assumed direction of the Liberal campaign in England, advises that no tests be imposed on the candidates, but to leave them as open a platform as possible. The question of female suffrage, among other questions, has taken quite a strong hold in some constituencies. In these both, the Liberal and the Conservative candidates are found committed to the bestowal of the franchise on women. In other constituencies there is a strong feeling in favor of triennial parliaments. Mr. Gladstone would have the Liberal candidates pledge themselves on such questions only when their rivals do the same. A canvass of the country will undoubtedly show, it is said, that a sufficient number of candidates is already pledged to the cause of female suffrage to raise that question to one of urgency in the next parliament.

IN the new French Chamber of Deputies, the Conservatives will number probably about two hundred and ten. Their gains are not due to any desire of the country for an imperial restoration. Those acquainted with the popular sentiment in France agree that but a small minority have any wish to see the Republic replaced by imperial or monarchical institutions. The check the Republicans have received is to be ascribed rather to widespread dissatisfaction with the Tonquin affair, the unwise management of the national finances, and M. Jules Ferry's generally unsuccessful administration. While the Conservatives will, as above stated, number about two hundred and ten, M. Clémenceau's party will number one hundred and twenty-four, and the Republicans of other shades two hundred and fifty, thus making M. Clémenceau's position somewhat like Mr. Parnell's in the English Parliament.

MR. J. ICK EVANS, formerly President of the Secular Union of Canada, and now President of

the Toronto Secular Association, informs us that "free thought in Canada is making much greater strides than is apparent in its associations. We cannot boast of as great things in either the local or national society as we could wish. The cultivation of free thought has not, so far, succeeded in producing close association. Strong individuality seems to lead free thinkers into isolation; and other causes, among which, I regret to say, cowardice may be mentioned, prevent co-operative work." It is in Canada as elsewhere: the growth of liberal thought is in the churches and outside of them. The modification of theological beliefs, and their replacement by more rational views, are continually going on. Liberalism may be advanced by wisely directed organized action of liberals; but, fortunately, it does not depend upon such action.

ABOUT three hundred ladies and gentlemen assembled last Friday evening at Chapel Hall to extend a welcome home to Mr. Moncure D. Conway after his residence abroad of more than twenty years. This reception was given under the auspices of the Free Religious Association. It was a delightful affair, long to be remembered by those present. Dinner was served at 6.30; and, about an hour later, Col. Higginson, who presided, introduced the honored guest in a speech full of wit and anecdote, in which he spoke of Mr. Conway, not only as a versatile writer and courageous advocate of intellectual freedom, but as the hospitable friend and entertainer of Americans in a foreign land. He expressed regret that the company was not able to welcome in person also Mrs. Conway, the only woman in England, he said, who was present to take the hand of Mrs. Besant when she came from the court-room where she had stood up to plead for the custody of her own child, refused her simply because she was an atheist. After a few words of thanks by Mr. Conway, Mr. O. B. Frothingham spoke in a pleasant vein of the guest of the evening. At eight o'clock, Mr. Conway proceeded to give an address on "Our Armageddon," a brief abstract of which is given on another page. The speaker was listened to with the closest attention, and his words elicited frequent applause. Miss Mildred Conway, a charming young lady,—scarce out of her teens, we should say,—accompanied her father, and was the recipient of many attentions. After Mr. Conway's address, the reception became informal; and this was not the least pleasant feature of the occasion. Among those present, in addition to the persons named, were the President of the Free Religious Association, Elizur Wright, Judge Holmes, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, William Lloyd Garrison, Prof. Dolbear, Louise M. Alcott, R. S. Perrin, author of *Religion of Philosophy*, Rev. W. G. Babcock, F. A. Hinckley, George W. Parke, John C. Haynes, J. L. Whiting, Cornelius Wellington, F. H. Henshaw, J. A. J. Wilcox, D. H. Clark, S. R. Urbino, W. H. Hamlen, D. H. Crandon, H. P. Hyde, Mr. Hurd of the *Transcript* and Mr. Tucker of the *Globe*, the Misses Todd, Cora Scott Pond, and many others known as friends of liberal thought and work.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

The Sunday question will not down at any ecclesiastical bidding. Religious journals like the *Christian Statesman* may labor to restore the old strictness of Sunday observance, Presbyterian and Methodist conferences may pass resolutions denouncing the increasing laxity of people with regard to their habits on Sunday, and timid legislators may be slow to amend the Sunday laws in the interest of liberal and rational ideas; but, none the less, the Sunday question will stay until it is settled aright. It will be settled, probably, by the process of evolution rather than by any sudden change. A new public sentiment is forming with regard to the keeping of the day; and, by and by, the statute books will be amended to suit the new ideas. Meantime, there is liability to gross abuses and injustices; and the statute books are setting lessons in insincerity and hypocrisy which are not edifying.

That the Sunday laws as they really exist in the different States are not observed is a matter of notoriety. It is public opinion that gives the Sunday laws which are kept, and not the statute books. Public opinion has arrived at that point that it allows travelling on Sunday for pleasure or convenience or recreation, though the laws still say that people shall not travel on that day except for necessity or charity. The horse-cars run on Sunday as on any other day, only perhaps, on most of the lines, having to make more trips to accommodate the increased patronage. On many railroads, steam cars are run. People of liberal religious views have long felt free to take a drive on Sunday; and people of orthodox views are now beginning to count this no great sin, and, in some instances, have been known to follow the example. Work of many kinds is performed on Sunday, not simply as charity or necessity may demand, but as public or private convenience may require. Sunday newspapers are printed in large numbers, and find a ready market. The milkman goes his rounds; and whenever, in New England at least, an effort is made to close the bakeries on Sunday mornings, it meets with such vigorous resistance from that large section of the community that depends on the bake-shops for the Sunday pot of baked beans that the endeavor soon ceases. Indeed, to many New Englanders, beans and pork for breakfast are as much a part of the sacred Sunday tradition as going to church.

It is evident that public opinion has undergone a great change as to what may be permitted and what may not be permitted on Sunday. Not very many persons would now be shocked by a walk for exercise on that day. To take the exercise on horseback or in a row-boat would be generally deemed very much more sinful. Recreation by a drive is judged even in evangelical circles quite leniently. A so-called "sacred concert" may be allowed on Sunday evening, but not a scientific lecture. People may now read quite miscellaneous at home or enjoy pictures and sculpture in a private house; but, to public libraries and art museums, the doors are yet generally closed in this country. People may talk freely on secular subjects and make social visits on Sunday, as once they could not; but a quiet game on one's own grounds is not yet permissible. A lady this past summer, at her seaside cottage, was begged one Sunday by her little daughter, weary of the day's monotony, to play croquet with her. The mother consented on condition that they should strike the balls as quietly as possible, so as not to disturb any one by the noise. While they were thus playing, a party of excursionists drove by in a wagon, some of whom openly exclaimed against such Sunday

desecration as croquet-playing. Their consciences allowed them to take their excursion to the beach or into the woods, but were shocked by the quiet game of the mother and child on their lawn. And, soon, a policeman actually stopped the mother and child at their play, saying apologetically that he was sorry to do it, but that his orders were to forbid all such games, they being contrary to law. This lady was no free thinker, but a member of the Episcopal Church; yet she could but feel indignant over a law which should stop this simple, harmless recreation of herself and daughter in their own yard, and permit the rather noisy excursionists to travel on the highway unmolested in their pleasure pursuit. It was not, however, the law that was thus partial: it was the unjust, crudely educated public opinion, which called for the enforcement of the law in part and permitted it to be defied in part.

No more effective method could probably be devised for getting the Sunday laws amended than to have them for a while rigidly and literally enforced. The shoe would then be found to pinch in places little suspected. Even the *Christian Statesman* party might find their comfort and personal liberty inconveniently invaded. Society has really outgrown the old Sunday dogma of Puritan days; and it would not now peacefully submit to the practical restraints which that dogma once enforced through the statute book, and which are still written in the law. The churches themselves would, probably, revolt to a great extent against such a literal interpretation and enforcement of the statute. And the reason they do not aid now in the attempt which liberal people have set on foot to bring the laws into closer harmony with the new public sentiment is their fear lest to amend the Sunday laws is but the entering wedge toward the entire destruction of the Sunday institution.

This fear, in our opinion, is groundless. An institution which runs back so far into human history, and is rooted so deep, is not easily destroyed. There is no demand that Sunday shall become like any other day of the week. There is something in the physical and mental needs of mankind that appears to have originated the day, and that may be trusted to preserve it. But the ways of using the day will inevitably change according to the changed conditions of human society and thought. The Puritan-Jewish observance of the day as specially sacred to God—as the "Lord's Day," *par excellence*—cannot survive much longer. Jesus' own text and practice may be quoted effectively against such observance. "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." Mankind need Sunday for their own good. Put to rational and moral uses, the day would yield inestimable benefits. Man needs the day, in the midst of his various labors, for physical recreation and for mental and moral upbuilding; for *spiritual* education, too, in the true sense of that word, as denoting that part of man which is above the mere propensities of animal life. An institution which, in the process of social evolution, man has thus created for his own good, man may be trusted to transform, so as to keep it useful.

WM. J. POTTER.

"THE TWILIGHT OF POETS."

As a thinker and a judge of poetry in the abstract, no one questions the ability of Edmund Clarence Stedman; but, were he even a Francis Jeffrey, the task he undertakes in the *September Century* would be a difficult one, if justice be dealt to all his contemporaries. In a magazine arti-

cle, so much of which is devoted to general remark and criticism, to attempt a fit mention or a just placing of a hundred authors is hazardous. Within so limited a space, it would be wiser, so it seems, not to individualize, but to treat of the elements and peculiarities which mark the poetry of our time. If, however, names must be mentioned, to place together those whose essential traits are similar and who are judged to be of the same rank, whether men or women, would render the matter less difficult.

Despite the large number of poetic writers of the day, there are many whose work could be justly characterized by the same two or three telling adjectives. With no very large amount of examination, most writers could be classified, and without great undervaluation of any,—the metaphysical, the artistic, the witty, and the humorous writers of *rondeaux* and society verses; those who utter from the heart, and reach it; the poets of nature; and the poets of life. Without regard to sex, were the authors of our country so ranked, justice to all would be more nearly attainable. The symmetric genius embraces, at times, the qualities of all classes in his work. Let such, if there are any, be singled out; and none, in the face of evidence, will refuse to acknowledge that he who compasses many elements with ease and elegance must, in a sense, be greater than he who compasses but one or two.

There is a distinction—not always noted—between the poet and the singer. The former may, and generally does, include song also in his gift; but it is quite possible for one who produces the most beautiful, popular, and enduring songs to be unequal to a high order of poem. His melodies, full of pathos and power, may long survive the poet's work in the universal heart; but, in the light of criticism, a discrimination seems demanded.

Referring to the women poets of America and of the time, Mr. Stedman says: "Their lyrics, sonnets, and ballads are feminine and spontaneous, and often highly artistic." Farther on, "The critic would be a renegade who, after paying his tribute to feminine genius in England, should not recognize, with satisfaction, what has been achieved by his own countrywomen." When the day of censors, as well as that of poets, dawns in England and America, we are sure that, on both sides of the ocean, the term *feminine* will be ignored, except as applied to the work of both men and women. The sexes, especially in literature, ought not longer to be divided as scrupulously as they once were in the old churches. The noblest, strongest, most famous of men, especially if poets, have a touch of the womanly somewhere,—in look, voice, manner, taste, or delicacy; while all notably great women, even if beautiful, graceful, gentle-mannered, have a certain masculinity in thought, word, or deed. So the true poet unites both elements in his work; but, in a man's poems, if he be not a true poet, the most weakly of feminine traits may prevail no less than in those of a woman lacking the divine gift. In the highest poetry, there is no sense of sex: the *he* and the *she* are lost sight of in the genius.

Its voice was such, a soul seemed next to mine,
Nearer than soul had ever come before;
My thought was sounded by a singer's line;
One lonely depth was fathomless no more.

Though searched as if by comprehending sight,
No sense of man or woman entered there;
I only felt with how divine a might
Genius asserts its presence everywhere.

It is not to be credited that the most faithful critic could, in a hasty production or one of moderate limits, give everybody just what he ought to have, or leave no one saying, "There is an

omission." Let any one do his best, it is impossible to avoid errors of omission and commission; and a just and noble nature is only temporarily annoyed, not permanently angered, at seeing strictures on his work, which, perhaps, his own maturer judgment had made before the manuscript was in the printer's hands. Such a man distinguishes between the outcome of malice, prejudice, or captiousness, and the sincere conviction and irrepressible feeling of an honest mind.

Both from the references in the September paper and from natural inference, we take it for granted that such writers as Mr. Cranch, Dr. Parsons, Mrs. Howe, and others, must have been referred to in a preceding article which has not met us. Mrs. Dorr's first volume was not issued till 1872, so that, without regard to age, her work would seem to belong to the period under consideration. Besides her name, we miss that of Mrs. Hopkins, author of the two signal poems, "Motherhood" and "Persephone," Mrs. Mace, Mrs. Whitney, Miss Spalding, Miss Kimball, and Messrs. Bessel, Collier, and Rich. Others may miss others.

We cannot feel that Mrs. Preston, with her clearness and simple strength, is a pupil of Browning's: far sooner should we think that Miss Perry might be a pupil of Tennyson's; but we do not recognize the pupilage of either.

No doubt, in Mr. Stedman's book, adequate space and praise will be given to Helen Jackson. The words of the paper are meagre for so large a genius. Since 1871, the writer of this article has seen no poem of H. H.'s superior or perhaps equal to the least memorable of the volume issued by Roberts that year; nor, since 1871, to our knowledge, has anything bearing her name been at all comparable to the masterpieces of her book. On this last, small as it is, an imperishable poetic fame is built; and more than one of its poems is, of its kind, unsurpassed and unsurpassable by any poet.

As to the present period of poetry, we are at a loss to understand why so much anxiety is expressed at the twilight. What harm would ensue, if no more mighty poets should arise, and our country produce nothing like the past? Have we not enough fine old music? Will it ever wear out? We do not believe that the ages will produce another Bach or Mozart or Beethoven or Mendelssohn; but who need mourn about music? Over and over and over again, their beauties are repeated in our ears, at home and abroad, alternating with the light and sweet measures of later and recent composers, some of whom hold their fame in their hand, and yet are happy, and can make us so. Why should it be otherwise, if our great poets of the past fail to be succeeded by great poets of the future?

On the other hand, let not the abundance and fertility of seemingly insignificant writers be a matter of too much moment; nor is it that with Mr. Stedman.

We wonder, however, that it does not occur to the reflective that this twilight of poets is largely due to the twilight of editors and reviewers, who are encouraging the false, the light, the weak, the meretricious, if it be elegant, and are repressing the true, the strong, the original, the permanent, if it be rugged or from inconspicuous sources. When those who judge of poets have the far-sightedness to look beyond their century, or, having that perspicacity, use it, and defend, with all the boldness of selection and criticism, whatever is excellent and of lasting elements, without respect to name, then may the dawn be looked for. Any person of clear, impartial judgment must perceive monthly and weekly some things of mediocre value

in our best periodicals; and no fact is more patent than that the *who* often, too often, makes the value of the *what*. A different order of things in our literature is not to be effected by incisive criticism alone. The frequent publication of things not worthy their place is just so much silent but active opposition to healthy critical influence; just so much substantial encouragement to flimsiness, imitations, trivialness of thought and style. Editors and critics have a hard time of it. As it was once said of the skillful surgeon's requisites, so may it be said of them, that "they need a lion's heart, an eagle's eye, and a woman's hand." To be in the highest sense successful, to be the means of ennobling a literature, they must work under the guidance of even-balanced justice. Equity and courage should equal sagacity and learning. The less they are controlled by fear and policy, the bolder they are in rejecting—if it be poor—what comes from friendly or influential quarters, the more they are doing to bring about the desired day.

Merit cannot always be the sole consideration: it is not human to expect that. But ought it so often to stand behind diplomacy?

Without a doubt, there are in all our large cities one-sided, prejudiced, incompetent reviewers, receiving, some of them, goodly salaries for—what? Helping indirectly, and perhaps inadvertently, to depress, if not crush out, real desert and power, and elevate that which is only gaudy and ephemeral. We are not personal. Clippings and opinions meet us from unknown sources; and, where we find no names, we can be suspected of no individual bias. Nor is the injustice ours to depreciate the large amount of excellent criticism and material for it, which current books and papers contain. What we decry is the tendency—despite all excellence—to foster and advance such work as attains only mediocrity, and to ignore what rises above it, and has the power to aid in regenerating contemporaneous literature.

With the critics and editors, again we assert,—nor merely through the criticism of the pen, but of selection,—it largely rests whether the day of poets shall dawn soon or late.

CHARLOTTE FISKE BATES.

EVOLUTION.

I.

To the popular mind, the theory of evolution is simply a theory that man descended from the ape; and it is the popular belief that a confirmation of the theory depends upon the possibility of finding the missing link,—in other words, the fossil remains of the ape-man of the later tertiary or early quaternary age. And there is an equal confidence and readiness shown by the generality of mankind in giving an opinion of the probable truth of this theory that there is shown in giving an opinion of the weather probabilities of the morrow, seeming wholly unconscious of the fact that a person's opinion relative to the theory of evolution, unsupported by some previous study of the subject, is entitled to just as much consideration as it would be entitled to, and no more, if it related to the differential calculus or the science of conic sections, with a similar lack of mental training in either of these sciences.

Uninformed minds are conscious of an inability to apprehend the latter subjects without study, they being purely intellectual ones; but feeling enters as one of the factors whenever the science of evolution is presented, and persuades them, in accordance with mediæval teachings reaching down to us, that she is a divinely commissioned guardian of the soul, and competent, unaided by

reason, in all questions involving the soul's welfare, to sift truth from error. To persons of this class, it will perhaps be a matter of surprise to learn that the genetic line of our race, as demonstrated by Darwin in his *Descent of Man*, is only one of the many converging lines whose common focus forms the basis of the doctrine of evolution. In the year 1842, the great English philosopher, Herbert Spencer, published his *Letters on the Proper Sphere of Government*, in which he pointed out the modifiability of human nature through adaptation to conditions,—conclusions reached, as he says, from the theory of Lamarck thus applied. In 1850, he published his *Social Statics*, in which the same general ideas are more elaborately worked out. In 1852, in an essay, he first pointed out the increase of heterogeneity as a trait of development, and recognized this principle as applying to other orders of phenomena than those displayed by individual organisms. In 1855, he published his *Principles of Psychology*, in which this principle takes an important position, joined with that of integration. In 1857, he first advances his theory of evolution though somewhat crude in form; but, in 1861, in his *First Principles*, it is presented by him in a form closely approximating in definiteness to the one reached in the later edition of 1867.

Evolution is a term he applies to a persistent and never varying method of change in operation throughout the whole universe, embracing matter and life in all of its forms, and, as resultants of life and its environments, civilization, language, art, religion, and law.

The following is his definition of this principle, which, unfortunately, the exactness required by science will not allow to be clothed in simpler and more familiar words:—

"Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation."

Conversely, dissolution is a disintegration of matter, a passing from the definite and coherent to the indefinite and incoherent, from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous, an absorption instead of a dissipation of motion. As man is composed of matter, it naturally follows that he and his development come within or under this law.

Now, this is the doctrine of evolution; and whoever can prove that matter and motion do not act in this manner can disprove the doctrine without depending upon the negative evidence of the missing link to disprove it. But, as the ablest minds opposed to Mr. Spencer have, during a period of twenty-four years, failed to disprove the truth of this formula, the outlook for its accomplishment by any one is not very promising.

In the year 1859, the great English naturalist, Charles Darwin, published his *Origin of Species*. The conclusion reached in this work, the result of twenty-eight years of study of animal and plant life, is that the different species of animals and plants, instead of being specially created and immutable, are constantly changing in the effort to adapt themselves to their changing environments; that, though animals and plants are, in the main, rigidly confined to ancestral forms, yet that there goes along with this a tendency to variation, which variation, in the struggle for existence, ever present through the excessive fecundity of nature, if useful would protect its possessor and enable it to survive and multiply at the expense of others, and those possessing variations the reverse of useful. So important and far-reaching is this principle that Darwin considered it capable of explaining

how all forms came from a few low forms of life. In 1871, he published his *Descent of Man*, in which he demonstrates that the origin of man and his development come under the same law as that governing all other forms of life. Breaks or gaps in the genetic line of the race are satisfactorily bridged over by the genetic line of the individual; for here embryology comes to our aid,—a fact that is fully dwelt upon by Darwin,—and shows us that every human being in his pre-natal life begins as a single cell of homogeneous protoplasm, structurally corresponding, after it has passed to the amoeba stage, to one of the lowest and most primitive forms of animal life known on the earth, belonging to the lowest sub-kingdom, Protozoa,—a sub-kingdom to which all life seems to have been restricted during the Laurentian period. Haeckel calls this simple, one-celled animal amoeba. The human amoeba, like its prototype within its parent matrix, the primeval seas, nourishes itself with nutritive fluid from the parent body,—to which it is simply attached, and which bears the same relation to it that the sea does to the latter,—reproduces its kind until it becomes an aggregate of homogeneous cell animals. Then, in accordance with Spencer's law, the process of integration continues; and the whole mass of individual organisms begins to act as one organism, with an increasing tendency to differentiation and coherency of parts and heterogeneity of structure. Thus, this aggregate of human amoebæ—giving, as it were, an epitome of the life history of the race—passes successively through the fish, reptilian, lower mammalian, and ape-like forms, before it reaches the present or human form.

This process of integration can be better apprehended by studying the structural relations of a worm of the sub-kingdom Annulosa, of which the centipede is one of its representatives. Here, we find an animal whose body is marked off into segments; and each segment, in individuals of the lower group, is furnished with a circulating system and with what corresponds to a heart, a nervous system and a nervous centre answering to a brain; and, with individuals of the higher group, each segment is furnished with limbs. Typically, each one of these segments is a distinct animal; but integration has gone so far that the group or colony of segments has become substantially an individual. The anterior segments, through their advantageous position, have usurped the functions of food-getting and ingestion. The exercise of these functions necessarily develops perceptive faculties, among the highest of the nervous system; and these powers, not being called into a similar activity by the middle or posterior segments, are gradually usurped by the anterior segments, or head.

This division of labor or function proceeds in exact proportion to the animal's rank or position in zoological classification. Thus, some of the segments, through some peculiar advantage of position, employ themselves with the more complete preparation and assimilation of ingested material furnished them by the anterior segments, and in time usurp the function of digestion; while others concern themselves with the functions of reproduction and the disposing of waste and unassimilative material. We have found that each segment is typically an individual; but, on a closer examination, we perceive that each segment is typically a compound animal also, composed of a mass of individual organisms or cell animals, which can be likened to soldiers that form a company; while the segments can be likened to the companies formed into a regiment, the whole forming a battalion; while the different functions of the whole organism can be likened to the dif-

ferent departments of an army,—the general or head that directs it, the commissary department that feeds it, the transportation department that moves it, and the recruiting department that replaces the wasted and spent units.

That the segments of the centipede are typically distinct animals can be shown by dividing through the middle the body of an earth worm, an organism in which integration has not advanced so far as in the centipede. If the earth worm were an individual, the animal would die under this ordeal; but, being an aggregate of segments or individuals, the segment next to the line of division on that portion of the worm bearing the head, instead of remaining a middle segment longer,—that is, one closely concerned with the function of digestion,—now closes up the wound, and assumes the activities of a caudal segment, while the corresponding segment on the other portion, or the one bearing the tail, closes up the wound, and assumes the activities of the anterior segment or head. Or, in other words, a head grows on the headless portion, and a tail on the tailless portion, and two perfect worms in the place of one the result. We therefore find that, instead of dividing an individual, we divide a community. In a future article, the endeavor will be made to illustrate more fully the truth of Spencer's formula by its application to certain phenomena familiar to all.

J. R. MORLEY.

"THE POWER NOT OURSELVES."

In *The Index* for September 24 there is an article entitled "The Power not Ourselves" an Intelligent Power," which interests me deeply. In it, Mr. Potter maintains—in my opinion, with excellent reason—that the energy which constitutes the universe is intelligible. In this, he runs directly counter to Mr. Spencer. He further thinks that "the question may be raised, with no little assurance, whether there is not a logical necessity that any arrangement of things which responds to human intelligence as an intelligible order must have had, in some way, a kindred purposive intelligence in the energizing and organizing power that has produced and still sustains them." Nothing could be fairer or more free from dogmatism than Mr. Potter's position. And yet it is by no means a position of indifference, for he says that "this may be considered as the pivotal question in modern philosophy." And he is right.

Now, I may perhaps contribute something to the solution of this "pivotal question," if I ask a few pointed questions with regard to it, and request the readers of *The Index* to consider and answer them.

(1) What reason have we for supposing that "the power not ourselves" is one and not many?

(2) Granting that this power could be shown to be one (either by logic or experiment), what is the ground of individuation; in other words, what intelligible principle is it that produces in the one power those differences which define what we call individuals?

(3) Why might not a multitude of *ultimate* individuals, more or less like ourselves,—individuals in different stages of development, but all capable of activity and passivity (*παρὶν καὶ πάσχειν*),—produce all the phenomena about which we know anything? Why is not the universe a manifold or complex of spiritual monads or souls, acting and reacting upon each other, as Petöcz thinks, or, in the words of Drossbach, a *Göttergemeinschaft*?

(4) Seeing that all evolution involves mutual involution of elements, would not this hypothesis

explain the facts of nature better than that of a single principle?

(5) Supposing the energy of the universe is shown to be multiplex, what, then, will constitute the unity of the universe? Is it other than unity of space and interaction?

(6) In what sense is the power or complex of powers behind the "intelligible order" of the universe intelligible? In its essence? In its action? In its purpose?

(7) In what sense is order more intelligible than disorder? Is disorder intelligible?

(8) Could anything *be*, and yet be unintelligible? If so, how should we know anything about it? Is not being synonymous with intelligibility, as the Schoolmen and Rosmini hold?*

(9) If, as Mr. Potter says, the intelligible order of the universe is only an "exhibition" of the power that is "behind or within" it, and that power is consequently intelligible, does it follow that it is also intelligent? This resolves itself into the question, Is the intelligible necessarily intelligent? If this question be answered in the affirmative, it will follow that there is nothing in the universe that is not intelligent, since there is nothing that is not intelligible.

(10) If the intelligible be necessarily intelligent, why is this so? Does not intelligibility simply imply the existence of a power *capable* of understanding rather than of one actually understanding? In other words, is not the correlate of intelligible intellective, not intelligent?

(11) Is not the necessary correlate of the intelligibility of the universe to be found in the indefinitely progressive intellectivity of man? And is this not what we imply, when we say that the universe is intelligible?

(12) If the intelligible be necessarily intelligent, since the intelligible is multiplex, must not the intelligent also be so?

(13) If all that is is intelligent (being intelligible), is everything that takes place in the world—*e.g.*, the fall of an avalanche which buries a village—an intelligent action? If so, are the actions of madmen also intelligent actions? And are reflex muscular actions also intelligent actions?

It seems to me that, if these questions were answered in accordance with our experience, we should be on a fair way to a solution of the pivotal problem of the universe.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

THE *Art Amateur* for October gives a description which makes one covetous of the rich porcelains and bric-à-brac and the charming pictures belonging to the collection of the late Mrs. Mary J. Morgan, which are to be sold at auction in New York this winter. The collection is said to have cost at least a million of dollars for pictures, and at least as much more for other objects of taste. These treasures of beauty were the solace and entertainment of their owner, while waiting for death from an incurable disease. The list of paintings comprises good works of most of the modern French and English masters, such as Alma-Tadema, Bouguereau, Rosa Bonheur, Corot, De la Croix, Deau, Millet, Rousseau, etc. Many well-known names are omitted, however, as Turner and De la Roche. Church is the most noted American name; and there are a few Germans, as Graus, Greutznier, etc. We heartily wish our own Art Museum were in possession of funds to secure some of these treasures. Greta gives a very pleasant account of the summer exhibitions at this museum; but she does not mention the recent

* This is very different from asking whether the *esse* of things is the same as their *percepti*, as Berkeley held. It is almost equivalent to asking whether the *esse* of things is the same as their *percepti posse*.

gift to it of one of the late George Fuller's admirable heads, a portrait of one of his sons. "Art Hints and Notes" contains many excellent suggestions, and the technical instruction is clear and valuable. There is a sheet of pretty figure sketches, pleasing, but not quite correct in drawing, and some clever studies, besides the usual designs for fancy work. We are glad to note a steady improvement in the tone and quality of this favorite art magazine.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

PROF. HUXLEY says that he would like to see a scientific Sunday-school in every town. "I cannot," he adds, "but think there is room for all of us to work in helping to bridge over the great abyss of ignorance which lies at our feet. If any object that it will dishonor God, on any special day, to awaken the mind of the young to the infinite wonder of the works called his, and to teach those laws which must be his laws, there must be something wrong in their logic."

It would be pleasant to believe that Victor Hugo's picture of the twentieth century will be realized: "In the twentieth century," he declares, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, royalty will be dead, and dogmas will be dead; but man will live. For all there will be but one country, that country the whole earth; for all there will be but one hope, that hope the whole heaven. All hail then to the noble twentieth century, which shall own our children, and which our children shall inherit!"

A WRITER taking exception to much in Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* remarks: "The great success of his book proves one thing, however: namely, the prodigious rise in the common sympathy. I say proves this; for the advance came before the book, else no reception therefor. As early as 1853, George Eliot, that wondrous woman, wrote that the locomotive and the electric telegraph were rapidly demonstrating the interdependence of all human interests, and making self-interest the duct of sympathy."

MR. ALEXANDER WILDER writes: "The *Akademie* is not Western, but continental. We have some two hundred and forty members, one from Boston, two or three from Concord, one from New Hampshire, one from Vermont, one from Florida, one from Alabama, and a number from Texas, California, Colorado, etc. I was pleased to read the paragraph on D. A. Wasson. I copied a paper of his on 'Individuality,' and was not quite certain that he wrote it. I never saw him, but have admired about everything he has written."

EX-LIEUT. GOV. HINCKLEY of Vermont, at a recent legislative reunion which called together a large number of men prominent in political affairs, thus referred to the senators of that State: "I feel for those men a reverence like that of a devout clergyman I knew for the old prophets. The clergyman sometimes got the cart before the horse, and he said those prophets were wonderful men. They worked miracles, they could make the deaf see and the blind hear: they could do more, they could cast out the dead and raise the devil."

THERE is, after all, something tenderly appropriate in the serene death of the old. Nothing is more touching than the death of the young and beautiful. But when the duties of life have been nobly done, when the sun touches the horizon, when the purple twilight falls upon the present, the past, and the future, when memory with dim eyes can scarcely spell the records of the vanished days, then, surrounded by friends, death comes like a strain of music,—it is a welcome relief.

The day has been long, the road weary, and we gladly stop at the inn.—*R. G. Ingersoll.*

IN a letter expressing concurrence in our view of the design argument, an eminent lawyer writes: "It is not the design in the watch picked up by Paley's traveller that proves a man had been there: it is familiar experience, observed human behavior, that constitutes the proof; and a track of a naked human foot would prove human presence as conclusively as a bushel of watches. As well might it be argued from an accidental indentation in the sand that a supernatural foot had made it, on the ground of our familiar experience of foot-prints. Prove, first, the existence of such a foot and its habit of imprinting tracks, and the argument is good."

ARCHBISHOP LYNCH has been contrasting the unity of the Roman Catholic faith with the diversities of Protestantism; and the *Tu-Day* is moved to remark: "But how has the unity of Rome been preserved? It has been preserved by fettering conscience and stopping the mouth of free discussion. It has been preserved by the massacre of the Albigenses, by the butchery of a hundred thousand Reformers in the Low Countries, by the extermination of the Huguenots, by the atrocities, literally without a parallel in history, of the Spanish Inquisition, by launching upon Germany the devastating hordes of Tilly and Wallenstein, by a series of crimes which have steeped the robe of religion in innocent blood, and made her hateful in the eyes of mankind."

THINK of the two things—"education" and brutal, merciless vice—going hand in hand! Alas! it is not education: it is that wretched, sophistical veneering of accomplishments which usurps the name of education. It may embrace—in the case of medical men, must embrace—a certain amount of scientific instruction; but what it lacks is the true scientific grasp of life as a whole. We are no fanatical believers in the saving efficacy of a little smattering, nor even of much special knowledge, of physics and chemistry; but we are firm believers in the moralizing effects of a true philosophy of life, supported and illustrated by constant reference to veritable facts. All sciences are but parts of one great science, and the highest function of universal science is to teach us how to live.—*Popular Science Monthly.*

IN his lecture last Friday evening, Mr. Conway related the following amusing incident: "The other day, a relative in Virginia told me of a pious negro woman there who related to him a wonderful story. She declared that the day before, when she had gone to a spring for water, she heard the sound of Gabriel's trumpet. Her Baptist brethren could believe a good deal, but this was a little too much for them. Heads were shaken; and a brother expressed the general scepticism by saying there might be doubts whether the sister really 'scerned' the trumpet or only thought she 'scerned' it. The woman was in evident trouble at having her statement doubted; and, at length, an aged man arose, and said, 'Arter all, bruthren, maybe Gabriel *did* give the poor gal a toot or two.' What," exclaimed Mr. Conway, "could be more reasonable? Assuming that there is a Gabriel, and that he has a trumpet, and that he knew the poor creature was thinking about him, surely the least gentlemanly feeling would prompt Gabriel to give his humble friend 'a toot or two.'"

GRACE GREENWOOD says that, among its other admirable manufactures, New England produces the best educated girls, the truest wives, the noblest mothers, and the most glorious old maids in the world. This leads the *Inter-Ocean* to observe: "The *Inter-Ocean* has great confidence in Grace

Greenwood; but we suggest a change of adjectives, and let the sentence read,—New England produces well-educated girls, true wives, noble mothers, and the most old maids in the world. There was a time in the great West when our girls were not educated like our boys. But we have got away from that, and in no section of the world are the girls wider awake to secure a good education than in the West. We wish to add that, from the days of the pioneer mothers to the present, the homes of New England have not been blessed and honored with truer wives than have the cabins and homes of the woods and prairies of what a great New York daily sneeringly calls 'the rowdy West.'" The Boston *Herald* gracefully acknowledges the truth of this statement, and adds: "This is undoubtedly true. Female education has been made a specialty in many of the Western States, and co-education is much more common than at the East. The truth is that the two sections of the country are rapidly overcoming what have constituted the social and educational differences between them."

IN London, the cause of "Liberal Theology" has suffered a serious reverse. Mr. Voysey, formerly of the Church of England, and Mr. Conway, an American, have been its chief representatives. But both Mr. Voysey and Mr. Conway have publicly confessed in their pulpits the hopeless collapse of the theistic cause. Mr. Conway has been obliged to leave London, and Mr. Voysey's church is reduced to support its expenses by appropriating its building fund. About a dozen years ago, Mr. Conway wrote exultantly that the Theistic Church "is to be the next great home of human hearts and thoughts." Neither Mr. Conway's nor Mr. Voysey's church had spiritual energy enough to start a Sunday-school.—*Christian Thought.*

The truth in regard to Mr. Conway is that he gave up his trust in a "Theistic Church" many years ago, just as he had previously given up his trust in Methodism. It was for what he believed a larger hope,—certainly, one less orthodox; and the "collapse" of his theistic creed in favor of what he calls "perfectly free religion" was followed by an increase of his congregation and of his salary. Instead of being "obliged to leave London," he and his congregation were never before so harmonious and prosperous as when he left and returned to this country, that he might be nearer his aged and now widowed mother, and his sons, who had settled here. The prospects of the "Theistic Church" in London are poor; but the prospects of free thought there, Mr. Conway maintains, were never before so good as now.

A. V. WRITES: "A spiritual séance took place in Hartford the other evening, in which some extraordinary facts connected with the occult world were developed. A lady, called a medium, who enjoys a large acquaintance with the *élite* of the other world, agreed for twenty dollars in advance to materialize some of her spirit acquaintances. This was to be done by having a little girl spirit appear at the window of a cabinet in a darkened room, after which a lady spirit was to appear dressed in the most fashionable attire of heaven, which seems to be a phosphorescent sheen cut *en train*, low neck, short sleeves, with a diamond fastened on each toe of a very dainty pair of slippers. The heavenly head-dress is not mentioned. This beautiful spirit was to take a little walk around the room after leaving the cabinet. The audience, selected from some of the most intelligent people of Hartford, was to be separated from the spirit by a good, strong copper wire, within which precautionary circle they agreed to sit. Two very strong Irishmen were engaged to look after the interests of the audience, because, for some unaccountable reason, a suspicion had got into their heads that the distance

between heaven and Hartford was too great for these spirits to arrive on time; and they did not wish any attempt to be made, by any earthly beings, to personify them. The little girl spirit appeared all right. At least, in the opinion of the Irishmen, she had honestly come from heaven; and she was allowed to go back. But when the phosphorescent lady spirit stepped out of the cabinet, and began her little walk, the two Irishmen pounced upon her. This elicited a piercing shriek. The gas was turned on; and, lo! it was the medium. The copper wire devised to restrain the intelligent audience had been surreptitiously cut in two places, which allowed them to surround the poor medium; and, as there was no copper wire around their heads, by one supreme effort they discovered that she was a fraud. They derided her, took away her twenty dollars, and turned her out into the street in the middle of the night, after making her sign an affidavit to convince the rest of the world that she was a fraud. And all this because the train from heaven to Hartford was late; and, the lady spirit not arriving in time, the medium did her best to personify her. Verily, justice is at a low ebb in Hartford."

For *The Index*.

HUMANITY; OR, THE COLOSSAL MAN.

E'en the molety of it breathing,
Stirring in the cheerful light,
Passes third of life unconscious,
Sunk in slumbers of the night.
But the dead and gone, the vanished,—
Who can count the dim host o'er,
All the shadowy generations
Who have flourished heretofore?

All together, dead and living,
Since the human shape began,
Organ of self-conscious spirit,
Form one vast Colossal Man.
Cave-roofed, dwelt he in the twilight
Of the prehistoric time;
Beastlike first, he gradual lifted
From the earth a front sublime.
Growth diffused o'er countless ages
And the round of earthly space,
Still, o'er death and change triumphant,
Upward moves the human race.
Many-climbed and hued and tongued, it
Is the same at heart and core,
Wheresoe'er its tribes and races
Zones of earth are scattered o'er.

Vanguard of it, beauty, genius,
Make like fabled angels seem;
While its rearward, low-browed, bestial,
Scarce of reason shows a gleam.
O'er it toiling, sinning, warring,
Striving happiness to taste,
Shine the silent constellations
In the heavens' boundless waste.

Yawns the earth beneath it marching,
Hides its tired ones evermore;
While, to fill its thinned ranks, new-born,
Eager generations pour.
Still, need, greed, desire, and foresight,
And ideal longings vain,
Keep its myriads in motion,
Seeking pleasure, shunning pain.

'Tis a product, evolution
Of creative, nameless Power,—
Slowly, slowly 'tis unfolded
More and more to perfect flower.
First by sense with bright illusions
'Twas environed in its youth,
But, at length by Reason guided,
Bows it now to sway of Truth.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

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

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For *The Index*.

Misgovernment of Great Cities.

Read before the Liberal Union Club, Boston, May 23, 1885.

BY FRANK P. CRANDON.

(Concluded.)

The practice of purchasing municipal legislation is not peculiar to American cities. It may assume other forms, and be classed as the payment of costs or fees. Thomas Hare, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, says as to London: "The ascertained cost of legislation to the companies who are forced to seek it is enormous. Railway bills have cost from £650 to £1,000 per mile. Power to make twenty-nine miles of railroad cost the Herford Company £250,000, equal to \$1,250,000; and, before a spade was put in the ground, the Great Northern Railway had paid £420,000, or \$2,100,000, in parliamentary costs."

Is it not reasonable to expect that companies paying such enormous charges will attempt to obtain privileges and concessions somewhat commensurate with the outlay involved, and that they will endeavor to recoup from the public the money which was paid in the securing of their charter?

No opposition will be offered to the proposition that it should be practicable for any corporation to obtain a legitimate proper franchise, without the payment of fees, for legislative favors. It ought always to be understood that illegitimate privileges, or concessions prejudicial to the interests of the community, could not be obtained at any price. The security of the public in all these cases is in the *personnel* of the city government.

If it is practicable to put into that government men of character and integrity, and only such men, the problem is solved. If this be not practicable, it would seem as if the only alternative is to go on from bad to worse, until the whole municipal system breaks down under the weight of evils which are inseparably connected with its present organic form, and makes way for some new system of governmental control.

And this brings us to the consideration of ways and means of correcting and preventing the evils

which have been referred to, as well as the long, long list of other evils which from time to time force themselves upon the attention of the public.

Serious as are the evils under which municipal governments are laboring, great as are the embarrassments growing out of our conservatism, the opposition of vested rights, and the clamor of charlatans and demagogues to whom the establishment of a thoroughly honest and efficient government would be the loss of their entire stock in trade, and difficult of application as are the principles on which we must rest our plans, still I do not believe that the present situation is hopeless or remediless. I found my opinion on the conviction that a large majority of the people desire good government, and that, when the matter can be presented to them in an intelligible manner, they will give a cordial support to the measures by which it can be secured.

The first work, then, of those who are interested in the question of municipal reform is, after a thorough study of the subject, to formulate a system of city government which will secure all the legitimate results for which municipal governments are organized, while it reduces to the minimum the opportunities for official malfeasance.

I understand that in Boston there is an association for this purpose. I should be glad to know that similar associations were formed in each of our great cities. Through such organizations, the results of the most careful study might be generally disseminated, and the public interest thoroughly aroused. I would be glad to make some contribution to this general purpose, even if my offering be of insignificant value.

It is manifestly impracticable for me, in this paper, to treat of the details of the subject. Permit me, however, to suggest a few general principles which it seems to me must underlie any successful municipal structure, whatever be its form.

And, first, I would announce, not at all as a new idea, but as one which cannot be too often repeated or too thoroughly emphasized, that *there must be a radical and a perpetual divorce between partisan politics and the management of municipal affairs.*

There is no natural connection between these interests. A municipal corporation is purely a business institution. It has to do with matters of sanitation, with sewers, pavements, docks, police, and public buildings. It maintains parks, to some extent regulates railroad and gas companies, and provides the city with a supply of water. It collects and disburses the public revenue, establishes and maintains a fire brigade, lights and cleans the streets, regulates and inspects the public markets. These and all other duties, which are appropriately devolved upon the corporation, demand for their successful and efficient discharge business tact and skill, honesty, and a fair share of common sense. There is no legitimate duty which a municipal officer will perform either better or worse, because he is a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent. There is no more reason for inquiring into the political sentiments of a mayor or any subordinate municipal officer than there is for asking as to the political preferences of a bank president, a railway president, or the members of the board of directors of either of such corporations.

The city government has no purely political functions. It cannot determine any questions of finance, or tariff, or domestic or foreign policy. It is merely a business agency for managing those specific affairs which have been placed in its care, and it will be most successful when it is administered by officers who are selected on account of their special adaptation to the work they are expected to perform.

In our country, political party preferences are frequently so strong as to control votes in favor of a candidate notoriously unfit for the position for which he has been named. The voter feels that he owes fealty to his party, irrespective of the merits or the demerits of that party's candidates; and this sentiment of the voter is utilized by the office seekers to secure a support which they could not otherwise obtain.

Not unfrequently the canvass which precedes a municipal election is simply an appeal to political preferences and party associations. The real issue—to wit, the honesty and capacity of the several candidates to discharge the duties of the offices to which they aspire—receives next to no consideration; and, in the end, the success of party candidates is esteemed a fitting occasion for congratulation and rejoicing, even when the effect is to displace efficient officers for those who are inefficient.

The elimination of partisan politics from municipal affairs would be an important and a significant reform. To the place-hunters and spoilsmen of politics, it would be an official "notice to quit"; and it would mean that the municipal constituency had determined that the administration of city affairs should be conducted on business principles. It would help to make it practicable to secure and retain good men in the public service.

It is not often that those gentlemen whose services either in the council or in the executive departments of the city government are most to be desired will undertake to secure a nomination and election through the use of the regular party machinery. The prerequisite manipulation demands more patriotism and self-sacrifice than even good men ordinarily possess. It is difficult to see why any man who ought to be elected should so earnestly desire the position of councilman or alderman in the city government as to be willing to pay for what it costs in time, money, and self-respect, when it comes to him as the result of a political party nomination.

If obtained, it only offers an opportunity for appropriating to the public interests a large amount of time and gratuitous service. Its only compensation must be that which comes from a sense of having faithfully and honestly discharged a duty. This is hardly sufficiently inspiring to attract the best men to the public service.

Mr. Shorey, in the pamphlet already referred to, in discussing another topic, says: "An instance will illustrate what I mean. Last spring, an educated gentleman in the First Ward had faithfully served the public interests in the city council for six years. He was not at all anxious to continue in the public service, and very properly refused to make any personal exertion to secure a renomination. The business men of that ward, in which there is probably two hundred million dollars worth of property, paid little or no attention to the matter; and the result was the loss of an excellent representative of the character and intelligence of the city in the council."

This is a case directly apposite to my argument. The successor to the councilman whose loss to the council Mr. Shorey deprecates was the proprietor of a miserable groggery, who secured the party nomination.

Experience in former discussions leads me to anticipate here an objection which may be formulated thus: "Admitting all that you urge as to the evils of party politics in municipal affairs, and also as to the desirability of such divorce as you suggest, there still remains the fact that they cannot be separated." The validity of this objection I am in no wise prepared to admit. It assumes that the mass of the people are indifferent to the matter of good government, that the voters of any municipi-

pality have more regard for an intangible, ineffectual, inoperative political success than they have for the correct and efficient management of city affairs. I do not believe that this is true. It will seem to be true so long as municipal elections are handed over to professional politicians and ward bummers for management. But let the prominent and influential gentlemen in all political parties unite in an effort to elect only the best men to municipal positions, let them present only candidates of recognized ability and character, let the people be made to realize that there is absolutely no political principle involved in the contest, and they cannot be controlled by professional political leaders.

We are not without illustrations of the truth of this theory. In New York, the good people of all political parties united for the overthrow of the Tweed dynasty, as they did in Philadelphia to depose McManes, and as they have since done in Cincinnati and Chicago. Under proper management, these occasional and spasmodic exhibitions of non-political elections may become the rule rather than the exception, as applied to municipal governments.

Looking to this end, municipal elections should be made to occur at dates as remote as possible from those fixed for National and State elections, so that there may be the least possible complications with outside issues, and the least temptation to quote these elections as indices of public sentiment.

But more than to anything else and, in my judgment, more than to all things else, the misgovernment of our great cities is chargeable to our *practically unrestricted suffrage*. I say unrestricted, because the facility with which all regulations as to naturalization and registration are evaded makes it a comparatively easy matter for any individual to vote at least once at any election. Those cities which are constantly receiving a large influx of foreign immigration, which is both ignorant and impoverished, are the greatest sufferers; but all municipalities are placed in jeopardy by this irresponsible and unintelligent suffrage.

I do not enter the lists as an opponent of what is termed "manhood suffrage," when applied to State and National elections; that is, when applied to the determination of political questions. But neither the same nor similar conditions can be predicated of municipal corporations.

I restate a proposition which has already been emphasized in this discussion; to wit, *that the municipality is a business corporation*. It may not be strictly analogous to a corporation operated for private interests, such as a great railway company or a manufacturing establishment; but that it is far more nearly allied to one of these than it is to any political institution will not, I think, be seriously disputed.

It is a joint stock affair, in which the tax-payers are the stockholders, and to them substantially should the management of its business be committed. I am aware that this proposition will be criticised as undemocratic and anti-American, but I am none the less convinced that it is logical and worthy of support.

Subtract from the body of the electors that element which would be eliminated by the application of this principle, and such a dynasty as that of Tweed and Sweeney in New York, McManes in Philadelphia, and Carter Harrison in Chicago, would be an absolute impossibility. The substratum of all ring rule in municipal affairs is that suffrage which is subject to manipulation and purchase by adroit and unprincipled managers, and which by artful appeals may be induced to regard all property owners as its natural enemies.

The present government of Chicago owes its existence, in a great measure, to the immunity that has been extended to gamblers, thieves, tramps, thugs, and communists, who, in consequence of this immunity, rally to the support of our present mayor at every election, and resort to every species of fraud in his behalf. In return, they are permitted to ply their nefarious avocations practically unmolested.

The votes of the tax-payers of Chicago would elect an entirely different class of city officers,—officers who would administer the government in the interests of good citizens rather than in the interests of the criminal classes. Is it possible that there can be any question as to which policy ought to prevail?

I do not want to be understood as including the entire non-tax-paying classes in one group, or as making any sweeping assertions which would apply to them indiscriminately. On the contrary, I know very well that many of them are among our best citizens, and entirely worthy of the public confidence and respect. I would willingly consent to any scheme which would put all good citizens into the voting class and all doubtful and unworthy citizens into the ranks of the non-voters. I am aware that the tax-paying suffrage is not an ideally perfect theory, nor free from many objections which may be strongly urged; but I am, however, unable to devise any system which will more nearly accomplish what is needed than the one which I have suggested, and I am unable to see how it works any hardships to any one.

None of the rights or liberties of the non-tax-paying citizen would be imperilled in consequence of his inability to vote at municipal elections. The powers of the corporation cannot be legitimately exercised to his damage. If they are so exercised illegitimately, then the courts are open for his protection, and will be found vastly more efficient for that purpose than would be the power to vote. And why is it not safe as well as equitable to commit the management of the business of the corporation to the stockholders,—the tax-payers? They are the parties most directly and positively interested. All kinds of public improvements—the maintenance of good order, the security and protection of life and property—affect them more vitally than they affect other citizens.

Would not a fire department which would be satisfactory to the owners of warehouses, banks, hotels, offices, commercial establishments, and costly private residences, be entirely adequate to the needs of those who own no buildings? Would not a police establishment which would serve to protect the public and private property of Boston be sufficient to meet all the necessities of the rest of the community?

In the matter of improving streets and the laying out and ornamenting of drives and parks, would not the improvements made by the owners of property as a means of enhancing its value, as well as for the purposes of personal enjoyment, be a satisfactory provision for the use and comfort of those citizens who were not asked to contribute toward the expense of making them?

In many cities, the cost of all such improvements as sewers, pavements, sidewalks, street-lamps, and watermains, is charged directly on the abutting property, and are only constructed when petitioned for by a majority of the property owners, who will be called upon to pay for them. In all such cases, the very existence of these improvements is a sufficient answer to the objection that public works would be impeded by an administration elected by the tax-payers.

Indeed, it is reasonable to expect that the very opposite would be true, and that, with the assur-

ance that public works would be managed with honesty and economy, the sentiment in favor of their construction would constantly increase.

There are two interests which I think it probable that non-tax-paying citizens would be unwilling should be left entirely in the hands of their tax-paying neighbors. I refer to the provisions to be made for general education and the proper and sufficient care of the poor.

I do not personally feel that even these interests would thus be in any degree jeopardized. They might, however, be so guarded and protected in the organic act of incorporation as to be placed absolutely beyond danger.

What would be the result, if, in our great railway corporations and large manufacturing companies, the boards of directors, instead of being chosen by the stockholders, were to be elected by the employés? What would be the relative probability of securing a competent and efficient management? There could be but one outcome to such a policy. Stockholders and employés would soon be involved in one common ruin. Query: Can the municipal corporation, acting on a similar policy, escape a like disaster?

But here, again, I expect to meet the objection once before noticed; namely, that the plan, whatever be its merits, is an impracticable one.

It will be said that, where the elective franchise has once been conceded, it cannot be recalled. I recognize the difficulties of the situation, but do not admit that they are insurmountable. Guards, limitations, and restrictions, such as iron-clad registration, increase in length of domicile, and proofs of residence, have been imposed on the elective franchise by legislative authority in subsequent enactments; and it is but taking another step in this direction to establish the principle which I have been advocating. I am informed by jurists whose opinion is conclusive of the question that it is entirely competent for the legislature, when organizing municipal corporations, to prescribe the conditions under which the elective franchise shall be exercised. If, then, the legislators should come to approve this method, it could readily be applied in erecting future municipalities.

In the case of cities like Boston, where there are two legislative bodies in the city government, we might, perhaps, make one of them elective by the popular vote, and the other by a vote of the tax-payers only. It might be required that appropriation bills and bills for raising the revenue should receive the approval of both bodies.

Then, by and by, when you shall have come to the conclusion that only one legislative body is needful, you might decide to retain the one elected by the tax-payers and abolish the other.

Or, without in any way interfering with the right of suffrage in the case of any one who is now a voter, it might be determined as to any one who is not now a voter that he should not hereafter be entitled to the municipal franchise, unless he be a tax-payer.

If this principle be correct, as I believe it to be, and if it be accepted by thoughtful men as one of the conditions of honest government, the method by which it may be incorporated into the municipal system will be devised.

I notice one other particular in which reform in municipal governments is imperatively demanded; that is, *the consideration which is given to the needs of the proletariat*. The truth of the aphorism, "No man liveth to himself," more and more imposes itself on the attention of thoughtful men. It is a truth which neither individuals nor aggregations of individuals can afford to ignore.

The first problem in social science ever submitted for consideration was, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

It would seem as if ever since that time the world had been endeavoring to find a negative answer to the question. No such answer has been found. No such answer can ever be found, because the law of reciprocal obligation is always operative in society.

Evade the subject as we may; put it on one side and refuse to consider it, as many do,—characterize it as Utopian, or sophistical, or chimerical,—nevertheless, it constantly reasserts itself with the declaration, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

We may wrap ourselves in a mantle of selfish exclusiveness, and refuse to recognize these obligations; but, ever and anon, the jostling of passing events will remind us of neglected duties.

Our responsibilities in this regard are not confined to legal formalities, nor bounded by them. They have to do with our relation as members of one common brotherhood. Our employés have claims upon us in addition to the stipulated compensation for services rendered, and our recognition of their technical rights: claims upon our sympathy with their sufferings and misfortunes; claims upon our moral support in their contests with temptation; claims to our encouragement in all their efforts for improvement, and to our helpful care in every time of need.

The claims of our neighbors who are not our employés are equally valid and imperious. Personal interest, as well as our obligations as good citizens and honest men, forbid us to ignore these claims. There is a tendency prevalent in society to limit these obligations by the narrowest possible lines.

Men look askance at the various manifestations of evil in the community; and, instead of working and planning for the correction of the evil, they expand their thoughts and efforts in devising better safeguards for their personal interests, in the vain hope that, when the storm does come, their defences will be found sufficient. When the ruin comes, however, the strong and the weak are involved in one common catastrophe.

The granger organizations which a few years ago wrought such disaster to the railway interests of the North-west, the strikes prevalent in connection with mining and manufacturing industries, and the riotous demonstrations and destructive agencies of the commune, serve as illustrations.

We deprecate these outbursts. They ought to receive the severest condemnation. Their effect can only be to aggravate the very difficulties by which they are inspired. But they have their origin, to a very considerable extent, in the indifference of society to its obligations to the laboring classes.

The municipality is charged with certain obligations to its proletariat. On the proper discharge of these obligations, the contentment, sobriety, and good citizenship of this part of the community will very largely depend. Among other things, it ought to be the care of the city that the houses built for the accommodation of this population are properly constructed, having a proper regard to the health and comfort of the inmates; that the streets where they live are properly lighted and sewered and cleaned; that they have an ample supply of pure water; that public baths are established for their use; that libraries and reading-rooms are provided for all who will use them; that public parks are established with some reference to the convenience and comfort of this part of the people; and that some simple entertainment, such as music in the parks, be furnished for them.

The expense both of time and money which might be involved in carrying out these and such other plans as should be instituted in behalf of this part of the city's population would afford the most ample returns, even when considered as an invest-

ment. It would lessen the amount of crime and disorder. It would cultivate a spirit of contentment and self-respect. It would reduce the demands made upon the hospital and poor relief funds, and it would increase the value of taxable property. There would be no quarter of the city which was practically assigned to the criminal and degraded classes, no localities which would have the reputation of the old Five Points of New York or the Levee of Chicago. I do not mean that we should in this way remove all destitution, degradation, or crime, but that we would reduce these evils to their smallest dimensions, that we would advance every material and social interest of the city, and would discharge a duty that is devolved upon us by the claims of humanity, the instincts of self-interest, and the principles of the wisest political economy.

I am aware that in this discussion I have treated the subject of municipal governments in the merest outline. I am confident that the committee, in response to whose courteous invitation I am with you to-night, did not expect me to do more: otherwise, not the general topic, but some special branch of it, would have been selected for consideration.

A friend who kindly looked over my manuscript said to me that I had written what might be considered a *preface* to the subject given us for discussion. If, in your judgment, I have done even as much as that, I shall feel that my work has not been a failure; for the preface ought to indicate the purpose and the scope of the work which is to follow. I shall anticipate with interest the appearance of the successive chapters of the work on municipal reform, as your organization, or some other, may from time to time send them forth to the world. And I want to assure the authors, whosoever they may be, that their contributions will find an earnest and interested student in the writer of the preface.

For *The Index*.

BREAKING THE BOY'S WILL.

BY HUDSON TUTTLE.

"I wish to talk with you, Morris," said his father, taking the boy by the hand, and leading him from the supper table to the parlor. Morris hung down his head, and doggedly followed. He was a strong boy of ten, overflowing with activity; and, as this was not always well directed, he was called mischievous and unmanageable. This day, the story had preceded him from school: that he had thrown water on the school-house steps, which, freezing, had made them so slippery that several scholars had fallen, and one had been severely injured. As he usually was chief in such misdemeanors, the teacher at once accused him of this one; and, as he did not deny the implication, a severe flogging was the punishment, and he went home with a blistered palm. Served him right! We shall see. If torture is the best method to give a child moral strength, the rod is of more value than the words of persuasion.

"Morris," said his father, sternly, "I am ashamed of you. You are constantly disgracing us all."

The boy glanced appealingly to his mother. She was kind to him, and loved him tenderly, but she did not understand him; and, instead of guiding his restless spirit, and seeing in it the promise of energetic manhood, she regarded it as depravity, to be subdued by punishment. She regarded it as a duty to overcome her sympathy for the culprit. To the appealing look of the boy, she replied: "A shame! He has had his head too long, and his will must be broken. Spare the rod, and spoil the child! I am afraid we have been too gentle with him, and that he will bring us enough of sorrow!" A hard expression came into the boy's face, and his breath came thick and fast. He glanced at his father to see if he meant as harshly as his words implied. It was dark and forbidding. "Such conduct," continued his father, "will soon bring you to crime. The scholars you have in-

jured are now suffering; and one of them, it is said, may die. Then you, Morris, will be a murderer!"

A thrill of horror shot through the boy's frame; but his will was strong, and he held back the tears. He suddenly felt that he was a fearfully wicked boy; and, with that thought, he lost his self-respect.

"Morris," said his father, "I hate to punish you, but I must. I love you, and, for that very reason, must do so."

"If you are not punished," said his mother, gravely, "you will go on and on, and, at last, you will get to the gallows. I shall have to see my little boy hung."

The tears were in his eyes now; and, had he received one kind word, he would have sobbed out his repentance. His parents would have thought a kind word out of place. Under the stairway was a dark closet into which his father placed him, and shut the door. He heard the bolt spring into place, and he was shut out from the world. He felt utterly deserted, friendless, and forsaken. He had set out for some sport, and had no intention of harming any one. He was ashamed and sorry for the deed. He had said to himself a hundred times, he never would be so reckless again. He felt that it was not because he was bad, but thoughtless; the teacher had punished him severely, and that ought to suffice. His parents were unjust, and their love was to him hate and vengeance. The tears dried, and his eyes gleamed with anger. He kicked at the door, and threw himself against it, crying: "Let me out! I hate you all! Let me out, I say!" His mother replied, "Morris, you are a bad boy; and, now, you know how you'll feel when they put you in a prison cell, and keep you for years and years."

This dreadful picture was too real to him: he sank down on the floor, and scarcely breathed. He heard them talking about him still. Sister Lou had come in, and was pleading for him.

"May I let Morris out, father?" she asked.

"Not yet, Lou. He is terribly wicked; and it is better he have this slight punishment than be a sinful man, and go to hell."

"Oh, don't say that, father! I can't bear to hear about that fearful place and the devil!"

"Better you hear than suffer unending wrath. Morris is led by the devil, who plans his mischief for him. I must deal heavily with him."

The boy almost held his breath, as he listened. He was losing his anger; and the darkness, combined with the ideas he had so often heard of hell and the devil, awoke his fears.

"Father, father, dear father, let me out!" he almost screamed.

"Not as long as you have that tone of voice," was the reply.

"Do, do, do, dear father. I shall die, if you don't. It's so dark!"

"It will not be dark in hell, where you will go unless you are a better boy," replied his father, who thought he must not yield, until his boy's "will was broken."

There was no reply, and they thought his silence meant anger. After a time, the father opened the door and led Morris out, pale and silent still.

"Lou will put you to bed," said his father; "and I hope you will think over how wicked you are, before it is too late."

There was no good-night or kiss of love; and, without a word, he followed Lou to his room, where she tucked the blankets around him, and, bending, kissed him, saying softly: "Never mind, Morris. Lou loves you, and don't think you are bad."

She went away, and it was dark. He thought of the prison, of hell, the devil, the gallows, and asked himself again and again, "Am I such a wicked boy?" Then the thoughts became pictures; and he saw the deep pit of fire, and the flames dancing high around groups of boys, and amid the flames the evil one, with horns and a spear heated red at the point. Then came fearful animals and hideous faces, grinning, staring at him, and dark cells of prisons, and tall gallows on which dangled wicked men. And the gallows cried, "I am for you!" and the cell said, "Come, let me shut you in with my iron bolts"; and out of the flames the evil one darted at him his spear. Tightly over his head he drew the coverlets, and, ready to scream with fright, listened to hear some one in the rooms below. The wind,—oh, how it shrieked and cried around the corner, and at the window! It was just like a ghost,—a dreadful ghost he had heard of, that came back from the grave to

tell people of death. Then before him came pictures of ghosts and beasts and dragons, and again the flames; and the moan of the wind was like theirs in torture, and such as he would give when he died. He began to feel the heat. He scarcely could breathe. He was burning hot, and so thirsty, and his head throbbed to bursting. He saw the evil one before him: he had thrust his red-hot spear into his brain, and was lifting him up to throw him off into the flaming pit. He sprang up, screaming for help.

Father, mother, and Lou were there in a moment. They found him wild with the delirium of fever. Tender words or soothing caress had little effect on him. He raved constantly of his wickedness and his doom, until, exhausted, he sank in the stupor which is nearer death than sleep. Even then, a faint muttering, a start, showed that the images of terror had not disappeared. Weeks passed while they watched, hoping against hope, at last to be rewarded by his return to consciousness, and to know the crisis passed, he was spared to them.

Years and years have passed since then; and the father and mother, who meant well, but fearfully erred in their ignorance, have been gathered by the reaper to their reward. The boy, now past the meridian, involuntarily shudders when he recalls those early days, when the attempt was made to break his proud will, and feels that his life has been shadowed thereby.

"WAS WASHINGTON A CHRISTIAN?"

Editors of *The Index* :—

I have learned that many persons were interested in Mr. Underwood's article published in *The Index* of June 4, 1885, under the above title, and also in Mr. A. B. Bradford's letter on the same subject, published in a subsequent number. Therefore, I have decided to publish them both together in the November *Freethinkers' Magazine*. As some of your readers may desire a copy for preservation, will you please give these lines a place in your columns?

Truly yours,

H. L. GREEN.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., Oct. 6, 1885.

C. W. STEWART writes from Liberal, Mo.: "I have always admired *The Index*, as it is the exponent, largely, of the constructive side of free thought. I have for some time advocated the idea that every movement, to be enduring, must have a real basis. I hold that the theory of evolution furnishes a *natural* basis for the Religion of Humanity, just as theology has furnished a *supernatural* basis for so-called Revealed Religion. I took that ground in my late debates with Mr. Braden, and I found the people eager to listen to the new thought. I am sure that a proper understanding of this question on the part of the people would weaken the influence of theology very much, and make our victory over superstition much easier. There is not one particle of evidence in favor of special creation, while there are volumes of demonstrative evidence in favor of evolution. Theology feels the force of this, hence its efforts to bring ridicule upon scientific investigation. You are doing a good work, and have my best wishes."

For *The Index*.

LINES IN MEMORY OF HON. SAMUEL CAMPBELL.

(Hon. Samuel Campbell, proprietor of York Mills, a man of sterling character, died suddenly about two weeks ago. He was a radical in theology, and a warm friend of *The Index*. Eighty years of age, he was one of the most busy men in Central New York. He died in his office. "Inevitably," he said, "all must drift to ritualism or to rationalism." He was made by nature magnificent in body and magnificent in mind. He was affable, noble in generosity, and pure in the fullest sense of the word. He was invaluable to all public enterprises that he approved, not only by his financial help, but his personal presence and activity. Evolution has carried few of the human race beyond the point at which Mr. Campbell was constructed. His hearty friendship was extended to Cornell University, of which he was a trustee; to the State Lunatic Asylum, where he was exceedingly active; to the Farmers' Club, of Utica, of which he was President; to hospitals innumerable, and all efforts to ameliorate suffering; to the Independent Religious Society of Utica.)

Swift Azrael cut the silken thread.

"What shall I write?" the angel said.

"Write," said the Lord, "a saint is dead."

Laborare est orare.

The angel said, "Do we not count

Those saints who face the holy Mount,
And oft their sins with tears recount?"

Laborare est orare.

"He prayed not on the bended knee.

Dear Lord, our Master, unto thee!"

"Who loves my poor best loveth me."

Laborare est orare.

"E'en to the last he worked; and they

Who turn from worldliness to pray,
Is he their equal, Lord, this day?"

Laborare est orare.

"Nay!" said the angel; "but this pen

Hath never written yet of men,

Who flings the shuttle prayeth then."

Laborare est orare.

Then, from the crowd of those redeemed,

Stood forth ten thousand, as it seemed,
Saved by his loving deeds esteemed.

Laborare est orare.

Each stooping to the golden sand,

Where winds Life's River through the land,
Wrote large these letters on the strand,—

"Laborare est orare."

The angel saw, and bowed his head:

"Men's deeds outweigh their prayers," he said;

"Write, Golden Pen, 'A saint is dead!'"

Laborare est orare.

Across the golden page flamed bright,

As o'er the morning flames the light,
"Tis all of saintship to do right."

Laborare est orare.

E. P. POWELL.

OUR ARMAGEDDON.

The following brief report of Mr. Conway's address, given at his reception in this city last Friday evening, is an outline of the leading thought presented:—

Mr. Conway said that, during a long study of demons, he had made the discovery that for a part of his life he had been theologically a devil-worshipper; and, after all his refinements, this being was still a giant, using his strength like a giant. He had tried to recover on the field of philosophy a deity lost on the field of theology, but found later that theistic controversy was engaged on a problem of dynamics. Then an old Adam of Methodism rose in him; and he felt that religion was not properly concerned with theories about the origin of nature and preternatural destiny of man, but with his salvation from evils that actually afflict and degrade him. In the depths of the universe, there may be a mind to which all disorder is order, and all discord musical; and, beyond this earthly life, it may be we shall meet the lost and loved. To views and hopes involving the happiness of any, and not claiming to be essential to religion, one was glad to offer the hand of a sympathetic agnosticism. But neither the theories nor the agnosticism have any necessary relation to the moral and religious sentiment. God is good, but that god is Humanity. We need a god only whom we can love. We can love that God only who loves man. No other conception can kindle the heart. What woman loves Jehovah as she loves her babe?

Religion, by the suffrage of all the world and of all ages, is essentially the love of good and the hatred of evil. There is really but one religion, the pursuit of good and the abhorrence of evil. Religion must have a God it can love, and it cannot love either the author or the source of all the phenomena of nature. Good men may extol with their lips a deity who says, "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?" but their real opinion of the evil in a city, and of its author, if they get hold of him, may be gathered from actions that speak louder than words. A god deduced from nature would only inspire a free and fearless mind to say with an

English poet, "I believe in God, but am against him." Progress is a perpetual war against nature. Religion has its historical manifestation in recurring revolutions against the gods of nature. It has not need of any almightiness: its enthusiasm is oftener for the weak,—not for omnipotence, but for its victim, Zoroaster, Prometheus, Jesus. Human worship began with man with adoring the elements, and ends with the elements adoring man. Gods begin with pronouncing the heart totally depraved, and end with citing the human heart to prove their existence. The stream of tendency that makes for righteousness is found to be the tendency that has made man. Nature's one great balance, outweighing her weeds and ferocities, is to have evolved the conscience of man.

The task of religion now is to convert Christianity, to convert the Church. The main thing is to bring the Church under conviction of its sins against the charity, the humanity, the justice which its members claim for their Christ. The negative task of free thought is about ended. Its duty was to convince the tribunal of reasoning minds, not the unreasoning; and the verdict is clear. The service most needed by truth is now rendered by those who associate it with the loveliness of life, with culture and refinement of manners, with the oil and wine which soothe and refresh the weary, wounded travellers on the world's highways. Science must become a subject of grace. The coming human religion must depend on a trinity of heart, head, and hand, of love, knowledge, and wealth, to introduce a power to control and apply natural forces to humane ends, to create by purposed selection, to be thus a providence to mankind. The order of nature is moral disorder. There is needed a religion which shall move men to substitute moral for natural selection, and steadily remake nature into the image and structure of a perfect man. To this end, religion must convert wealth. Golden icebergs must be converted into streams that shall make our waste places rejoice and blossom like the rose. Religion needs a heaven to animate it; but it must be a heaven unclouded by doubt, the vision of a purified world. And this will be realized when a generation is trained to serve no god but perfect man, to dread no hell but human corruption, to seek no paradise but an earth transformed by art and science, a society transfigured by truth and love.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE PROPHET OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS. By Charles Egbert Cradlock (Mary N. Murfree). Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. Price \$1.25.

The most sated novel reader will find in this story new and entrancing elements of interest; for the people, their language and surroundings, are all new to romance writers. The most critical reader will find here a new field of conquest in its departures from recognized rule of plot, incident, outcome, and treatment; the most thoughtful will find subject for character study, and suggestive ideas in morals. Miss Murfree's style is dramatic, tense, vivid, and strong. When she essays to depict an emotion or a scene, she does so in words that burn in upon the reader's mind a sympathetic emotion, and bring the scene distinctly before his mental vision. Whether it is Dorinda, happy and coquettish, outlined in her healthy loveliness against "the dead, dumb finality" of the gray rock, "memorial of seas ebbed long ago, of forms of life extinct," in a grotto where she had fled to escape the coming storm of a hot day; the strange, weird scene in the fiery shadows of the "moonshiners'" cave, when Dorinda's rival suitors, one a fugitive from the law, meet, and, though filled with mutual hate and fury, show such heroic qualities; the religious meeting in the mountains, where Parson Kelsey so bravely owns his unbelief and his despair; the storm of varying emotions shown in Dorinda's soul as she sat awaiting the test of her lover's moral heroism, and her pathetic woe when she found he had failed her; or that last tragic scene, where "the prophet" sacrifices his own life for that of his direst enemy,—each and every picture and incident become, through Miss Murfree's magical pen, as real to the reader as they must have been to the writer. But it is in its revelation of the history of a struggling human soul, that of Parson Hi Kelsey, "the Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains," that the interest of the book centres. A passionate-hearted, morbidly conscientious, pure-minded, de-

voutly earnest dreamer, whose sorrowful mistake in giving to his sick wife and babe the wrong medicines, and so caused the death of his child and the insanity and final death of his wife, drove him in early manhood to seek consolation in the crude form of religion known to the ignorant mountaineers, sincere, full of faith in and longing for a higher spiritual life, hampered by his companionship with coarser-grained natures and sordid surroundings, with only nature, the mountains, and his own dreams to inspire him, it is not strange that he becomes in the solitariness of his aims alternately an enthusiastic visionary, whose rhapsodic sayings and uplifting prayers are held to be direct inspirations from God by the rough men and women for whom he preaches, or a doubting, despairing human being who cannot satisfactorily adjust his religion to his sense of justice and mercy. At last, one memorable day, with agonizing honesty, he publicly declared his doubt; and thenceforth ruin came. His mental misery before that hour is thus described: "There was skulking into his mind all that grewsome company of doubts. In double file, they came,—fate and free agency, free will and foreordination, infinite mercy and infinite justice, God's loving kindness and man's intolerable misery, redemption and damnation. He had evolved them all from his own unconscious logical faculty; and they pursued him as if he had, in some spiritual necromancy, conjured up a devil,—nay, legions of devils. Perhaps if he had known how they have assaulted the heart of men in times gone past; how they have been combated and baffled, and yet have risen and pursued again; how, in the scrutiny of science and research, men have paused before their awful presence, analyzed them, philosophized about them, and found them interesting; how others, in the levity of the world, having heard of them, grudge the time to think upon them,—if he had known all this, he might have felt some courage in numbers."

Miss Murfree has been accused (since she stepped forth from the protecting shadow of her masculine *nom de plume*) of giving incorrectly the dialect of her Tennesseans. We do not know how this may be; but we feel that the people she depicts are real characters, whose prototypes she has known and interpreted to those of us who do not know. To the eyes of a cultured stranger sojourning temporarily among them, it might seem impossible for such rugged force of character and subtle phases of feeling to exist; but few can close the volume without feeling that these are not creations, but graphic reflections of a genuine humanity.

There is, perhaps, throughout the work, a redundancy of description; yet the varying moods of nature, in these details which escape the careless eye, are caught and exhibited in such strong lights that we have no mind to find fault, but only to wish that we all could look upon nature through the author's charmed eyes. S. A. U.

ALDEN'S CYCLOPEDIA OF UNIVERSAL LITERATURE. Presenting Biographical and Critical Notices, and Specimens from the Writings of Eminent Authors of all Ages and all Nations. Vol. I. pp. 478.

In the publisher's preface to this first volume, which treats of about seventy writers, seven of whom are women, a list which begins with Ezra Abbot and ends with Thomas Arnold, it is stated that "the literature of our own day and especially of our own country will occupy in this Cyclopædia a more prominent place than it holds in any other work of its class. The conductors have secured the co-operation of those who have made contemporary writers subjects of special thought and study, and the results of their best thought and study will be presented in these pages." The alphabetical classification of writers is the one to be pursued in this Cyclopædia, and no definite limit as to the number of volumes to be issued is yet determined upon. It will not, however, be expanded to a bulk or cost that will render it unavailable by the general reading public; nor will it be so curtailed, in respect of the authors embraced or the fulness with which they are treated, as to render it inadequate to the purpose designed.

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Although this work has been eulogized by the secular press, it has been bitterly attacked by the greater part of the religious press, because the author, from the highest intellectual and moral grounds, denounces some of the superstitions which have crept into Christianity as essentially irreligious, and the men who, knowing better, teach those superstitions, as essentially dishonest.

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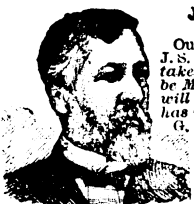
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE National Liberal League, at its late annual congress in Cleveland, changed its name to the American Secular Union. Its old officers were re-elected, and its methods of work will probably be the same as they have been the past year. Comment is reserved until we shall have read some authorized report of the proceedings.

THE new marriage law in Pennsylvania, which became operative last week, provides that no person in that State shall hereafter presume, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, to celebrate marriage between two persons, unless these persons have previously procured a license from a county official, who is authorized and required to ascertain that there is no lawful impediment to their union.

AN English exchange says: "An international congress of free thinkers, now sitting at Antwerp, has passed a resolution, declaring that 'moral responsibility does not exist; but society has a right to guard itself against criminals and madmen.'" It is doubtful whether a "congress of free thinkers" ever passed any such resolution; but, if it did, it only proves that erratic and foolish people, who call themselves free thinkers, are not confined to the New World.

THE *Free Press* (Ottawa, Ont.) mentions Queen Victoria's determination to ask the new parliament to pay the expense attached to the bestowal of the Order of the Garter upon Prince Henry of Battenberg in the following rather republican manner: "It will be nip and tuck whether parliament will vote the money or not; but the vote against it will be so large, and the speeches delivered so republican, that the Royal Family of England will receive an eye-opener as to the future of monarchy. If the Queen is wise, she will pay the expense of that garter out of her own private income, if Prince Henry is too poverty-stricken to pay for the honors he wears."

THE London *Daily News* of recent date says: "Mr. George Jacob Holyoake delivered an address in the Birmingham Town Hall to an audience of upwards of two thousand persons, on the 'Art

of making Things Plain in Daily Life.'" Mr. Daniel Baker, who presided, referring to the address, said that, "seeing the indecision shown by workmen in the choice of a candidate in one of their new boroughs, it would have been an advantage if Mr. Holyoake, who in former years had been a workman and a teacher among them, had been chosen. Not without a reputation in England and abroad, and being a townsman, many thought he had stronger claims than some candidates before them to nomination to one of the seven seats of the town."

CARDINAL NEWMAN advises Catholics to assist the Conservatives in maintaining the Established Church against the attacks of its enemies, declaring that it is one of the greatest bulwarks of England against atheism, by which he means, no doubt, all liberal thought which makes reason the highest authority, and attaches more value to the revelations of science than to the traditions and dogmas upon which are founded both the Roman Catholic Church and the Established Church of England. A despatch says: "Many affect to see in the cardinal's exhortation nothing more than a political adoption of the Roman Church's principle that any religion is better than no religion; but his words have attracted universal attention here, and will undoubtedly assist the Conservatives, who, as a party, stand by the Church, to secure an alliance with the Irish party."

In an article on the Progress of German Republicanism, the *Day Star* says: "We watch with great interest the struggles and successes of those men who, though now denounced as traitors, Communists and Socialists, will one day be recorded among the patriots and heroes and martyrs of liberty. They now hold in Germany the same relative position to the empire that Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin occupied toward the English government in the days of the American Revolution. Although known as Socialists in Germany, the people of that country, engaged in the present great struggle, are contending for the very same rights that our ancestors demanded when they revolted against British oppression. They demand the right of self-government as against an imperial government; and they insist upon the exercise of the rights of freemen, instead of the abject slavery of subjects."

THE *Religio Philosophical Journal* publishes letters which show that the editor, a year ago and more, regarded the Mrs. Beste, recently exposed in Hartford, as unworthy of confidence. He wished to subject her performances to test conditions, making an offer that her friend, to whom he wrote, admitted was "very fair"; but the medium declined, with an air of injured innocence, to accede to the proposition. The *Journal* of last week contained a full account of the Hartford *exposé*. Mrs. Beste admitted that, in her exhibitions not only in that city, but in Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, the "materializations" were spurious; that the "representations were false in every nature; that the material used for said representations was a combination of thin white lawn,

or tulle, and luminous paint; and that the voices of said pretended spirits were simply representations of my own vocal power." She made this statement under oath, and promised to "desist from any further exhibitions." After all, what the medium admitted under the circumstances stated is of but little importance; but what was discovered leaves no room for doubt that her performances are of a very unspiritual, of a very mundane, character. A question with many intelligent and honest inquirers is whether "materializations" ever appear under conditions precluding the possibility of fraud.

THE Society for Ethical Culture of Philadelphia has begun its first year's work under the direction of Mr. S. B. Weston. Prof. Adler opened the lecture course last Sunday. Mr. Weston will deliver his inaugural discourse next Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, in Natatorium Hall, Broad Street, below Walnut. An Ethical Class will be formed for children of about twelve years of age; and it will meet in the hall at half-past four Sunday afternoons, and be in charge of Mr. Weston. A school will soon be established with an educational system similar to that of the Workingmen's School of New York, with a course of moral and religious instruction for children in harmony with the principles of the Society. Mr. Weston desires parents who wish to send children to this school to make early application. The publications of the Ethical Societies will be for sale at the door of the hall before and after the meetings, or may be had on application to Mr. Hugo L. Hund, 18 Hamilton Street. Mr. Weston's address is 3202 Race Street. There are, we trust, many Liberals who will join this Society,—a statement of the principles of which are given on another page,—and sustain Mr. Weston in the noble movement he has inaugurated in Philadelphia.

THREE circular letters come to us from John H. Graham, Richmond, Quebec, in which the writer declares that he is "in favor of the independence of Canada first, and an International Confederation, or Alliance of co-equals in status, rights, privileges, and prerogatives, afterwards." Mr. Graham would have the alliance "between Independent Canada and the United Kingdom or other sovereign nations" not political, but "defensive and commercial." An alliance with Great Britain would pave the way, he says, "for an International Alliance of all independent 'English-speaking' peoples; and, in due time, for a Caucasian Confederation, with all its immense possibilities." "The status, environment, and aspirations of Canada," he says, "unmistakably indicate her capability to become the model republic of the world." The third letter concludes thus: "A new nation is about to be born. Let the honored mother rightly interpret the favorable 'auspices,' and rejoice in the future promise of her offspring." These letters were evidently written in a very hopeful and optimistic mood, as well as in a spirit which many Canadians would regard as somewhat revolutionary. Whether Mr. Graham is in communication with the Canadian government we are not advised.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

Among people equally interested in the promotion of education in the Southern States, both among the negroes and the poor whites, there is a difference of opinion as to the constitutional right of the national government to appropriate money for the object. Important as is an educated ballot to the national security, it is questioned whether this matter has not been left to the States, and whether the government at Washington can lawfully act upon it without a change in the national Constitution. There are persons, too, who have much wisdom in educational matters, who seriously doubt whether, in the long run, popular education would not be hindered rather than promoted by the granting of subsidies to the States from the national treasury. It is pretty well established that those States which have large reserve funds for the support of public schools do not show the best educational results. The people grow accustomed to depend upon the funds coming to them from the State treasury, and do not manifest that local interest in the schools which naturally accompanies local taxation for them. Of course, a Congressional bill (provided the question of its constitutionality were settled) for aiding education in the States from the national treasury might guard, at least in part, against this danger, by requiring the States to raise a certain sum, proportional to their population and wealth, in order to secure the national largess.

But it is not our purpose now to discuss these questions. While seeing the constitutional difficulty and recognizing also a force in the other objection just noted, we have been inclined to strain a point and run some risk, so all-important has it appeared to our judgment that, along with the grant of universal suffrage, should go the requirement of universal education. We have therefore been disposed to favor the national education measures which have been introduced into Congress. We should prefer, however, to see this matter put on clear ground by an amendment to the national Constitution. Popular education is an essential condition of a free State. And, as the national government is directed by its Constitution to guarantee a republican form of government to each of the States, so should it be directed to guarantee a certain amount of education to every child of sound mind within the whole domain of the Union,—the work to be accomplished by the joint action of the national and the State governments.

But this is a consummation far off,—possibly, never to be attained. Meantime, it is very encouraging to note any progress going on in the South itself toward overcoming the ignorance of the great mass of its population. There is clearly a pretty general awakening among thinking people there as to the great need. The State legislatures are making larger appropriations for public schools, and normal schools are springing up under State control for the education of colored as well as white teachers. There is, too, a broad idea manifest in respect to the kind of education required. It is seen that book knowledge is not all,—that industrial education is quite as important. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, who has recently travelled extensively in several of the Southern States, gives some good testimony on this point in the September number of *Harper's Magazine*. He says: "The thoughtful and the leaders of opinion (in the South) are fully awake to the fact that the mass of the people must be educated, and that the only settlement of the negro

problem is in the education of the negro, intellectually and morally. They go further than this. They say that, for the South to hold its own,—since the negro is there, and will stay there, and is the majority of the laboring class,—it is necessary that the great agricultural mass of unskilled labor should be transformed, to a great extent, into a class of skilled labor,—skilled on the farm, in shops, in factories,—and that the South must have a highly diversified industry. To this end, they want industrial as well as ordinary schools for the colored people."

In connection with the above statement, notice may here be taken of an excellent institution in the western part of Virginia,—the "Miller Manual Labor School" for orphan children. This school is named for its founder, Samuel Miller, who, beginning life as a poor boy, died one of the wealthiest men in Virginia, and set an example for the use of his wealth which cannot have too many imitators. During his lifetime, he was a liberal giver to educational institutions; and, at his death, he bequeathed over a million dollars to establish and carry on this Manual Labor School, which has been in operation since 1878. It is open to both sexes, and has, at the present time, two hundred pupils. Its farm of one thousand acres affords facilities for practical instruction in agriculture, horticulture, and bee-culture. The course of studies corresponds with those pursued in a Technological Institute. There are also shops where training is given in the manufacture of iron, brass, and wood wares, and in the management of steam and electrical machinery. The school is thoroughly equipped in all its departments, and affords not only education, both literary and industrial, to the fortunate recipients of Mr. Miller's bounty, but also food and clothing. It is another Girard College, but, it is to be hoped, without that dishonest evasion of the founder's intentions which blots the management of its prototype in Philadelphia.

This admirable institution, presumably, is confined to white pupils, though we have seen no statement on this point. But it is balanced by the noble school in Eastern Virginia, the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, of which Gen. S. C. Armstrong is the President, and which is doing even a more extensive educational work among the negroes, with the addition in late years of an Indian department. The usefulness of this institution cannot be overestimated. It presents a model for the whole South. It has been in existence long enough for its beneficial results to be distinctly traceable through the influence of the pupils it has sent out to be teachers and workers among their race. The Hampton School has been, from its foundation, one of the foremost agencies in pioneering that new and higher civilization which is now beginning to dawn in the South. Though recognized, we believe, as a regular beneficiary of one of the Evangelical Home Missionary Societies, it has been conducted in such a broad way as to win the good opinion and the constant financial help of people of the most liberal religious beliefs. Gen. Armstrong is not a man who can confine himself to any sectarian work, and to his breadth of view and aim and enthusiastic, humanitarian spirit must be attributed the fine success which has been achieved at Hampton. Of course, he has had able and zealous assistants; but he has been the working leader and administrator in the enterprise from the start.

In the mountain region of Eastern Kentucky is another educational institution, which is older than the Hampton School, and which is also doing an excellent work,—Berea College. Berea College

was in existence and was famous before the civil war. It was established by an anti-slavery colony, and its founder and his associates were driven in consequence from the State. Resuscitated after the war, it opened its doors alike to colored and to white students, and has thus, among all the educational institutions of the South, so far as we know, been doing a unique work,—educating the two races in the same building, in the same classes. The experiment has been a success. The numbers of the two races are not far from equal in the school, and color prejudice appears largely to have died out through all the surrounding region. Commencement Day at Berea is a holiday for several counties in Eastern Kentucky, when people of all classes and colors, who can afford the journey, flock to the college to attend the exercises.

It must be admitted, too, that some of the evangelical denominations have been doing not a little of good educational work in the South since the close of the war. Though their object may have been sectarian, and their methods somewhat ecclesiastical, it is yet impossible that they should have established schools anywhere with Northern money and teachers without carrying with them a good measure of the modern rational methods of education. The *Southern Workman*, the instructive journal printed at Hampton, by Hampton students, with Gen. Armstrong as its editor-in-chief, reports that the Baptists have established and are still supporting fifteen schools among the freedmen, which have a total of 2 858 students and 101 teachers. Ten of these schools have departments of industrial training in successful operation, and they all report very encouraging progress in the work done and in the quality of the students that graduate from them. The president of the Nashville school says: "It would surprise those who have never visited Southern institutions for colored people to see the proficiency which has been made in intellectual attainment during the twenty years since slavery was abolished. . . . The great majority of our students support themselves, and pay for their education with their own earnings." Similar reports are made from other institutions, and of the educational enterprises in other denominations.

There is a sprinkling, too, of individual effort, independent of any sect, in various sections of the South, to add to the too scanty educational appliances furnished by the public authorities,—as Miss Holley's school in Lottsburgh, Va., and Miss Bell's on Harker's Island, N.C. These efforts, which have had no sectarian ends in view, especially those which were started by the Freedmen's Aid Societies, have in many cases ripened into public institutions, adopted by the State or municipal authorities.

The seed which private Northern philanthropy has thus sowed here and there in the South is now bringing forth its fruit. The editorial article in the *Southern Workman*, from which we have already quoted, encouragingly adds, "Imperceptibly, even ultra Southerners are coming to look upon these schools and the power which they represent as their best safeguard against the political and social dangers which they feel to be imminent; and we venture to say with some assurance that the more intelligent and advanced among them are at last ready to lend a helping hand." Large, however, as is the number of schools which denominational and private philanthropy has sustained in the Southern States, and important as their work has been, and however encouraging may be the increased interest in popular education which is now manifest in the South itself, those who are most conversant with the Southern educational problem will be the least likely to under-

rate the magnitude or the difficulty of the task that is yet to be accomplished. They see that only a beginning has been made. They know both how vast is the field and how little of it is yet occupied. If national legislation cannot be constitutionally invoked to aid in the work, then ample room remains for private philanthropy, both North and South, not only to continue, but to increase its benefactions. Such a work cannot be regarded as sectional in whatever quarter it began or by whomever sustained: it vitally concerns the political health and safety of the whole country.

WM. J. POTTER.

EVOLUTION.

II.

The new chemistry, the chemistry of the present day, is based upon the supposition that all matter is composed of atoms; that atoms coming together form molecules; that a molecule is the smallest particle of a substance that can exist as such,—thus, a molecule of sugar is the smallest particle that can exist as sugar, any further division would break it up into its atomic elements of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; that the molecules composing a substance are in constant motion; and that the intensity of this motion is what constitutes its temperature. In entering the fields of physics, we must leave behind us the prevalent notion associated with the terms heat and cold. Heat is simply a mode of motion. A substance is warm to the human hand when its molecules are moving slightly faster than the molecules of the hand,—hot when moving much more rapidly, and cold when moving slower. The molecular vibrations of the human body are such that, when the body is brought in contact with a small column of mercury confined within a glass tube, and held in this position for a time sufficiently long for the molecular impulse of the body to be imparted to the molecules of the quicksilver, they cause the latter to swing farther and farther apart, thus increasing the height of the column of mercury until it reaches a point on the scale marked 98° or thereabouts. Thus, we say the temperature of the body, in round numbers, is 98°.

Throughout the whole universe, as Spencer teaches, there is an unceasing redistribution of matter and motion, either in the direction of evolution or of dissolution.

When this process is one of evolution, there is an integration of the molecules of matter, during which the motion or energy of the individual molecules undergoes a like process of integration or unification; and the result of this acting together as one is a motion of the whole mass in a common direction. Thus, the molecular motion of the ignited powder in a cannon, imparted to the molecules of the cannon-ball, causes its molecules as a whole (that is, the ball) to move in a common direction, thus converting heat or molecular motion into mass or molar motion. When the cannon-ball strikes an object offering resistance sufficient to arrest its flight, the sudden shock breaks up or redistributes this co-operative or corporate motion of the molecules of the ball; and each one moves, as it were, independently of the other, and the ball becomes hot,—just as when a regiment of soldiers, moving as a single living organism, throws itself upon an opposing regiment too strong for it to break, the recoil converts this unified body of men into a tumultuous mass of confused and excited individuals flying in every direction.

In the inorganic world of matter, the process of evolution apparently proceeds no further than the conversion of molecular motion into mass or molar

motion and crystallization. The movements of the planets through space, the great pulse throb of the sea, the currents in the vast aerial ocean that surrounds us, the upheaving of mountain ranges and all other terrestrial movements, come through the integration of the molecules of matter and the conversion of their individual energies into an energy acting as one, or mass motion. The process of crystallization approaches very closely the vital process, and indicates that the continuity between the inorganic and organic worlds is unbroken. With molecules of organic matter, the same tendency exists as with those of inorganic matter, but with a greater complexity of results. In the animal organism, the molecules of the body become integrated into cells, or cell animals, the cells by further integration become welded together, so to speak, forming the muscles and tissues of the body. These united cells also unite their individual energies, or a large portion, into a common or corporate energy; and the result is muscular motion and animal locomotion. The retained portion, or that withheld from this joint action, remains as molecular motion or heat, which, like a bank's reserve fund, must never fall below an energy indicated by the thermometer at 98°.

Dissolution, as said before, is a disintegration of matter, an absorption of motion. Now, to illustrate this, let us take a case of inflammation resulting from a wound. It is needless to state that inflammation is a step toward dissolution; for, if not arrested, it invariably terminates at that point.

The *English Medical Times and Gazette*, in a recent issue, in commenting on a suggestion thrown out by Dr. J. Hughlings Jackson, that inflammation should be regarded as a process of dissolution, very clearly demonstrates that the process fully corresponds to Mr. Spencer's definition of dissolution. The substance of this article I give, but not the words. Spencer's definition first asserts that dissolution is a disintegration of matter. Now, we find that the afflicted part is soft and swollen, showing that its component molecules are swinging farther and farther apart, and consequently occupying more space. These molecules that were formerly integrated into a solid, compact body, occupying but little space, now, like our regiment of soldiers mentioned above, are being converted into groups, so to speak, of excited unorganized units, muscular motion or mass motion is being dissipated or converted into molecular motion or heat. In other words, the afflicted part is hot; and muscular effort becomes difficult, if possible at all. To correct this, we bathe the afflicted part with water whose molecules are moving slower (i.e., colder) than those composing the inflamed tissue. From the water thus applied, the excited molecules can gain no accelerated motion; but, on the contrary, the slower moving molecules of the water absorb or take up the motion that would otherwise be taken up by the molecules composing the adjoining tissue. In other words, the inflammation is reduced.

Again, Spencer asserts that matter, during the process of dissolution, passes from a definite, coherent heterogeneity to an indefinite, incoherent, homogeneity. In corroboration of this, it is hardly necessary to state that, if the inflammation is not arrested, the definite, coherent, or closely co-ordinated and heterogeneous cells, such as skin, nerve, muscle, and bone cells, liquefy and pass into indefinite, incoherent, homogeneous pus cells, with a complete absorption of all motion that could be called organic or animal motion. As before stated, civilization, art, religion, and government, being the resultants of matter and life, are embraced within the same law, and proceed like them from

the simple and indefinite to the complex and definite with a constantly increasing complexity and definiteness until the point of equilibration is reached. From this point, the process is backward in the direction of dissolution.

The individual units of a savage community are strictly analogous to the units of a slightly integrated animal. Destroy one-half of such a community, and the injury is similar to that inflicted when we divided the earth worm, as far as it relates to the social organism; for the function of each individual unit in such a community, as it relates to the whole community, is identically that of another,—no social or corporate institutions are disturbed, but only an aggregate weakened; but inflict a like injury upon a civilized community possessing transportation, telegraphic, postal, and mercantile systems, analogous to the circulatory, nervous, and nutritive functions of a highly integrated organism, and the injury sustained is in exact proportion to the definiteness and complexity of such social organization. It is needless to remind the reader that a shock to any of our public or corporate organizations, particularly to our monetary system, means a wide-spread injury and suffering reaching the humblest units of the social body.

As in the terrestrial ocean, so there also goes through the ocean of infinity a great pulse throb,—the integration and disintegration of matter,—the culmination of such waves being the building, and their subsidence the unbuilding of worlds. And, to the man who first grasped and solved this great problem of the universe, more homage is due than to Pythagoras, Plato, or to any of the philosophers that have preceded him.

J. R. MORLEY.

CARLYLE AND GOETHE AND LITERARY VERACITY.

I.

To those who rightly comprehend the significance of his life, Carlyle's "reaching forth" to Goethe is not mysterious. Goethe was singularly gifted with literary veracity. Carlyle, whose nature was broadly developed on that side, was very early in life excited to sympathy and trust. To his Covenantish mind, Goethe's features were divulged with such light and force as will sometimes make the discoveries of great religious teachers startling. Here, in a world of shams, was one true man who could not have been seduced from his sphere! Carlyle rose to the revelation, and its results were evident in everything that subsequently came from his pen. Now, Carlyle was not an ideal man: he could growl much over trivial matters, and fire big shot at useless game; but the predominating truth of his life was plain in all his work, and made even the slight seasons portentous of important fruitage. Goethe, likewise, was not impeccable: we listen betimes to his songs, conscious of some want of harmony, while his private life was not all redolent of the virtues; yet the poet was primally faithful and nobly poised, attendant to all righteously conceived literary demands, and unwavering in obedience to the soul's message. However the relative minor merits and lapses of the men may shape themselves to different minds, their lives, in a general sense, uniquely stood for what was high in literature, and indicated certain lines of duty that never could be evaded by honest craftsmen. While not isolated in professional heroism, they were striking. With lesser individualities, illustration might fail of proportion. With them, certain transcendent facts stalk into the light in such guises as impose attention. When I con-

sider these, and reason forward, I can never forget that the contrasting life-forces of the men—the one rich in the world's goods, the other poor—are such as assure us, by insight deeper than is realized through some current philosophies, that in the right bosom honor is secure against the dangers of station, high or low. And this observation is vastly significant in its bearing upon the logical position of exemplary authorship.

Literary purity is not a figment. We talk volubly of "market honor" and "woman's honor" and the physical moralities, that, no doubt, have their place and weight. But, when we have done with this perishable side of life, there remain higher decisions that must govern the soul's concerns. This is peculiar ground, rarely well turned, yet profitable under examination. Whether the poets, like the merchants, might not on occasions cheat the public,—that raises an interesting question. The writer, for instance, whose words are bought, here directly, there by favor,—in him, what is the degree of offence? Carlyle had these penetrating claimants in mind more than once in hours of temptation, when the Basil Montagus and the journalists and the colleges invitingly opened their doors. One consequence of his eager honor that flouted all the devices of external pretension lies in his Goethean admiration, in an expanding love developed toward the personal force that did for literary Germany what he did for literary England. Mere reward was no proof to him of worth: even in his own case, he suspected to the last the ephemeral nature of his work; but, when reward followed uncalculating endeavor, he could, at least in himself, feel that the results did not bring in questions on the moral side of the problem. No firmer ground could have been built upon. Earth and habitation were by such choice rendered one. Carlyle, as is well known, very promptly in his career proved his adherence to the abstract as superior to the commercial view of his profession. A man who less firmly held to a saving theory would not so easily have comprehended the profound dignity and reach of Goethe's mind. What, now, have such characteristics to do with the accepted standard of literary justice?

When Miss Taylor and other brave people discuss "the obligations of veracity," they often enough lose themselves in the trivial suggestions of their search. It is not with escaping thieves or pursued murderers or priestly observances* that we find the deeper or only calls for justice and conscience. Away from the flimsier vestments, brought face to face with the soul, literature, for example, has an unwritten code, before which strong men must kneel in seemly abandonment. We pay tribute to this truth, when we say that smiles will not smooth out offence, nor the habitual indulgence of sophistry and partisan falsehood find excuse in passion and rhetoric. The man who lies to me in print steals from me more than the price of type and paper. He suspicions my purity, and appropriates credit that turns to thorns in his hands. Shakspeare, once for all, in majestic words, has rebuked those who imagine a heart emptied of honor to be more than atoned for by a purse filled with coin. Carlyle guarded his life so well that he was never forced to apologize for literary shortcomings. He was no book-maker. He wrote because he felt called. He said what he thought the times most needed. He spoke to his age, though holding aloof from it. He treated life rather as host than hostage. To Weimar, therefore, with its brother-man, he looked with that absolute confidence which begot response. It is in such incidents, rather than in those formally considered, that the "obligations

of veracity" find their best justification and finest exposition.

Literature is not to be regarded as an escape-pipe for human trifling. Its mission goes to other springs. It is good, if turned to good purposes, and bad, if turned to bad. Our distended professional wits do not comprise the whole or even an important part of the influence. There may be too many books: I hold that to be unquestionable. History proves it by narrowing its selections to ultimate particles. The literary "law" of veracity comprehends several features. It supposes necessity and sincerity. What is written without a subjective conviction that men need it, what fails to bubble unbidden from generous springs, and what is insincerely expressed though sincerely conceived, offend, all, against the interest of the community of readers. Books inspired by bank-notes may read their sentence at inception. Walt Whitman is nobler in seclusion than many an author is in forced prominence. Varnish never serves other than momentary purposes. When Hugo proved to the world that the Napoleonic dynasty could not buy his pen, he assured us of continued music. The polite poets, who revelled in splendor under Louis XIV., were buried long ago,—horse, foot, and dragoons,—poems, flings, and tales. "Veracity" presents its claim in many forms. Prescott recognized the obligation when he refused to write of the *second* conquest of Mexico, giving a decisive "nay" because he was not sufficiently distant in time and temper from the event. It must be admitted that "good men and true," in stress of poverty, have wrought upon motives of gain that do not become them. But, if I am pointed to Goldsmith's idyls, as has occurred here and there, I am lost to conceive how their spontaneity can be read through the financial argument. Necessitous circumstance may have forced labor upon certain men; but it does not follow that in such cases love of the work was wanting, or that the workers corrupted their faith in order to assure themselves of a good meal. No excellent writer known in history has been without some sense of what was owing by his pretensions to his achievements. But many sacrifice the future for the today, or shrink from an honorable obscurity into temporary positions of honor, that, while inherently degrading, do not require ostentatious surrender. Many, again, in mistaking noise for fame, have miserably resigned reason and conscience together. American history has furnished more than one attestation of this statement. We are not justified, however, in lamenting such seeming venality as always a calculation on the part of offenders. Often enough, the ideal is low, and the criminals know nothing of their invasion. To lighten the world's care and to touch its sympathy, to broaden wisdom and heighten knowledge, are guerdons little pressing upon the literary sense that has joined with the panderers to the market-places, and bargained its wares, as it would butter and cheese, for the fickle kindness of the moment.

Carlyle was less like himself when he helped secure Tennyson's pension than when he scorned the idea of assistance of that sort for his own exchequer. Literature is belittled whenever its conscience is subsidized. What we call the free press is most free when laws in no way touch it. And what is true of the craft impersonally is true of its individuals. We can easily recall many great writers who have, in one way or another, been put under official wings; but I doubt if one of these men ever found the public "protection" a cause of professional strength, while it was certainly, even in the fairest cases, one among enervating influences. Books dedicated to lords or monarchs, from whom reward is anticipated, always give a

half-contradiction to any moral purpose they may have been written to effect. A man in any special way beholden to a government is disarmed before its possible and likely corruption. Against whatever winds, he is helpless. Think of Tennyson's later poems addressed to the monarchy! Carlyle's "growl" was expected on every occasion of political moment in England. Men seemed to resent even while pleased to have it. Had he been under the surveillance of a State subsidy, would the wholesome criticism have been heard? Not once in all that long career; and, therefore, to England's eternal loss! Could there be a more crushing confutation of the whole theory of governmental patronage of authors? Though literature deserves an unlimited accretion of popular aid, that help, when it arises, must course through channels voluntary, man to man, individual appreciative to individual productive. What governments do for writers is always in some degree coercive: what is extended by individuals frees and inspires. Spencer argues that government is "born of aggression," and it is certain that only by a refined aggression can the arts secure sustenance from the State. The public purse cannot honestly be made susceptible to such influences. Legitimate duties are compromised when illegitimate duties are assumed. Literature needs only to be natural. Given free play, it always prospers and elevates. What are the "organs" of political cliques?—the pamphleteers employed to shed lustre upon administrations which would not bid for praise if they deserved it? "The liberal arts" can never inter-work with government: the assumption is self-destructive. Literature has nothing to do with laws in any sense that would interfere with the tendency of the stream. Force is a two-bladed weapon; and, in hands concrete or abstract, it is as keen to the flesh of friends as of foes. The appeal must be to constituencies that have the liberty of refusal. Mere cants, legal or social, are obnoxious to all uncurbed spirits.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

CORNELL AND CHRISTIANITY.

I have not seen any mention in *The Index* of the farewell report made by President White to the trustees of Cornell University. And yet it contains sentiments that should find a place in your columns, which is my excuse for referring here in Paris, France, to a pamphlet published in Ithaca, N.Y.

Toward the end of his report, President White says, "And now, at the close of twenty years' service here, and of this my last official report, allow me to speak regarding the general policy of the University, and to state certain principles, suggested by long thought upon the problems before us, as I have seen them dealt with at various institutions, American and foreign, and by a direct experience in dealing with them extending through nearly thirty years." Under the head of what should be the "external policy of the University," we find, among other things, these bits of wise counsel: "We should never waver from the letter and spirit of our charter, which forbids the University to be either sectarian or partisan, which abolishes all questions of political or religious creed from appointments of every sort, which asks regarding a candidate for any position, not in what creed he happened to be brought up or into what party have his circumstances thrown him, but simply whether he is, as to character and attainments, the best man who can be secured for the place. . . . When we were organized, this was considered our weakness: it was insisted that, without some sectarian connection, we would never feel be-

bind us any strong, supporting, protecting, and impelling power. The contrary has proved true. Our University has received larger gifts than any institution in this State, or perhaps in the entire country, has ever received in the same length of time; and they have come from men of both parties, and from men and women of all creeds. Sectarian attacks have helped rather than hurt us. Some of the most important gifts we have ever received have been directly stimulated by disgust at such attacks, and these gifts have been made by members of various sects in whose supposed interest the attacks have been made. So, too, these attacks have deepened and strengthened the attachment of both undergraduates and graduates to their Alma Mater. Nothing should ever be done which could afford just cause for such attacks, but nothing should be done to prevent them by yielding one jot or tittle of the unsectarian principle which is so firmly bedded in our charter.

"As regards dealing with religious questions, while the greatest respect should be shown to the general convictions of the country, and every just effort should be made to avoid giving offence, no scientific or other professor should be hindered from thinking or making any researches, or from stating in a legitimate way any results of research and thought. No greater mistake has ever been made in the interest of religion than to attempt to fetter scientific and historical research and statement on the ground of their supposed conflict with religious truth. All truth is one. Earnest efforts at seeking truth in different fields will finally be harmonized with each other. Even error honestly arrived at will do more for religion and for science than truth merely asserted dogmatically. It is an imputation against religion, rising to the height of blasphemy, to say that any quiet, thoughtful research, or statement of the results of research, can be anything but conducive to religion. No talk about the 'tendency' of any man's teaching should have any weight against him, if he be capable and honest. Religious truth, like all other truth, takes excellent care of itself. There is no danger that the human race will ever lose its religious instincts. Whenever it is said that any special teaching is irreligious in tendency, it should be borne in mind that this objection has been made in regard to almost every step in the progress of scientific truth; and, among these, the doctrines of the rotundity of the earth, of the existence of human beings on opposite surfaces of the earth, of the movement of the earth about the sun, of comets as heavenly bodies obedient to law, and not as fire-balls flung at a wicked world from the right hand of an avenging God, of geology, of chemistry, of political economy, of the practice of dissection, of vaccination, of the taking of interest for money, of eating potatoes, and a multitude of other things of the sort, have been bitterly opposed as contrary to divine revelation, and, in the interest of religion as well as of science, we may well be on our guard against adding anything to these saddest chapters of human history. . . .

"As regards religious teaching, no more happy arrangement, in my opinion, was ever made for an institution like ours than in the establishment of the Dean Sage Preachership. It has given us, probably, the most remarkable and valuable series of sermons ever preached in the United States from any one pulpit. Religious truth has been thus presented, with a breadth, freshness, and strength, such as could not otherwise have been given it. Nor has there been any clash between opinions or any real sacrifice of continuity of thought. Men have been called, who have, as a rule, presented, not sectarian views, but the great fundamental doctrines of religion. The very com-

prehensiveness of the system appeals to the instinct for fairness in students. This comprehensiveness should never be lost or even endangered. The broader the basis of choice can be honestly made, the better. Under the endowment, all shades of Christian opinion, thoughtfully held, are equal. The spirit of our charter and the gift itself forbid us to narrow its basis. . . . I would then urge that this system be steadily maintained, that no restrictions be ever imposed upon it within its present limits, that no clamor of any person shall ever lead the trustees to sanction the narrowing down of this instruction to men who are technically called 'evangelical' or even 'orthodox.' When this is done, the usefulness of the system, as regards its influence both on the faculty and students, will be gone. It would be simply sectarian preaching and nothing more. Maintained in its present form, I believe it will be more and more a blessing to the thousands who shall come here as time goes on, as well as a cause of confidence in the community at large."

These liberal, sensible words of the retiring President of Cornell are not without their necessity at Ithaca. I well remember how Prof. Felix Adler was frowned upon on the college campus, when he was a member of the Cornell Faculty; and I also recall very distinctly that, when Octavius B. Frothingham delivered two remarkable discourses in Sage Chapel, a few years ago, his honorary was not paid out of the Dean Sage Preachership Fund, but from voluntary subscriptions collected among students, professors, and the town's people. Furthermore, it was actually given out that Mr. Frothingham was not invited to the University as a Dean Sage preacher, because his religious beliefs were distasteful to a certain influential member of the board of trustees! It is only just to President White to say that he was not in Ithaca when these two events happened, but was in Europe on a leave of absence; and it is more than probable that he had them in mind, when he wrote the lines which have just been quoted. The future will show whether the wisdom and breadth of mind of the retiring President are to prevail at Ithaca, or whether young Cornell is to fall back into the humdrum religion of the generality of the old American universities.

THEODORE STANTON.

CONCEPTION OF CREATION.

In these days of unprecedented progress, men have discovered, not only new capacities, but new incapacities. The philosophical world is now particularly afflicted with a very general inability to conceive creation. It is said that a Newton approaches no nearer to the peculiar powers of a Creator than does the lowest savage, and that we should have to say the same, if Newton's powers were indefinitely exalted and augmented, because the power of creation is not among the powers possessed, and no higher degree of these could bring that in. He would be able far better to comprehend and expound and use the things that are, but he could not add an atom to their sum total, or detract an atom from it.

This confounds conception with achievement. It is cheerfully allowed that Newton has no more creative power than a flea. It is the essential element of the theory of creation that this power is peculiar to God, so that the lack of it, whether in Newton or Gabriel, is nothing to the question in debate. It is, however, exceedingly marvellous to see how men can exhibit the most exquisite operation of a faculty in the very act of denying its existence. How perfect a description of creation is this denial of it to Newton! He cannot add to (or detract from) the sum of being in the

slightest degree. That would be the power of creation. How perfectly distinct and clear! This power we deny to the finite, and ascribe it, as a peculiar property, to the Infinite. Whether or not there is any Being with such a power is another question, but the conception thereof is perfectly distinct and clear. That philosophers should universally disclaim any power of such conception is an extraordinary exhibition of an uncomprehending and depreciative modesty, which goes so far as to contradict itself. Philosophy has always shown this self-depressing infirmity just at this point. This has rendered it inconsistent in all its discussions of the question of creation, the conception of which it denies while defining it, as it must define, in order to have something to deny. After defining and denying this, it always proceeds, in accordance with the denial, to describe creation as if it were merely evolution. It is well that this issue has been distinctly raised, whether creation is, in thought and fact, only a name for evolution. For not till a thought becomes a definite mental fixture can it be effectually refuted. Evolution is only change in the existent. Creation is the beginning of an existence caused *ab extra*. Here are two thoughts perfectly distinct; and this must not be confounded with the question whether there are two facts corresponding to them, which is a separate inquiry.

WILLIAM I. GILL.

The Index.

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

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

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

It is high time for the Chinese to begin sending missionaries to us; for we seem to need instruction in morals, not to say Christianity, as truly as they. —*Congregationalist*.

THE Boston Herald says: "Most ministers enunciate the views of Paul. What the world needs is more of Jesus Christ and less of Paul." "What the world needs" is more independent thought and less authority.

THE great-grandfather of Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, of New York, the author of *A System of Psychology*, which has gained for him a reputation among the philosophic thinkers of Eng-

land, was killed in the battle of Lexington. The author's father was born in Charlestown, Mass. Woburn is now the home of many of his family connections.

"A BELIEF is void of justification, unless its subject-matter lies within the boundaries of possible knowledge, and unless its evidence satisfies the conditions which experience imposes as the guarantee of credibility."—*Huxley*.

REFERRING to that newspaper report that Jumbo, when he realized the danger from the approaching freight train, made a rush for the baby elephant, "Tom Thumb," and threw him across the track, and then tried to get out of the way himself, but was too late, *Unity* remarks, "It would seem as if the universe could not afford to spare a soul that was willing to lose its earthly life in trying to save another, even though that soul belonged to an elephant."

A RECEPTION was given Mr. W. H. Spencer and his wife last week in the parlors of the Unitarian church at Troy. About two hundred were present, including several of the clergymen of that city. "Mr. Spencer," says a Troy paper, "is a man of high intelligence, and very acceptable to his charge." Although Mr. Spencer has returned to the Unitarian fold for reasons satisfactory to himself, we trust he will continue to keep in advance of the Unitarian denomination, help to divest it of its sectarian spirit and exclusiveness, —not so marked as among the orthodox, but still existing,—and to bring it in harmony with the bold and radical liberal thought which is compelling all the churches to become broader in their views and sympathies.

SAID Heber Newton, in a recent sermon: "The sufferings of earth form the ever fresh puzzle of man. Why is there so much pain upon the earth? Why have we to suffer so keenly in this brief life? Who does not know the anguish of this question? Who, that has ever walked the wards of a hospital, does not feel it ringing through his being, challenging his faith in a good and merciful God? No one can solve this problem as yet." When an Episcopalian clergyman feels compelled to make an admission like the above, our liberal preachers, whose radicalism is limited to fierce assaults upon orthodox Christianity, might afford to exercise a little more patience with, and show a little more courtesy to, the class of thinkers called agnostics. Why should they who believe less than their orthodox neighbors show the spirit of the Pharisee toward those who believe even less than they in regard to matters of which probably nobody knows anything, and as to which minds equally able and acute honestly differ?

A FRIEND sends us the following, clipped from some newspaper:—

Bishop Peck did not belong to Indiana, but he was so well known in the State that this story of him will not be out of place. Those who knew him will remember his ponderous frame and more than aldermanic proportions. While at Evanston, Ill., once, he was stopping at the house of a friend who was extremely long and thin. Among the habitual visitors to this house was a woman who had lost her mind. She was a kind of *protégée* of the host and his good wife, and was frequent in her visits to solicit aid. The morning after the bishop's arrival, she made one of these visits; and, as she entered the doorway, the bishop came into the hall. She gazed in consternation at his immense size, and then with a look of terror threw herself on her knees in front of him, and with clasped hands exclaimed, "Oh, sir! are you the Trinity?"

In the *Cleveland Leader* of the 11th appeared a letter from Mr. E. D. Stark of that city, from which we copy the following: "The Congress of Liberals now in session in this city, as indicated

by its 'nine demands,' stands for a movement which enlists the sympathy of many intelligent people of all shades of religious belief. Those demands mean complete separation of Church and State. But the platform utterances and the active propagandism of its zealous members seem to me a very different thing. These people would not only secularize the State: they would secularize the church, the family, and the very shrine of our private devotion; and there seems some incongruity between the professed aims and the real work of the organization. An understanding of that incongruity will make it clear why so many of the foremost Liberals of the country who approve of the 'demands' yet stand aloof and refuse to co-operate with the League. The secularization of the State is a movement manifestly in the line of true progress and enlightened government; while 'secularism,' as a cult, a philosophy of life and conduct that shall serve all the high character culture and supersede the current religions, is a very different matter."

On the last Sunday in September there was a meeting of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., called to consider criticisms of the society by its late resident speaker, Mr. W. H. Spencer, in his farewell address. The older members of the society were asked to contribute something suitable to the occasion. Mrs. Bond, the present resident speaker, opened the exercises with some appropriate and pleasant reminiscences. Mr. Seth Hunt gave an interesting sketch of the society, and stated its principles and purposes, remarking that, if they were synonymous with the aim of the devil, "all I have to say is, he has been most cruelly slandered; and, if he should ever come this way, I, for one, would be glad to have an introduction." Mr. A. T. Lilly followed in a more direct reply to Mr. Spencer's criticisms. He quoted from Mr. Spencer's first address as speaker of the society, given in 1881, and from his last address, in which approval of the general objects and work of the society was expressed, and thus replied to the late speaker: "He rebukes us for isolating ourselves from the churches and their conventions, but fails to show us how we can mingle with them. . . . In the judgment of our critic, the objects for which the Free Congregational Society of Florence was organized no longer exist. Let us look at it for a moment: notwithstanding churches are liberalized to-day, as compared with the past, show me, if you can, where the church exists to-day that is not bound by a creed? We do not have to practise any concealment of the thought within us, for fear of creating displeasure or unpopularity; while, on the other hand, we have no clogs to prevent our doing good and living up to our highest ideal of morality. I say, in all candor,—and I speak from a long experience and observation,—that at no time have I been made cognizant of so much hypocrisy existing in the Church as at the present time. The more enlightened ones have outgrown their belief in the Christian dogma, and still remain in the Church, subscribing its creed. . . . It seems to me that it is no time for us to give up the vantage ground we have gained, but go forward with boldness and energy, until all mankind are freed from the bonds of a religious thralldom. Then will our work be accomplished, and not till then." The concluding speech, by Mr. Arthur G. Hill, was broad and liberal; and we regret that we have space for only a brief sentence. He said: "Let us have no free-thinker bigots, keep ourselves out of ruts, live pure lives, continue to influence all around us to be better, grow freer in thought and reason, and remember that we can learn as much from our orthodox neighbors as they can

from us. Let us strive further to roll down the intervening sides to our ruts, so that thoughts from every source will find no barriers to free circulation. Be not contented with simply being a free thinker. Be a working free thinker; be a true Cosmian, adding the strength, life, vigor, enthusiasm that you possess to the common fund, which will thus be enabled to bring about results that a single individual would never see. Be encouraged to work with us, encourage us to work with you, keep the standard high; and the world will not be the worse, but the better, for the existence of our Free Congregational Society of Florence, for the maintenance of a Cosmian Hall."

REV. FATHER JAMES McCaffrey, of St. Patrick's Catholic Church, St. Louis, recently announced from the pulpit that the Catholic children of the parish,—one of the most wealthy and influential in the city,—who attend the public schools, would be barred from the celebration of the Holy Communion. The announcement, says the *New York Tribune*, "split the congregation in twain." Father Joice, a leading priest, was interviewed, and said: "We are all doing what we can to prevent our children from going to the public schools. This evil, you understand, is great. The evil is not confined to St. Louis. It is in Chicago, in New York, in Brooklyn,—in almost every large city of the country. The Catholic clergy must do everything they can to overcome it. We must educate our own children. They are educated in the public schools merely as an animal would be educated. Their souls are not attended to. They are taught so much arithmetic, so much geography, so much grammar, and so much history, but never a word about their souls, about God, or about the life after this. There are many of our children taken from the public schools who do not know how many persons there are in God. Now, we have built schools, and procured teachers of our own, in order that we may save the souls of these children; for it is when the child is young that the man must be taught."

THE following is an extract from a letter received lately from a friend across the sea: "In *The Index* of August 20 is a letter from H. R. S. which defines Christians to be, generally speaking, all those who live uprightly and do good, whether they accept or repudiate Jesus Christ. That amused me. I was rather glad to see you had noticed the matter in a leader in the same issue. But I allude to this only to tell you a joke. Next door to our place of business is a very pleasant, bald-headed Jew. He says he grew bald through his mother's patting him on the head, and saying, 'You are a dear, good little boy!' I have not heard the mother's report. He is a good, fair-dealing, obliging man, 'an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.' Any little accommodation in the way of business we always do for each other when we can. One day recently, he had changed two bank-notes for me; and, as he counted out the sovereigns for the second one, I thought of H. R. S.'s letter, and said, 'You're a Christian.' 'Not a bit of it,' said Brother W., 'I'm a Jew.' I explained my reason à la H. R. S.; but he turned on me and said, 'My brother, you're a Jew.' I felt the full force of the remark, and I have concluded to try to be a good Jew. I felt keenly how presumptuous it is in our Christian friends to assume, under the name of their religious system, the possession of the virtue of all ages and climes. . . . I am reminded of what Beaconsfield said in his early days, when he was sneered at on account of his Jewish descent. 'One-half the Christian world,' he said, 'worships a Jewess, and the other half worships her son. Yet we are vainly trying to convert the Jews.'"

For The Index.

The Dual Aspect of our Nature.

BY EDWARD MONTGOMERY.

The Riddle of Body and Mind.

Each of us has a living organism, and each of us has consciousness. This no one really doubts. The simple statement of the fact seems beyond dispute to common sense. Yet, when we impartially survey the scientifically generalized bodies of knowledge, called physiology and psychology, we are forced to concede that these seemingly so unquestionable belongings of ours are, nevertheless, of uncertain reality. Whenever our understanding attempts firmly to grasp them, they are found on the one side to dissipate into minutest points of impalpable stuff; on the other side, to melt away into unsubstantial apparitions.

Analyzed under the microcosmic lens of prying thought, our solid body dissolves, like nebule of the starry heavens, into constellations within constellations of countless myriads of constituent elements; the whole floating, a mere dreamlike vision, in the illimitable expanse of conscious sight, and there—with all other figurations of that spectral realm—dwindling away from instant to instant, out of actual presence into the soundless wastes of the irrecoverable past. Nothing consciously extant of our world-deep existence, but a phenomenal body within a phenomenal mind; only an iridescent show on an ever-vanishing foil.

In moments of solemn reflection or exalted emotion, we distinctly feel this phantasmal semblance of all there is actually present, and the veritable grounding of our whole dual being in fathomless depths of unilluminated reality.

Thus awed and bewildered as to the genuine nature of our living selves, we, whose faith has become disentangled from the delusive charm of childlike trust, naturally appeal to the teachings of science for steady enlightenment. We expect, as the fruit of sober and exact inquiry, a consistent explanation of this twofold enigma of individual life,—its material embodiment and its mental comprehension. But science, such as we have, too helplessly juvenile as yet in the presence of so much perplexing intricacy, has hitherto signally failed in its endeavors to disclose the true constitution of either body or mind; failed, also, to ascertain the mutual relation of these two distinctive integrants of our actual personality.

Our philosophical inquisitiveness, as regards this problem of body and mind, is, however, nowise prompted by vain and unprofitable curiosity. On no account can it be safely hushed by a sop of shallow or ambiguous answers. Human history, as well as our personal experience, abundantly prove that the conviction arrived at concerning the nature and interdependence of those mysterious factors of our being exerts under all conditions of life a decisive influence on its practical guidance. Indeed, it may be fairly asserted that the destiny of nations, not less than that of individuals, gradually shapes itself in concordance with whatever view is taken of the respective parts played by materiality and mentality in this enigmatical world of ours.

If, as is the case in our leading creeds, the apparent dualism manifesting itself in the conflict between the material and mental occurrences of our existence be accepted as fundamentally subsistent, then the entire conception of nature, and in consequence our behavior therein, cannot possibly resist being fashioned more and more in agreement with such a view. Our living individuality and its mind are then necessarily looked

upon as two totally disparate entities. And in dead earnest, under the sway of this idea, we set about thinking and acting as if in all reality we possessed a duplex being, a material body and a spiritual soul; the former belonging and reverting altogether to the visible nature surrounding us, the latter having a completely different mode of subsistence in a hypersensible sphere, to which it finally escapes.

If, on the other hand, we attempt to transcend the apparent duality of our manifest nature, either by attributing to the body and its activities the power of producing mental phenomena, or, on the contrary, to mind the power of constituting bodily appearances, we are apt, in the first endeavor, to become thorough-going materialists; in the second, thorough-going idealists. As consistent materialists, we have then to place our trust in the blind mechanism of bodily occurrences; as consistent idealists, in the free causation of reality,—originating mind.

In every instance, our conscious striving receives its vent from the conception we have come to frame of our own being and its relations to the rest of existence. And, as we are all earnestly solicitous to bring our lives into more and more perfect harmony with our convictions, and as, moreover, our welfare, as individuals and as communities of individuals, is so largely dependent on the correctness of our interpretation of reality, we should seek above all, through strenuous application of our present resources of knowledge, to reach a well-grounded conclusion regarding our ambiguous nature.

Let us then, in preparation thereof, attentively follow up the principal trains of thought that furnish our leading thinkers with forcible reasons for resting their conviction on one or the other mode of conceiving human personality. Perhaps, amid the haze of conflicting conceptions, we may succeed in catching a trustful glimpse of the one immutable truth looming in the far distance.

The Non-causal Relation of Body and Mind.

Objective science strives to take account only of such data as it receives through the senses. It demonstrates with undeniable accuracy that after death our body disintegrates without remainder into elementary components, belonging altogether to the same substratum which furnishes the rest of things with their material. And it proves that the organic individual, when its vital activities are suspended, ceases to manifest any sign of consciousness.

All there is of verifiable substance in the living being continues to exist without diminution after death. It seems, therefore, clear that the entire organism, with all its vital manifestations, can have resulted from nothing but a peculiar combination of the elements of that self-same substance of which it is found to consist. Put these constituent elements together again, in exactly the same manner in which they were combined during life, and you have restored the living organism.

The reasoning of physical science, working thus on sense evidence which seems incontestable, maintains that things in general are composed of nothing but elementary particles peculiarly aggregated. These particles are taken to be themselves indestructible, and endowed with a definite amount of indestructible force. It follows that everything in nature results from the grouping of such elementary units and the combination of their elementary forces.

The units or atoms aggregate to various kinds of molecules. The molecules in inorganic nature aggregate to crystals; in organic nature, to elementary organisms, or so-called cells. And these latter

again make up by dint of peculiar arrangement what we behold as the complex organism. Parallel with this process of material grouping, the concomitant forces are compounded. The vital activities of even the most complex organism are thus the effect of a combination of the primitive forces of its component elements. And mental phenomena are themselves only the manifestation of the blended energies inherent in those peculiar complexes of elementary particles called brain-cells.

Not long ago, precisely this view was held by most students of natural science. By endowing the insensible elements of sensible nature with the germ of all desirable potentialities, they derived actual things and their manifest qualities by means of a vaguely conceived synthetical arrangement of such well-equipped units. And when afterward, to a more enlightened physiology, it seemed a rather questionable proceeding to make the mental properties of the organic individual grow out of a combination of mere physical forces, it was not difficult to fancy the vital molecules—the so-called plastidules of Prof. Haeckel—to be moreover endowed with a primitive soul, resulting from the still more primitive souls of the final atoms. The plastidules then, in those vast assemblages in which they compose first the organic cell, and through multiplication at last the entire organism, are believed by these psycho-physical atomists to constitute, by force of summation of their individual soul-powers, even such an immensely complex resultant as the sovereign soul of man. I purposely say, "summation,"—bare numerical summation, and not genuine synthesis; for this is the only sort of combination that can at all result from the co-operation of separate units. It is utterly impossible that a number of individuated elements, held together by mere aggregation, should blend their inherent forces to any kind of compound resultant, without a common medium in which the complex effects of such individual forces are realized. This I have explained at length in *Mind*, No. XVII. It follows irrevocably—involving on this account alone the overthrow of all purely atomistic and hylozoistic schemes—that our mental phenomena, necessarily presupposing a unitary medium of display, cannot possibly be the outcome of a mere summation or chiming of elementary faculties residing in a multiplicity of adjacent atoms, plastidules, or cells. The separate energies of two or more forces or motions may produce a joint effect, but only by combining in one and the same material medium. Two and two make four, but only when put together in one and the same consciousness. Bodies are scientifically conceived as formed by a mere aggregation of equal parts, and the synthetic effects of their forces as produced by mere simultaneous quivering, principally in order to facilitate mathematical operations which are carried on by numerical processes. For mathematical purposes, every existent whole has to be artificially broken up into numbers of constituent elements, and all synthesis of such fictitious mathematical units has thus to be mentally supplied.

But, to realize from its own stand-point the fundamental fallacy of the cosmology constructed by materialistic atomism, a cosmology still cherished as a correct interpretation of nature by many eminent scientists, we have, first of all, to ascertain what kind of force objective science is really justified in attributing to its ultimate units. And here there can be no doubt that, if we profess to build up a system of science from data objectively given, we can consistently know and assume no other forces than those actually experienced by us as so many different kinds of motion manifested by the substances of our objective world. Atoms

moving in space, and their distribution and redistribution through interchange or transfer of motion, are all that genuine objective science can be allowed to work with. Consequently, thoroughgoing physicists look upon the forces of nature as so many modes of motion, capable not only of mutual interaction, but of being actually transformed into each other. Under this aspect, mechanical impact is motion, heat is motion, electricity is motion, light and other radiant influences are motion, etc.; and all these different kinds of motion are held to be mutually convertible. The ultimate constituents of matter, the atoms—themselves perfectly inert, because of their intrinsic unchangeableness as strictly simple, uncompounded particles—can be in possession of no other force than a certain amount of motion. The logic of physical definitions forces this conclusion upon us. The physical world-material consists of intrinsically imperturbable elements of mass, conceived as vehicles of a more or less rapid motion of translation, which motion is capable of being imparted to other elements of mass, that become thus its mechanically moved but intrinsically unagitated recipients.

Coherent masses and their sensible properties come into existence, according to this view, through condensation and aggregation of groups of particles rendered less mobile by the transfer of part of their motion. Indeed, if the ultimate existents are really rigid particles moving about in space, then all occurrences in nature have to be explained rigorously as the outcome of a mechanics of atoms. They have, then, to be expressed in pure terms of mechanical exchange of motion and consequent spatial rearrangement of the moving particles. In physical science, the avowed aim of its consistent votaries is to seek an explanation for every kind of activity in nature in conformity with such kinetic principles. The nearer the approach to this final goal,—ever alluring investigators with the lucid perfection of mathematical form,—the greater is the triumph considered to be. The kinetic theory of gases, the numerous attempts at a kinetic theory of gravitation, of cohesion, and even of elasticity and chemical activity,—all this proves that every phenomenon in the universe, not yet explicable in mere terms of matter and motion, is regarded as an unsolved problem, awaiting its kinetic interpretation. And, as our body forms part of this scientifically surmised universe of atoms and motions, physiology has been, and is still, exerting itself most strenuously to explain the phenomena of life in accordance with the same principles which physical science applies to the rest of things.

Now, if we believe that the elucidation of physiological facts necessitates a more profound conception of physical occurrences, and if we are desirous to recognize the true constitution of our own physical nature, we cannot be spared the trouble of clearly pointing out the physical insufficiencies of our aggregational and kinematic science. Before, however, disclosing these shortcomings at their starting-point, in the atoms, molecules, and masses of matter, let us for a moment follow up the kinetic theory into the region of high-wrought vitality.

Sundry kinds of motion impinge on our recipient nerves, and are propagated along them to the central brain-cells, where they set up an intrinsic commotion, of which our conscious states are somehow an outcome. Here the unbroken continuity of transmitted motion seems suddenly to issue into something differing *toto genere* from moved matter. At this end-station of kinetic transfer, we are all at once confronted by one of Prof. Du Bois-Reymond's seven world-problems,

which he and many other scientists declare to be wholly insoluble. They maintain, namely, and very properly, that "consciousness cannot be explained as the result of any arrangement or motion of the physical atoms of matter." The final metamorphosis of motion into consciousness they allow to be utterly incomprehensible. But these same scientists hold that there exists, nevertheless, some inscrutable causal nexus between brain-motion and conscious states. With Prof. Huxley, they believe that, "so far as we know," "the sensation is the direct effect of the mode of motion in the sensorium"; or, with Mr. Herbert Spencer, "that no idea or feeling arises, save as the result of some physical force expended in producing it."

In view of the weighty consequences involved in such a kinetic generation of mental phenomena, we anxiously inquire whether this be indeed the true account of what actually happens. Is a sensation or thought or any sort of conscious state the effect of brain-motion, and is any physical force expended in producing it? If so, then the illustrious experientialists, who propound this doctrine, will find themselves logically compelled to recant most of the naturalistic teachings which have exerted so great a liberating influence on the thought of our time, and which they have so zealously helped to make current. A genuine causal connection between body and mind would inevitably involve the overthrow of all natural science.

Since modern research has justified the conclusion that to every mental occurrence there corresponds a definite molecular motion in the brain, the fatal error of inadvertently shifting from the objective to the subjective aspect in the course of our reasoning is not so saliently apparent as it used to be to the great philosophers of the seventeenth century. The central mystery of natural efficiency, to them as to us, lay in the "intercommunication of body and mind." But they fully comprehended that there occurs no break whatever in the mechanism of nature; that the concatenation of physical events suffers no interruption, no slightest increment of mechanical loss into channels that are not purely physical. The commotion in the brain-cells is used up without remainder to set going other motions, irradiating into various parts of the body, and most notably into the muscles, by whose contraction nothing but mechanical work is performed. Nowhere in the continuous chain of physical causation is there room for either the additional production of mental occurrences or the adventitious intervention of mental power. Each set of phenomena is discovered by consistent scientific conception to form a separate nexus, both sets running parallel courses without any possible causal interaction between them. In recognition of this strange non-causal parallelism obtaining between physical and mental phenomena, Descartes pronounced the intercommunication of body and mind to be effected by divine influence, which miraculous intercession was assumed by the so-called Occasionalists for every separate act in which body and mind seemed to operate on each other. And, in order to explain the same enigma, Leibnitz invented his famous pre-established harmony, or two-clock theory.

The truth is the veritable relation of body and mind is neither causal nor miraculous. But,—as I hope we shall plainly make out before we have ended,—within the immediate consciousness of each of us, it is the relation of a definite compulsory group of perceptions, called body, to our entire mental presence, called mind. Outside immediate consciousness, the actual existent, which extra-mentally corresponds to the compulsory

group of perceptions called body, has to be scientifically and philosophically hypostatized as a permanent entity, of whose variable functional activity the entire mental presence is, from moment to moment, the conscious outcome.

To gain a more intimate understanding of the different aspects which the relation of body and mind assumes, when, on the one side, body is viewed as a compulsory percept within our consciousness; on the other side, as the extra-mental existent having conscious functions,—the best way will, perhaps, be to expose some of the chief errors that have been committed by prominent thinkers in their search for the true link by which body and mind are connected.

In the first flush of triumph, the doctrine of the correlation of forces promised to become a universal law. Various attempts were made by eminent scientific philosophers to include within its scope, not only vital, but also mental phenomena. Mr. Herbert Spencer, for instance, fearlessly extended the newly generalized principle to its utmost logical stretch, making inadvertently short work of all science and philosophy. In his *First Principles*, he arrives at the following sweeping conclusion: "Various classes of facts thus unite to prove that the law of metamorphosis, which holds among the physical forces, holds equally between them and the mental forces." If this were really so, then no need any more for the scrupulous painstaking of physical research. "Mental force" of itself would be efficient to accomplish everything. If, in all reality, "those modes of the Unknowable which we distinguish as sensation, emotion, thought," can be transformed into equivalents of "those modes of the Unknowable which we call motion, heat, light, chemical affinity, etc.," then, surely, Nature may, after all, be wholly constituted by thought. Thought and other modes of being must thus be essentially identical; and we may as well at once forsake the laborious paths of Experientialism, and give ourselves up unreservedly to the conceptual creations of the Identity Philosophy.

Even the era of alchemy, with all its passionate and untiring search for the great Magisterial, by which baser metals might be converted into gold, never dreamt of such a riot of metamorphosis as is implied in the convertibility of every manifest mode of the Unknowable into every other mode of the same, which means, in fact, the convertibility of everything into everything else. Let no one think that this is an exaggerated statement. The reasoning is simple enough. Every phenomenon in nature is the manifestation of one and the same persistent force. Such force manifestations are mutually convertible. Therefore there is no phenomenon, material or mental, which is not convertible into any other phenomenon.

Mr. Spencer would, no doubt, contemptuously repudiate, as preposterously unscientific, this licentious use of his principle of phenomenal convertibility. He, of course, conceived the transmutation of physical into mental modes, and *vice versa*, with the full reserve that the "law of metamorphosis" is a law of strict equivalence, dependent on those actual modes of the Unknowable which we perceive as the peculiar collocations of material bodies; that, in consequence, only just so much impinging force is transformed into exactly so much brain motion, and this again into exactly so much "mental force"; and that, therefore, only a definite and conditioned amount of "mental force" is at our disposal for retransformation into physical modes of the Unknowable.

But Mr. Spencer, abstracting from present complications and contemplating with his wonted

far-sightedness primordial cosmical modes of the Unknowable, would he not have to concede that, according to the nebular hypothesis and the theory of the primitive chemical element, according, moreover, to his own evolutionary formula, one and the same homogeneous mode of the Unknowable has actually been transformed into every other mode of the Unknowable now extant?

The theory of convertibility assumes that, during the metamorphosis of one mode of the Unknowable into another, the special mode which is thus metamorphosed ceases itself to exist, while originating the other mode into which it is converted. If mental modes, then, can really originate physical modes, it surely must be admitted that, as all phenomena—mental as well as material—are modes of one and the same Unknowable, its physical modes may possibly be the product of its mental modes. And, as the mental modes are much more intimately and immediately known to us than the physical modes, it becomes a highly promising undertaking to attempt the explanation of the physical universe as the result of an expenditure of "mental force."

Moreover, we are all quite certain that the primordial, homogeneous mode of the Unknowable, scientifically inferred in the nebular hypothesis, can only be imagined as an object realized by a subject, or—expressed in terms of the supposed convertibility of forces—as an objective or physical mode of the Unknowable transformed into a subjective or mental mode of the Unknowable. Now, as, according to the view in question, a mode of the Unknowable ceases itself to exist in being transformed into another mode; and, as in the primitive state of things here figured, there are no material collocations to complicate the process of transmutation,—we have consistently arrived at Schelling's Absolute Subject-Object, which, in rhythmic oscillations, transmutes itself from subjectivity into objectivity, and back again from objectivity into subjectivity.

This, indeed, must ever be the outcome of any philosophy which reposes its full store of natural power in an Absolute. Transcend under any form whatever the limits of organic individuality, conceiving mental phenomena as modes of an all-comprising Unknowable, and no amount of evolutionary wheel-work interposed between the actual source of power and its peculiar modes of manifestation, will save you from the pantheistic idealism of the Identity Philosophy.

These remarks, though rather opportune in relation to the reviving religion of the Absolute, are of little value, scientifically considered. And this for the simple reason that no mental occurrence of any kind has, as such, the power of compelling a single atom to deviate ever so little from its given path, which is strictly a physical path, physically determined in every respect with rigorous and un-failing precision. If this were not so, then the alleged and approved mathematical accuracy of physical science would be an idle vaunt.

Mental phenomena, then, cannot possibly be the cause of the physical activity of brain molecules; nor can this physical activity be, in its turn, the cause of mental phenomena. Feeling and brain motion do not stand in any causal relation to each other: much less are these two modes of existence mutually convertible.

It is, indeed, a delusion to think that even physical forces are ever really "transformed" into each other. This sleight of hand performance on the part of nature, to which such ostentatious prominence was given in the early attempts to formulate the law of the conservation of energy, is being more and more veiled from sight in scientific treatises. But the actual feat of metamorphosis, the peculiar

energy of one substance passing over into another substance and becoming there the equivalent but quite different energy of its rare dwelling-place,—this marvellous feat is the indispensable though rather shifting foundation of the whole theory. Close examination proves it to be nothing but a "dynamical fiction."*

The manifold phenomena constituting our conscious world are not manifestations of one and the same ever identical Protean force of Absolute, but manifestations of specific complexes of extra-mental powers, themselves just as definite and conditioned as their mental realizations, and undergoing changes during their multifarious interactions accurately corresponding to the changes perceived in the mental representations which they compel. These changes, in their perceptual form, as modes of motion or moving energies, and not the powers themselves, are equivalently related to each other, but not convertibly. The change of one substance cannot become the change of another substance.

Existence, with all its phenomenal marvels of mental realization and all its extra-mental intricacies of organized potency, wells up from a creative fount so profound in its origin that our shallow, piercing insight wholly fails to fathom its ineffable mystery. We reverently refrain from reinstating the old, broken idols by giving—even in the innermost, imageless sanctuary of our ideal temple—local habitation and facile efficiency to what so incomprehensibly upholds this entire wondrous creation; persistently, painfully, patiently travelling in the glad birth of ever more exalted times toward far-off, inscrutable ends.

To us, the reconciliation of science and religion lies not in any intellectual penetration of the phenomenality of our world of sense, by which we recognize ourselves as mere changeable modes, though direct emanations of an absolute, unknowable power. It lies in humbly, exultingly, accepting our living selves as a high-wrought result of formative power, individually intrusted with a grandly effective share in the transcendent work of creation.

No frictionless flight of thought or exuberant outburst of emotional fancy shall allure us into forgetfulness of the supreme ethical truth that in its very essence our own being, with all we know and cherish, is resting from moment to moment on the slow and precarious achievement of unflagging toil.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FREE THOUGHT IN ENGLAND.

Editors of The Index:—

The workers in the mills at Oldham are out on a strike. The Master Spinners' Association had arranged a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of the people, owing, as they said, to the bad times and poor markets. The people struck, and thousands have been out of employment for over two months. Who can tell how much that means to the poor people, to the people with large families, who never earn more than a bare living? The results of such a strike are disastrous in the extreme to employers and employed.

The masters, as well as the men, have a Union; and now it has come to a question of endurance. Alas for those who have only their labor for money rules.

Last Sunday, I lectured in Oldham, to the Secularists in Science Hall; and I learned much. I found a small but comfortable hall just off one of the main thoroughfares. It is owned by a limited liability company, most of whom are Secularists, and members of the society. They are almost all working-

*Under the above title, Mr. Franklin Smith, in a keen criticism of the phenomenal metamorphosis of force, which appeared in *The Index*, Dec. 21, 1882, did me the honor of quoting from the *Popular Science Monthly*, 1878, the more realistic view which I had opposed to such mere unsubstantial dynamism.

men, a strong, true, honest set of people. They are poor, but terribly earnest. The idle days of the weary strike have left them with more leisure than is pleasant, so they have employed it in making their hall comfortable. They have painted and ornamented it; got a piano, and put the entire place into most exquisite order. They are making committee-rooms and arranging for an active campaign during the coming winter. All this without money and without price; for this is not done out of their wealth, but out of their poverty. I felt ashamed of more high-toned societies, who can do nothing without money. I felt that in this movement among the poor, among the sons of toil, we have the real promise of the good time that is coming, of that time when there shall be a loyal recognition of the universal brotherhood of man.

To-day, men preach of the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man"; but one man owns over a million acres of land (the Duke of Sutherland), while millions of men have not where to lay their heads. The "Father's" property has been badly divided!

As I walked through the streets of Oldham on the Sunday night, in the gloaming, with the kindly Secular folk who saw me off on my journey, I was surprised to see the great number of people on the streets. It seemed as if all the town were out of doors. I never before saw such crowds in the street in any city, unless drawn there by some special attraction. I saw many ignorant, evil faces in the crowd, but many more good ones; and when I saw the beautiful art gallery standing with closed doors and curtained windows, and the bonnie gardens attached to it locked while the crowd drifted idly by, I felt bitter against the cruel ignorance of the creed-makers who call themselves Christians. The liquor saloons were in full blast, the tobacco stores were doing a good business, the churches were thinly attended; but the streets were thronged with the idle, the vicious, and the careless. The Church has said, "Come unto me, or go to the devil." Every avenue to good, save through the Church, closed; every avenue to evil open. Verily, we live in evil times. The enthusiasm of the company with whom I had spent the day gave me hope and courage; for, as the gospel of Jesus was born amid the poor and lowly, so will it die. The strikes, the evil times, the bitter struggle for bread, are teaching the poor people that—

"Perchance the gods have need of help themselves,
Being so feeble that, when sad lips cry,
They cannot save!"

In the very bitterness of the day's strife lies the hope for the morrow. The days of calm inaction never develop heroes. Just as the greatest races of earth, the world conquerors, have come from the mountains, so the greatest men have ever been born of fiercest strife. The fit and the unfit alike survive in the easy, peaceful times, but these are days that try men's souls; and, though "weeping endureth for a night, joy cometh in the morning," and these cruel strikes are teaching the children of men to look to the only source of help for those in trouble. The toilers have sought help from Heaven through many a weary year; but help has never come, save when they helped themselves. Old creeds die hard, old customs linger long; but the afflictions of these present days are leading men to the light.

In England, the leading men are free thinkers. In this Tory town of Liverpool, the chief men have gone from the "faith delivered to the saints"; yet they hold their places from policy. The mill hands of Oldham, the working-men everywhere, are moving toward liberty; and all the land is throbbing with the new life. The extension of the franchise, which took place this year, brings a new force into action in our political life and our social system. The land "owners" have made the laws for centuries: the toilers are now going to take a part in that business, and great changes are imminent.

The day I spent with the Oldham Secularists was well spent, as it gave me a glimpse into the hearts and the lives of the men and the women who form the backbone of England. The sight of a well-organized and enthusiastic band of free thinkers in the heart of a busy, manufacturing town is one of the signs of the times which "whoso runs may read."

Yours faithfully,

PETER ANNET.

LIVERPOOL, Sept. 29, 1885.

FORMATION OF THE TRUE IDEAL.

A Criticism of Mr. B. W. Ball.

Editors of *The Index* :—

With much that Mr. Ball says in his article "Apotheosis," in *The Index* of September 21, I am in hearty accord; but with some assumptions, almost universally entertained, I am at issue.

Is it not an error, resulting in deplorable evil, to suppose that we live in and should care for a phenomenal world? I should like to ask Mr. Ball how we can manage to live in any but an actual world? Phenomena, semblances, do not, cannot, act. The noumenal affects us with a semblance of itself; namely, the phenomenal. Mr. Ball, indeed, admits that the noumenal would appease and satisfy the aspirations of the ideal faculty; but he straightway despairs of ever being able to enter such a world.

A further error, expressed by the undertone of his article, is that our ideals raise us above nature. What is nature but righteous action? And how can we rise above what such action signifies,—a life of response, a life of love? Let our ideal rather be to rise to nature. Imagination will fulfil its proper function in emancipating us from the "tyranny of the senses," and giving us the facility to see and say what nature is.

Evils are the subject-matter of ideals. Ideals are usually formed by a reaction against evils, but with a disregard of the spiritual relationship or significance of such evils to our lives. Is it not now possible to interpret the phenomena of evil by the use of our moral emotions, in the light of science? We unwittingly ignore the actual facts underlying the phenomenal evil, when we idealize a better condition of things. Such ideals cannot be realized with success. The true ideal is the polar opposite, the contrary, of the true evil, only to be found through facts of the actual.

A. L. LEUBUSCHER.

WATER MILLS, N. Y., Sept. 29, 1885.

PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE OF PHILADELPHIA.

In forming ourselves into a Society for Ethical Culture, we accept the following principles as the basis of our union:—

1. We believe that morality is independent of theology. We hold that the moral law is imposed upon us by our own rational nature, and that its authority is absolute. We maintain that the moral life should be brought to the foreground in religion.

2. We affirm the need of a new statement of the ethical code of mankind. The formulations of duty which were given by the great religious teachers of the past are not sufficient for the changed conditions of modern society. We believe that moral problems have arisen in this industrial, democratic, scientific age, which require new and larger formulations of duty. Hence, a new interest in ethical problems and a profounder study and discussion of them are demanded.

3. We regard it as our duty as a Society for Ethical Culture to engage in works of philanthropy on as large a scale as our means will allow. The ultimate purpose of such philanthropy should be the advancement of morality. When we contemplate the low moral state of society and its indifference to moral aims, we feel called upon to do what we can to raise our fellow-men to a higher plane of life and to awaken within them a deeper moral purpose.

4. We hold that the task of self-reform should go hand in hand with efforts to reform society. The mere fact of membership in an Ethical Society must be regarded as a tacit avowal of the desire to lead a wholly upright life and to aid in developing a higher type of manhood and womanhood than has been known in the past.

5. We believe that organization is indispensable to carrying out the aims of ethical culture, and that this organization should be republican rather than monarchical. While we recognize the need of a public lecturer for the society, we believe that the work of ethical culture, in its broadest sense,—the study, the discussion, and the application of ethical principles,—should be carried on as far as possible by the members themselves; and, to this end, the society should be divided into sections, according to the respective callings and vocations of its members.

6. We agree that the greatest stress should be laid

on the moral instructions of the young, to the end that in the pure hearts of children may be sown the seeds of a higher moral order; that, early in life, they may be impressed with the worth and dignity of human existence; and that work for social and individual perfection may be carried on with larger and nobler results from generation to generation.

For *The Index*.

EVENING,—THE "ZYSKA" HILL.

A soft light rests upon the "Zyska" hill;
In solemn state, the sun sinks from all view,
But, in departing, leaves a ruddy hue
And deepening shadows; all the land is still.

The daisy, pure in its humility;
The weary bird, flown long since to its nest;
The reddish grass; the growing sense of rest
On every little thing in earth or sky;

The evening star, near the slow-setting sun,
Whose beauty in its calm infinity
Shines, lonely, through a wondrous, golden sea,—
All touch the heart with sense of duty done.

Nature obeys the universal law,
Which is God manifest; her triumph lies
In stern fulfilment of her prophecies,
Wherein is found no solitary flaw.

In every leaf and clump of waving grass,
She cries aloud to Man: "Arise! awake!
Obey thy being's law, and thou shalt make
Thyself my equal: it will come to pass."

Man does awake. Throughout his being flows
The solemn note of Duty. Sacred fires
Urge him to vaster heights, and he aspires.
The love of God and Nature in him glows.

M. L. B. O.

BOOK NOTICES.

A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D.D., formerly President of the Meadville Theological School, and author of *A Study of the Pentateuch*. Boston: Unitarian Sunday School Society. 1885. pp. 328.

This work, the preface to which the author did not live to write, was prepared, in order to put within the reach of earnest minds that have little or no time for historical researches and critical studies such knowledge as is necessary to a just appreciation of the value of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is made up largely of lectures prepared originally by the author for his Bible classes and theological students, who had repeatedly requested him to publish the views he taught them at Meadville and Ithaca. It is needless to say that the work contains information for such as have given but little study to the Bible, or are but little acquainted with the best Biblical exposition and criticism, although, in the application of the method and spirit of science to the Old Testament, the author is in our opinion behind some nominally orthodox clergymen,—clergymen for instance, like Dr. R. Heber Newton. Dr. Stebbins, however, was widely known among Unitarians; and this his last legacy to his fellow-men, published a few weeks after his death, will doubtless possess a peculiar value, not only for those who knew him personally, but for the more conservative minds generally, whom he represented in his denomination.

B. F. U.

THE Unitarian Review for October opens with a paper by Rev. Samuel J. Barrows on "John Bellamy's Bible," a translation made in 1818 from the original Hebrew, to answer objections to the divine authority of the Bible urged by Paine in his *Age of Reason*. To this little work, a reply had been made by the Bishop of Landaff; but it seemed to Bellamy that the bishop had virtually conceded the human origin of the Scriptures, and determined to make what opposition he could "to the plausible objection of the infidels, which, like serpents, were creeping with their painful poison into every corner of religious society," Bellamy, after attempting to answer Paine's objections, resolved to begin "the gigantic labor of a new translation from the original Hebrew." Mr. Barrows quotes from this translation, to illustrate "how far men will go in twisting and distorting

the Bible to make it suit their preconceived notions of its contents, or to reconcile it with modern views of God, humanity, duty, and destiny." Rev. F. B. Hornbrooke, in an article on "Religion and Morality," endeavors to distinguish between the two; but he does not make the distinction very clear. The other articles are: "Hans Nilsen Hauge, the Lay Preacher," by Rev. Kristofer Janson; "Rev. Oliver Stearns, D.D.," by Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D.; "Shakspeare's Ethics," by Isabel Francis Bellows; and "The Great Steps in Worship," by Rev. James T. Bixby. "Editor's Note-Book" and "Review of Current Literature" complete the number.

In the October *Century*, Gen. Horace Porter has a forcible anecdotal paper on "Lincoln and Grant," including stories which were told by one or the other in their intercourse. Gen. James H. Wilson gives "Reminiscences of Gen. Grant," relating chiefly to his Western career; and Gen. Adam Badeau writes of "The Last Days of Gen. Grant." There are other papers on the War and Gen. Grant, by Gen. D. C. Buell, Mrs. M. E. Seawell, Miss Heintzelman, and Charles W. Eldridge. "Riverside Park," the resting-place of Gen. Grant, is the subject of an illustrated paper by William A. Stiles. Other illustrated articles of the October number are Lieut. Schwatka's second and concluding paper on his explorations in Alaska, Mrs. Lizzie W. Champney's description of "The Haunts of American Artists," and Mr. Howells' "Tuscan Cities," illustrated with numerous etchings by Pennell. A portrait of the late Samuel Bowles, the famous editor of the *Springfield Republican*, is the frontispiece of the number. His career is described by George S. Merriam, in a paper entitled "A Study in Independent Journalism." Principal Grant of Queen's University, Canada, has a paper on "The Canada Pacific Railway." Brander Matthews contributes the short story of the number, which is called "Love at First Sight." The serial is the ninth part of Henry James' "Bostonians." The number has several good poems. Cupples, Upham & Co.

THE October number of *St. Nicholas*, among its many attractions, has short stories by Frank R. Stockton, Celia Thaxter, and J. F. Herriek. The serials, "Driven Back to Eden," by E. P. Roe, and "His One Fault," by J. T. Trowbridge, are concluded; "The Brownies at School" is another series of comical verses and pictures by Palmer Cox, descriptive of the doings of these imaginary elves; "Pulcheria of Constantinople" is the "historic girl" of whom E. S. Brooks writes in this number; a picture of Louis Kossuth is given in Edmund Alton's "Among the Law-makers"; and "How Science won the Game" is an exciting story of base-ball, by George B. M. Harvey. For sale by Cupples, Upham & Co.

AMONG the excellent reading for young folks in the October number of *Pansy*, published by D. Lothrop & Co., we note a sketch of the life of John Bunyan, accompanied by a portrait of the author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, an account of "The Discovery of Glass," some information about "Herat and its Inhabitants," "The Eider Fowl," "Oranges in Palestine," together with a number of papers on Japan. These instructive articles, in addition to the stories by those favorite writers, "Pansy" and Margaret Sidney and others, with the many pretty illustrations, make this an attractive magazine.

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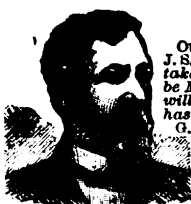
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

On Sunday last, sermons against disestablishment were preached by clergymen of the English Church throughout England. They evidently think the establishment really in danger.

The *Churchman* thinks that the strength of Mormonism lies in its condescension to one of the common infirmities of human nature, and that the problem it presents requires "statesmanship of a more transcendent quality and transcendental kind than has yet been applied to its solution."

The *Philadelphia Record*, mentioning the resignation of Dr. Townsend, a Methodist minister of Buffalo, because he does not believe in eternal punishment, says, "And a great number of clergymen, who don't believe in it any more than he does, but who lack his manliness, are stoning him from a safe distance."

The *University* is the name of a Chicago literary journal, which resulted from the consolidation last summer of the *Weekly Magazine* with the *Fortnightly Index*. In the quality of its articles as well as in its general appearance, this paper continues to improve. It is marked by breadth and independence of thought. It ought to be generously sustained.

MR. SAMUEL STOREY, the member of Parliament from Sunderland, in a recent speech favoring the abolition of hereditary privileges, said that there should be no created privileges for any man to which every other citizen could not aspire, and asked how could the people expect to get reforms while such a court of solemn humbugs as the House of Lords sat above them. After the address, a resolution of confidence in Mr. Storey was offered, and carried by a unanimous vote.

It is not safe to get drunk in Montreal at the present time, and there are some people there who apparently think that they run a risk in keeping sober. Recently, an intoxicated driver, who was sent

for a small-pox patient, drove to the wrong house, and took away one Peter Biggen, who was too much overcome by whiskey to offer any resistance. When he came to himself in the hospital, he tried to make the physicians understand the "joke," but succeeded only when he had been there five days.

In a paper read before the National Prison Association at Detroit last week, Charles Dudley Warner claimed that what was needed in the treatment of criminals was not merely imparting knowledge, but a discipline in conduct and work that will simultaneously reach the man's physical, intellectual, and moral nature. To this end, sentences should be indeterminate, for no fixed period, continuing till the man is fit to return to society. The incorrigible he would have shut up at labor to pay for their keeping, since they have no right to be at large, an expense to society.

Those laboring for disestablishment in Scotland express confidence in the speedy success of the movement. The large majority of dissenters over the Auld Kirk constituency is becoming year by year so strong that it appears to be impossible much longer to withstand their attacks. With Liberalism making the advances in Scotland which have been shown in late years, there can be no reasonable doubts respecting the near end of State religion in England as well as Scotland. The opposition to the English Church in England is very ominous, as shown by the solicitude of the supporters of the establishment, in their profuse use of their press to defend the Church against all real or fancied assaults.

On the 13th, the Catholic Church of St. Edward, London, observed the feast of St. Edward the Confessor. Cardinal Manning officiated at high mass, and the sermon was devoted mainly to a consideration of the probabilities that England will return to the Roman Catholic faith. A pilgrimage was made to the shrine of the historic saint and king in Westminster Abbey, to solicit his intercession for the conversion of the English nation. A despatch says that the band of devotees, indulging in adoration at the tomb of Edward, excited general curiosity; but there was no interference with the devotions. "More practical-minded, the police in attendance thought proper to inspect the bags and parcels carried by the inflowing crowd; but, as no connection could be established between beads and explosives, the emblems of intercessory prayer were allowed to pass."

A PRINTED circular from "the Committee of the Cincinnati Noon-day Prayer-meeting" asks us to state that the Christian people of that city "send forth to the Christian world a request for their prayers for Cincinnati, its ministers and people," and that "several evangelists will occupy the field, and supplement the work of the pastors during the coming fall and winter." The circular concludes thus: "Let every child of God breathe a prayer to heaven for divine favor upon this city and its special work." Does this circular imply that "Cincinnati, its ministers and people," are

exceptionally wicked; that their condition, morally and religiously, is so desperate that they can be aroused only by the united prayers of the whole Christian world? The pastors who have caused this circular to be issued, doubtless, expect that a distinction will be made in praying, between the two classes prayed for; that the prayers will be for the conversion of the *people* and for God's alliance and co-operation with the *pastors* in the work they have inaugurated, to accomplish this result,—not an unimportant distinction. While we are quite willing, in response to the request of "the Committee of the Cincinnati Noon-day Prayer-meeting," to mention the proposed ministerial praying crusade against sin and Satan, it seems to us more of an effort to start a religious "boom" and to revive a decaying faith than to effect that practical and permanent moral reform needed, not only in Cincinnati, but throughout the country.

On November 12, the National Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton is President, will celebrate the seventieth birthday of this distinguished woman by social reunions in various localities, when biographical sketches, toasts, music, and song will be in order. If all the suffrage societies Mrs. Stanton has helped to organize, from Maine to Texas, would notice this event in a fitting manner, there might be a simultaneous ovation adequately representing her long and valuable service in the elevation of her sex. She is one of the oldest advocates of that reform now living (both in years and active service), having, with Lucretia Mott, been early identified with the movement in America which claims political equality for woman. These two women met, for the first time, at the World's Anti-slavery Convention in London, in 1840, where, after a long and heated discussion, the women sent as delegates from the United States were refused seats in the Convention. Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton listened with indignation to the discussion, and, walking arm in arm to their hotel, determined to call a woman-rights convention on their return to America. In that hour of deep humiliation, the young bride and the mature matron, whose souls were alike fired by the wrongs of woman, formed a warm and life-long friendship. Together, they held the first Woman's Rights Conventions in Seneca Falls and Rochester, N.Y., in July, 1848; together for long years they sat on the platform through many exciting scenes; together they celebrated the third decade of the movement, in the same church where they had met thirty years before; and together they celebrated the centennial of our national life in Philadelphia, in 1876. Mrs. Stanton is still in the enjoyment of excellent health; and, at her home in Tenafly, N.J., in company with Miss Anthony, she is, we are reliably informed, diligently working eight hours every day on Vol. III. of the History of Woman Suffrage. This valuable work, Mrs. Stanton recently remarked to a friend, would be her bequest to the coming generation of women, and the best monument she desired to her own steadfastness of purpose and unflinching loyalty to her sex.

DENYING THEIR CONFESSIONS.

One of the encouraging signs of progress in the religious world is, to use Emerson's phrase, that the sects "complain that they do not now hold the opinions they are charged with": only, it must be added, the *moral* as well as theological progress would be more marked if there was a frank expurgation of the old confessions of faith along with their denial. Our neighbor, the *Christian Register*, has been having a little sparring with the *Independent* concerning responsibility of Orthodox Christendom for the doctrine of the eternal perdition of the heathen. The *Register* had said that this doctrine "still holds the mind of Christendom in bondage and darkness." The *Independent* brings forward the name of a leading D.D. of each of the great sects,—the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Reformed Dutch,—who has stated a form of the doctrine that permits a hope of salvation for those individual heathen who have lived good lives. For such, it appears from these witnesses, "the expiating virtue of Christ's sacrifice" availed, even though they themselves professed no faith in Christ or even lived before he was born. This milder doctrine suits the *Independent*; and it boldly calls upon the *Register* to acknowledge that it has slandered "the mind of Christendom," and said what is not true. But the *Register* is not brought to its knees so easily. It maintains that it has told no lie, but only an "unwelcome truth"; that to single out individual utterances, even of distinguished orthodox theologians, is no proof of what the great mass of Christendom, Catholic and Protestant, has been taught and still holds; that the general confession of faith of the Presbyterian Church, not merely two or three centuries ago, but to-day, distinctly declares the hideous doctrine of the entire damnation of the heathen; and that even the great missionary body of the denomination to which the *Independent* adheres teaches this doctrine distinctly in one of its tracts, as the motive to missionary effort.

The truth is, a good many leading writers and preachers of evangelical Christendom have really outgrown this doctrine; and it probably does not rest upon the people in the pews with such weight as once it did. To these persons, whose minds are infused with more liberal ideas, it seems as if such a doctrine could only belong to a past age. And yet these same persons will, most likely, find the dogma, with all its old severity, in the confessions of their church faith; and, if they were to attack it, they would also find that their efforts would meet with formidable resistance, and that no dislodgement of the doctrine could yet be made. Logically, this dogma is, indeed, one of the corner-stones of Orthodoxy. But it is not often that people are convinced at once along the whole line of a logical argument. When such men as Keshub Chunder Sen and Sir Moses Montefiore die, there are not many thoughtful orthodox Christians, we take it, the logic of whose creeds is not a good deal wrenched. These men have shown in their lives all the fruits of what is called Christian salvation; and is it possible that they should be sent to perdition? The heart will answer this question rather than the head. And thus it is that so many religious people are to-day denying that they hold the opinions charged against them,—denying the confessions of the churches and denominations to which they are attached. Their hearts are better than their heads. But this is a sign that the head will also by and by be converted.

The *Christian at Work* in a late number, sum-

ming up some comments on the perils and crimes of the business world, said, "Only the man who preserves the whiteness of his soul in this world can be sure of not losing it in any other." This, according to old standards of Orthodoxy, is arch heresy. It is good liberal doctrine. It puts in the background the idea of the saving efficacy of faith, and directly antagonizes the opinion that uprightness of life is no security for salvation. Such teaching as this has not yet found its way into the orthodox creeds. Not many weeks ago, an article in the editorial columns of the *Independent* taught the direct contrary. Yet it is a kind of teaching that Orthodoxy begins to harbor. The more prudent and thoughtful among orthodox preachers do not now hold out the hope, as once they did, that the Holy Spirit will do all the work of moral reformation for mankind, if man will only put faith in it. This, and the dogma that works of morality are but "filthy rags," are opinions which many evangelical church members now resent being charged with. Even the Salvation Army, with all their crudities of theology and methods abhorrent to rational thinkers, emphasize the necessity of moral reform and of constant moral vigilance, in order to carry into practice the better impulse which may come in the excitement of the revival meeting. Not only rationalistic believers, but those of orthodox faith, may now be heard to express the opinion that the sudden conversion theory of salvation is a snare to the soul. Under this doctrine, people have been trained to wait for some convulsive trance of the body to seize them, when what is needed is a strong purpose of mind and heart to lead a new life. We have heard a Baptist preacher in good standing say that those persons in his church whose conduct he could least trust were those who were most fluent in describing in prayer-meetings their emotional religious experiences. Yet these persons were really more consistent than he with their denominational creed. He was a denier of the confessions of his own Church, and was actually ashamed of them.

Such cases, as we said at the outset, indicate progress in religious thought, and from that point of view have an encouraging side. But the progress might be more rapid, and command somewhat more of respect withal, if along with the changed convictions there should be more courage for overhauling and amending the old authoritative church creeds. Why leave them for liberal thinkers to attack, if they have really ceased to represent the mind of the denomination professing them?

WM. J. POTTER.

UNDER THE SHADOW OF A GHOST.

We walk in the light; but shadows from primeval ghosts, cast along the slope of centuries, lie athwart our path. The age is haunted by spectral things and men. The Japanese put the *sign* of water—a letter of their alphabet—on a house, in the belief that the sign is as efficacious against fire as the thing signified. On the house in Japan falls the most attenuated shadow of the most filmy ghost,—a figment of the child-thought of the race. In our own times, it is not uncommon in Nova Scotia to draw on a barn the form of a woman representing a witch, and shoot it, in the belief that hitting the sign hurts the woman signified.

Max Müller has called attention to the comparisons in the oldest of hymns, the Rig Veda:—

"He runs—not a river,
He roars—not thunder."

The fathers of our race, men who wrote these Vedic hymns, looked on the world where it is wrinkled into awful grandeur,—domes, spires, serrated ridges robed in eternal snow, and spanned by a heaven whose thunders shook the minds of men, and seemed to shake the very domes of granite. The listening mind called thunder the *roarer*; wind, the *howler*; a river, the *runner*; a mountain, the *breather*; and the all-investing heaven, the *enfolding*. All things lived and acted. The mind, uttering itself in prayers and hymns, did not personify objects. It tried to "dispersonate." The Vedic poet, if he had known a ship, would not have written as Byron wrote,—

"It walks the water like a thing of life."

He would have written,—

"It walks the water, *not* a thing of life."

The form of comparison would show that his ancestors had regarded the ship as a thing of life.

The American Indian calls the bear or the beaver his brother. The Fiji Islander calls man "long pig." The negro thinks the chimpanzee is a man, somewhat damaged in the creation. These phases of thought in arrested races are survivals of a primitive cult common to all races. The movement of the mind has been to separate animate from inanimate things, and then man from other animate forms. Separation in the mind of all but the lowest tribes would seem to be complete; but there lingers a vague feeling that, in some way, the qualities of an object inhere in its symbol or semblance. So Japan would protect against fire by building the symbol of water into her houses. How much wiser are we? We build our temples in Japan, and insure against the fires of sheol with the *sign* of water. I have heard of a man in the South (colored) who never thoroughly believed the story of the flood and the ark till he saw a little model of Noah and the ark and the animals. "*In sacris simulata pro veris accipi.*" In matters of religion, we accept the symbol for the reality.

Images of oxen sustained the brazen sea in the temple of Jerusalem, and horns of oxen were represented at the angles of the ark. In the wilderness, the Hebrews had worshipped a young ox, in gold. In Dan, they worshipped Jacob as an ox. In Jerusalem, the grossness of the old cult had faded into mere symbolism. The calf of the wilderness and the ox of Dan had all gone but the horns. To-day, when the suppliant prays that he may "seize the horns of the altar," his mind is in the penumbra of a shadow cast over the Church by ancient Judaism. We walk in the shadow cast by ancient beliefs, and we walk in the shadow of ancient ghosts.

Do we toll the bells while a funeral procession is passing? From time immemorial, the Chinese have fired crackers and pounded gongs to confuse and bewilder the ghost, so that it could not find its way back to the house of the living. The Romans rang bells at a funeral for the same purpose. Certain savages try to conceal from the ghost the course which led to the grave. In parts of Europe, the procession marches to the grave by a circuitous route. The reason is the attempt of the ancient man to bewilder the ancient ghost.

The ancient man believed that the ghost could not rise from the grave through a stone, and he piled on the grave such stones as he could handle. The tomb-stone has come to us through a long inheritance, and its function has changed from repression to commemoration. The ancient man thought, and many savages still think, that the ghost cannot jump over a fence. To this thought, we may owe the iron gratings and stone walls

which mar the cemeteries of Christendom. The ancient man determined that, if the ghost did escape his trammels and wander the earth, he should not disturb him, he should not *know* him. It is said that the Bohemians to this day mask themselves at a funeral. The Romans, at a funeral, assumed other manners and put on other attire than was their wont. We put on mourning; and—we shudder at the thought—the root of the custom may be found in ancient Rome and modern Bohemia,—the wish to disguise ourselves from our dear friend, the ghost.

The ancient man believed that the ghost could not walk over flinty shards. The most ancient graves in England, the barrows, are found to have been covered with sharp stones, to cut the feet of the poor ghost who would wander. Shakespeare makes the priest say that, but for the compulsion of royalty, he would cover the grave of Ophelia with sharp stones. Dr. Holmes, in his ode to Burns, says,—

"I fling my pebble on the cairn
Of him, though dead, undying."

If these lines had been written in Europe a few hundred years ago, they would have meant: "I conform to custom. When I pass the cemetery, I throw a pebble on the grave of the man whose name I sing. I do this to bruise his feet, if he attempts to wander forth."

The ancient man believed that a ghost could not pass through fire. He attempted to bar the spirit by encircling the grave with fire, cinders, ashes. The Romans, returning from a grave, walked over fire. It is said that the Ruthenian to-day, on returning from a funeral, *looks* at fire. This is the highest attenuation of a superstition.

The man of ancient times believed that a ghost could not cross sunlit water. A sunless river he could pass, and Hindu and Greek mythology had their Styx. The same river reappears in Norse mythology; and, in Christian hymnology, we have

"Death's cold stream."

Living water was a bar to the primitive ghost. The idea of barring the ghost by water still lives in the mind of the savage and in the folk-lore of the Christian:—

"Now do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
And win the key-stane o' the brig:
There at them thou thy tail may toss,
A running stream they dare na cross."

Alaric, the Goth, played havoc among men, and sent thousands prematurely over the Styx. The historian tells us that, when he died, his countrymen turned the course of the Busento, buried him in its bed, and then turned the river back into its channel. It is as if they had said: "The world has had enough of you. You are dead; and, by all the gods of Gothland, you shall stay dead." Pathetic was the effort of a nation to lay the ghost of a king. Equally pathetic is the effort of a Metamba woman to lay the ghost of a husband. The widow plunges into water to drown or drive away the ghost of the husband who may still be clinging to her.

The ancient man seems to have found that the ghost was often too much for him. Neither crackers nor gongs nor bells nor fire nor water nor shards of flint would always keep the ghost in the grave. Men resorted to bribery. Money was given to the ghost to keep him down. The very ancient Greek put a coin in the mouth of the dead to pay Charon for ferrage over the Styx. The Chinese still give money to the ghost; but—shame on these sons of the Sun!—it is counterfeit. The Greeks gave bread and wine and fruit to the ghost, to induce him to stay in the grave; but, in

time, the Greek, too, learned how to cheat. The poor ghost wanted bread, and they gave him a stone. Loaves and fruit in terra cotta have lately been found in Greek graves. What is very strange is that, in some of these graves, we find beautiful terra-cotta women with their heads broken off! Regnet's explanation is the only plausible one. As, in very early times, real bread and fruit were buried with the dead, so real women were killed and buried with a dead chief. In later times, when terra-cotta bread was imposed on the common dead, the mighty dead were cheated with terra-cotta women. The women were properly slain. They were decapitated. I know of nothing in the ancient man quite so mean as the attempt to cheat a ghost with a *stone woman*.

This is a dismal story,—this of the ancient man contending against the ancient ghost. It would have no place on any page of mine but for the lesson it teaches. How did man come by his belief in an after life? This belief, we have been saying, was born of hope. We were wrong. At the portals of the tomb sat, not the winged form of Hope, but the grim dragon of Dread. The earliest Greek did not dream of Elysian fields for the dead. He thought of the dead as doomed

"To wander 'mid shadows a shadow,
And wait by impassable streams."

As dismal as Erebus was sheol. We have gained nothing by taking sheol for hell. Better an eternity of nothingness than an hour of sheol or Erebus. So tristful to the ancient man seemed the dead that his chief thought was to bar them, and so prevent the gloom of the underworld from devouring this. So tristful was the life of the dead that the very thought of it quenched the light of love in the living. A mother who had followed a child to the grave would return and place before the door a blade or vessel of water, to cut the feet or drown the body of the returning "loved one." She believed that a dead child or husband might be standing at her door day and night, in summer heat or winter storm, and, with chilled limbs and bleeding feet, might be wailing and howling to get back once more into the house; but dread had killed pity, and the ghost might shiver and bleed and howl forever. In "Measure for Measure," Claudio says,—

"Death is a fearful thing,"

And Isabella,—

"And shamed life a hateful."

Then, Claudio, preferring a shameful life to death, expresses, save in the first line which is agnostic,—expresses the feeling of the ancient man:—

"Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted * spirit

To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprisoned in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and in certain thoughts
Imagine howling: 'tis too horrible.
The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death."

Men believed in what they did not want. They believed in an after life of unspeakable horror,—the doom of all men, good as well as bad. The ancient man believed this because he was haunted by the ancient ghost.

W. D. GUNNING.

* Delighted; that is, the "lighted" man of the upper world is now de-lighted, the flame blown out.

CARLYLE AND GOETHE AND LITERARY VERACITY.

II.

Veracity, as thus conceived, is what I mean when I say Carlyle realized a lasting affinity to Goethe. Not but that Goethe formed alliances which could have only meant ruin to Carlyle. But Goethe, while permitted by birth and circumstance to make such friendships, was, furthermore, above all transitory seductions, concerned for the integrity of his word, and wrote as the soul dictated, anxious less to titillate the public sensibility than to satisfy his own ear. Carlyle found this a point of contact; for he, too, rose to great heights rather by creating a constituency than by catering to one already existing. The greatest minds always produce this proof of power. Storms may come to them; but they find their erectness necessary, just as it seems meet that lofty mountain-peaks should unbendingly reach toward the sun. To such spirits book-making is impossible. To them, the hour brings the work. So vigilantly pure was Carlyle that he shrank from the platform, even when it offered him success, because of his fear that in the heat of speech he might be driven to say what was unwise or distorted or "special," in the oratorical sense. His veracity went with him over every stream. What thou canst not on thy soul's honor say, say not at all! This heroic purity was practically reflected in his life, and was undoubtedly his key to the rule of ethics. The cants, whether social or religious, never found welcome at his doors. Not less than Goethe, who valued a scientific discovery as relatively more important than a Napoleonic victory, was he steadfast to his star.

There are too many books of the wrong stamp as long as there is one. But there is not and could not be a surfeit of good histories or good poems any more than of good men and women. The George Eliots and Ruskins, who are steeped in the heart's researches, are not plentiful, and require no explanation. It is the book-making fraternity—the "pot-boiling" majority—whose tide needs some ruffling. A book written without elevated purpose is in effect an appeal to the corrupt taste of the reader. The consciously perpetrated daubs are so many slaps in the face of the observer. Lack of confidence in an audience is shown by the want of pure intention on the part of the plaintiff for its favor. It is not palliative to say that the public taste is low, and we are forced to meet it on its own ground. Phillips at Harvard and Phillips on the stump are not different men, but different expressions of the same man. In order that we may convey to a constituency some melody which its untuned ear may grasp and hold and enjoy, it is not required of us that we should parade discord as harmony. Simplicity of style or topic may be demanded of a writer, but vulgarity of treatment is one of those reinforcements whose allegiance is of more danger than its enmity. Success is not necessarily resident in the amusement of an audience. Men laugh at and with fools as well as philosophers, and the line between their intentions is not always obvious to acrobats.

American literature is merely at some sort of formative stage. Its giants have been in the local sense numerous, but they have not been redundant of native flavor. As time proceeds and the type gets on two legs, there will be a recognizable cast to the new-comer. Meanwhile, much that is accepted as veracious and hopeful in the soil will have to be turned and turned again to more original purposes than heretofore. Who, then, will not read an American book? And even in the lowly valleys, where newspapers congregate in sublimest

confusion, there will prevail in time to come a more exacting standard,—“literature” still in dilution, perhaps, pursuant to the apparent journalistic doom, but measurably more responsible, definitely gauged by repression, and fitted, after long apprenticeship, to more ably abet the higher though kindred craft. Literature in essence is almost part and parcel of the human soul; and, when one is broad, the other fits to the proportions of its origin. Solicitude increases with the stake, and what is to measure much must have capacity. Journalism need not be *literature ostracized*: it is that to-day because of its conditional closeting; but, when once its work is all done in the light, the stories of the street that hurry before us as we sit up in bed and rub our eyes of early mornings will be as veracious as facts of science. It would be well for us not to contemplate our national literary future with journalism dropped from sight. An entirely possible development of the germ would make it such a co-operator in the *essential* work as would suffice to blot out immature attempts to prove it mere journey-skill without actual weight in long runs. American literature, whether journalistic or poetic or other, will grow by what it feeds upon,—veracious, if veracity; strong, if strength; imbued with native fire, if fed right at the hearth; broader than European, if nursed by our liberal life; higher than antiquarianism, if awake to its opportunity. But, before any result, to-day it is inceptive.

The age of campaign biographies, partisan histories, demoralizing novels, pretty poems, passionate pamphlets, theological apologetics, legal sophistries, must have its decadence. What is written primarily for material gain is no passport to the ambrosial feasts. With what disdain did Carlyle refuse the tender of work on the *Times*? I can never recall the incident without a thrill. The calamity that had pursued the prostitution of his pen can only be imagined in a remembrance of the volumes he wrote in after years. Yet there should be nothing in journalism that would predicate such an episode. A proper adjustment of the veracities would suppose quite other results. What an adjunct that flaming pen would have been to the every-day discussions of the time! Under presiding conditions, Carlyle was compelled to dread and scorn a fate that should implicate far different meanings. The profession that to-day is afraid of such power must in later seasons beg at its doors. All this noise of passion that sways the average literature must subside. I am not solicitous for the future, with any leaning toward despair. On the contrary, I look for the day when even political manuscripts will not be all scarred and worthless from accretion of humbuggery in feeling and sentiment.

Herbert Spencer's years are monumental from their devotion to a single purpose that has never counted time by the ordinary standard. Samuel Johnson—I mean him of *New England*—labored soberly, obscurely, and long, and died short of the completion of an ample task, merely that the world might know itself in *oneness* as it never had before. Shall we ever forget how serenely Emerson wrote on, till ignorance had come up to him? All such cases have their majesty and suggestion. In their exceptional nature, we realize Time's endeavor to produce the general type. The earth were not less lovely, should age have wrought in every inch of it for fertility. It shall be shown duly that profound lessons exist for us in the trials of our own early national literature. One fact it behooves us to contemplate aside from the common course,—a truth touching the relative offence of authorship against its own best being. It is undeniable that “the wrongs of authors” are

many, and that Cervantes died in poverty, while Lope, who was a panderer, was enriched by popular esteem and patronage. But it is true, additionally, that there are certain “wrongings of the public” to which we must, soon or late, give ear and credence,—certain unsought unveracities and careless emanations of literary lightness, which it would be foolish in us, when we are so insistent as to popular duties, to flout as unreal and as doing injustice, when produced in accusation, to the innocent excellence of the literary heart.

The obligations of literary veracity are mutual,—part from producers, part from consumers. I am unable to see how they could be separated, power from proof of power. Primarily, the author is at fault, if he offers his work to tastes he thinks impure. Then, again, it will be found that “flash” work is issued to supply a want. But the balance of iniquity is kept somewhere,—if not formally, no doubt in the warping effect it has on personal offenders. In the end, literary men have their fates in their own hands. If they minister to corrupt desires, and are slain by them, they have no ground for complaint. “Bargain and sale” is never virtuously the foundation-stone of literary endeavor. Whatever may be the morality of the market, literature has its general self-respect to uphold by noblest codes, whose loss were indeed tragedy. Had it simply the point of a joke to see to, I could not lament lapses. What it brings secondarily of honest treasure is welcome as guest, not ruler. It is impossible to conceive of highest poems, histories, tales, that owe their origin merely to financial inspiration. Who can estimate how much of the vitiation that has marked the pulpit in modern or older days is owing to the “push-and-pull” method of writing—movement whether the mind is on or not—that is enforced by it? Journalism owes much of its power to its multiple helpers. Give each pulpit four preachers instead of one, and your energy will be far more than quadrupled. Give each preacher veracity, and again multiply the strength fourfold. That is to say, get above the common rut, which decrees men to do so much work in so much time, without reference to honest power. Carlyle and Goethe were exemplars of the nobler order. They stood aside from idolatries, worked in happy hours when the mind was wrought up to its capacity, and refused to desert what they knew was their duty, to serve an objective conception of what was duteous for them to do. Literature is open to no finer service.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

FREE SPEECH.

A True Narrative.

Nestling quietly in the bosom of the great State of Pennsylvania are two villages. One bears the classic name of Athens; the other, the somewhat emotional cognomen of Ireland. In the former place, in happy consonance with its name, there were, some fifteen years ago, a few free thinkers,—men and women who had lifted their heads above the platitudes of Orthodoxy, and who at this time were holding out their hands in imploring attitude toward the truth. In response to their invitation, a free-thought lecturer visited them one winter evening, and regaled their souls with an appeal for religious liberty in the good old Pauline fashion.

The village of Ireland heard of this entertainment; and, as it was their wont never to allow any good thing to reach Athens without making an effort to share it themselves, a committee of two prominent citizens were despatched to secure the services of the lecturer. Upon making their wishes known, they were politely informed that a free-thought lecture would not be welcome in their

village; that their priest would oppose it, and the use of the church would be denied. At this, they seemed somewhat bewildered. They said they did not know what free thought was, but they guessed it was all right. At all events, they did not care for the priest: it was the lecture they wanted. To this was added the formidable argument that, if a free-thought lecture was good enough for Athens, it was certainly good enough for Ireland, and, besides, “the use of the school-house could be had instead of the church.”

To those ingenuous entreaties, the lecturer at last yielded, on the one condition that the members of the committee would engage to protect him, in case any violence was offered by the audience. To this, they readily agreed; and the three set out in a sleigh across country, to carry out the newly made engagement. The audience was entirely composed, as in fact was the village, of Irish Roman Catholics. Mothers were there with their babes; and the brawny sons of Erin, in their original Celtic simplicity, attended with earnestness upon the intellectual feast.

The lecturer began his discourse by praising the patriotism of Emmet and Curran, and naturally fell to painting in gaudy colors the beauties of the Irish character. For these sentiments, he was rapturously applauded. But there are times in our lives when we sit down in dangerous places, even when we feel the most confident and secure. And this the lecturer did by suddenly affirming that the freedom of Ireland was, of all things, the most interfered with by her priests; that those men opposed freedom of thought and freedom of speech; that they assailed the liberty of conscience, and thereby deprived the individual as well as the community of the highest ideals of duty. “The priesthood,” continued the confident speaker, “is directly responsible for the degradation of your country. You are not the slaves of England: you are enslaved by the Church of Rome.”

At this, the face of nature changed. “You are a liar!” rang from a dozen throats at once; and a huge red-headed patriot, brandishing his arms above the general confusion, loudly threatened the existence of the lecturer. At this juncture, the committee, true to their word, deftly opened a window, and launched the loud-mouthed defender of Rome into a snow-bank, which, prior to this rude interruption, had been quietly sleeping at the side of the school-house. But the confusion rose higher and higher, and the champion of religious liberty began to wish earnestly that he had taken more pains to explain to the committee the true nature of free thought. At last, a voice rose above all the rest with a request for permission to answer the lecturer. This was gladly acceded. The speaker said that he had been a school-teacher in old Ireland. “I can read Latin,” said he, “and I can prove that the lecturer is a liar. I believe,” he continued, “that this man is a Methodist minister. Is it free speech that he wants? Did not Luther want free speech? and didn't he die eaten with worms, a mass of corruption? Did not Calvin want free speech? and didn't he die cursing God, and isn't it in the books that he was blown up, besides? It is free speech that has deluged the world in blood, and has brought upon us all the troubles of history.” Those remarks were drowned from time to time with the wildest applause, and the demonstrations against the lecturer were growing so hostile that he began to look seriously for a chance of escape. At this moment, a very much excited Irishman arose, and asked to be allowed fifteen minutes in which to answer the lecturer. To this request, our hero replied that, to the remarks of his friend, the school-teacher, he had listened with deep interest, and that he gladly acceded to

the proposition of his friend, the other gentleman, to make a further reply; but he hoped that they would all remember that he had to catch a train, and would be prevented, much against his will, from remaining to listen to all of the eloquent remarks which were proposed. With this, he secured his coat and hat, and, without stopping to put on either, slipped out, and jumped into a sleigh which was awaiting him, and was soon whisked far beyond the dangerous precincts of Ireland.

A. V.

COSMIC UNITY AND INTELLIGIBILITY.

In *The Index* of October 15, Mr. Thomas Davidson, in response to some excellent thoughts of Mr. Potter, asks thirteen acute questions of a most recondite character. To these, I propose to make a brief, informal reply, which may elicit from himself a more satisfactory answer.

At the outset let it be observed that the interrogator proceeds throughout on the unaffirmed assumption of a pre-scientific notion which modern psychology almost universally disallows,—that the sensible world is “not ourselves.” It is the sensible world he speaks of, and this he describes in the title as “not ourselves,” following herein Mr. Potter and Mr. Arnold; and his first six questions have no pertinence except on this assumption. On this basis, I think, his first question, whether the cosmic power is one or many, ought to be answered in favor of plurality. Very numerous are the forces of the world, which exhibits no unity except that of counteraction and interaction of a plurality of forces, whose combinations form temporary complex individualities. We have atoms of different qualities, and these in an infinite variety of connections, and thence of changed conditions and actions; and of the sensible world we know no more. This is the *known* unity of the cosmos. It is the fact, not a mere theoretic explanation of facts; not an hypothesis, but a knowledge well verified. Whether there is anything back of this as its designing cause is another question, and calls for no answer in this connection. This covers the first five questions of our philosophical interrogator.

On the other hand, if we consider all phenomena as subjective states, then by logical necessity they have all a perfect unity in their conscious subject, which is the great power that evolves and revolves all the known forms in lexical order and ceaseless succession. This is the only consistent position for any thinker coming after Descartes, and here I stand.

The collective force of the world, be it one or many, ego or non-ego, is in its action intelligible, because it can be understood, which is the meaning of intelligible. A man is unintelligible to us when we cannot understand him, and the same of his actions; and nature's *actions* are intelligible so far as they are understandable.

Hence, order is more intelligible than disorder, because it can usually be better understood, its processes anticipated, and its issues predicted. The intelligible appeals to intelligence, informs and guides it; while the unintelligible does not. The same is true of order in contrast with disorder, except when disorder is only another name for a kind of order, as in a ruin or an earthquake. There is a lexical order in all disorder; and, in that light, all is equally intelligible to the proper intelligence.

It involves no direct contradiction to say that a plurality of phenomena might possibly be utterly unintelligible. If, for instance, they absolutely do nothing, there is nothing to understand; and so they are entirely unintelligible. They are unIntel-

ligible, if they are entirely irregular in their action; for, in that case, our reason and calculation are baffled and frustrated.

But, in point of fact, I claim that there are no such phenomena, none that are thus irregular or inactive. All things are undergoing relative changes; and all these changes occur according to law, and thus in fact all are intelligible.

Then, further, I hold that this is not only the fact, but a logical necessity from the necessary nature of things. All things are or have a nature of some kind,—that is, are forces of some kind; and, therefore, they must act according to their nature or the nature of their force, and, therefore, uniformly, so that there is always ultimately a logical necessity that whatever is is intelligible.

The intelligible is not necessarily the intelligent. They are two different ideas, and do not imply each other. Intelligence is, indeed, always intelligible; but the intelligible is not always intelligent. The unintelligent may be intelligible. We have no evidence that gases are conscious and intelligent, but their action is quite intelligible to the chemist, since he can so well understand and describe their processes and results.

Because the universe is thus intelligible, intelligence can make endless progress in the study of its forms and motions and significance, if they have any significance.

These remarks, I think, cover all the questions of Mr. Davidson from my stand-point. How far they fail to meet his wants, I shall be pleased to hear, as will, I think, many others.

I will add, what all will see, that cosmic intelligibility, according to the above exposition, is no proof of cosmic intelligence in it or “behind” it.

WM. I. GILL.

THE TYRANNY OF CUSTOM.

When one finds himself yielding an acceptance to novel doctrines quite at variance with the precepts of his early training, it sometimes happens that he throws a curious retrospect over the path of his mental advance; and, in doing this, he notes a place where the path suddenly broadens, and almost at the same time changes its direction. The point is marked by a trampling of ideas and a confusion of thought. This fact has such a prominent place in our consciousness that it is useless to dilate upon it; and the individual experience is of general interest and value, mainly as it serves to illustrate the tyranny of custom, infinitely greater in thought than in bodily doing.

Bred, to a certain and frequently advanced age, in the love and fear—principally fear—of the Lord, an orthodox catechism forming the basis of education, the upright mind of ordinary stuff will only be led to question his faith or the established order of things through a shock to his sense of truth and equity; and the more candid and sincere such a mind, the more painful the shock. Somewhat as the miser may feel who finds himself suddenly deprived of his long-hoarded gold,—if, indeed, there be a fit comparison,—we may imagine for him who realizes that the underpinning of his faith is forever swept away. But there is this great difference; and, in time, he comes to realize that, too. The miser's loss is a minus for which he has a just cause of resentment against society, or at least some of its members. He from whom faith has vanished can neither find nor feel an object of resentment. Not by impoverishment, but through enrichment, it is gone. The soul is fertilized, and faith dies out; but, if that soul be noble, there germinates a new faith of ever improving quality.

The child is the true liberal: he questions every-

thing, and, unless he receives a rational answer, is unsatisfied. He may accept as a fact that there are giants; but, if you attempt to satisfy his inquisitiveness, you will be compelled to construct a cosmos, until you come smack against the wall of highest ignorance, and end with, “Child, I don't know.”

This observant and inquiring disposition on the part of children is universally encouraged, as of the highest importance to their proper development in all directions save one, and that—strange enigma!—on the side of infinite relation. When a ray of this nature dawns on the consciousness, instead of being encouraged to go as far as it can, the young thought is checked and chilled by the hush and finger of awe; and so development goes on unevenly, and the most spiritual faculties are the weakest.

What wonder that our age presents so many moral wrecks! Where lies the evil? On a thousand topics, the child has learned to be satisfied with “I don't know”; but here the answer is quite different. He is mystified by being told that he must not talk or think concerning such things; and, in this way, his mind is made receptive of a doleful cosmology, which can in no way be correlated with the facts of the world about him. But, taught to regard this catechising as the inculcation of truth in its most absolute form, he views with a stolid indifference all things that appear inconsistent with it. As soon as they are sufficiently familiar with the printed vocabulary, children are set to the task of becoming familiar with placing on their tongue's end page after page containing the Bible cosmology and the Christian scheme of salvation, consisting, for the most part, of a jumble of inconsistencies, very like the *Srottriyas* are set to master the Vedas. But, while the latter have the Rig-Veda stamped upon their memories for life, this religious training of ours fades from memory after the years of probation are past, all but the little which is retained for conventional purposes. Although not universal experience, to be submitted to this system is the fate—the education (?)—of the larger number of our brightest children. On this account, we are, perhaps, the most irreligious people in the world; for the religion of the nineteenth century Christian is a thing apart, having no connection with or influence upon his of life action. It is a superstition which leaves those within its dominion without any moral ballast, without a rational incentive to righteous conduct. Yet our conventional religionist would take to himself, with peculiar satisfaction, Cicero's laudation of the Romans, in that they excelled all people in religion,* in reality the very matter in which they were most weak and contemptible, recognizing a multitude of gods and goddesses and being practical atheists, simply because their national intelligence had outgrown their rude theogony.

H. F. BERNARD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE tributes of divines of other faiths to the piety and the good works of the dead cardinal mark a perceptible advance in the catholicity of Christians within a generation.—*Boston Herald*.

THE address of Mr. S. B. Weston, lecturer of the Society for Ethical Culture of Philadelphia, is 3208 Race Street. That of the librarian, Mr. Hugo L. Hund, has been changed to 1029 South Tenth Street.

ONE of the speakers at the Carriage-makers' Convention, held in this city last week, said,

* Cic. de Har. Resp. 2.

"Boston was renowned for Webster, founder of the Constitution: now, it is famed for John L. Sullivan, pounder of the constitution."

"THE Love of Nature" was the subject of an admirable paper read before the Parker Memorial Science Class, last Sunday, by Prof. Fay of Tufts College. Next Sunday, Mr. Henry W. Holland will deliver an address before the class on "Hereditry."

MONROE's *Iron-clad Age* thus forcibly states one of the difficulties of organizations: "Organizations against priestly monopoly, by whatever name, are well enough; but we do not regard them as essential to the proper prosecution of the work. Organizations invariably fall under the control of rings, and soon degenerate into clubs for the promotion of selfish interests. It always happens that the people who are most demonstrative for organizations are those who want to ride them to their individual profit. This drawback is inseparable from organizations, no matter for what purpose."

THE papers state that, in London, on a recent Sunday morning, a young lady found a fellow in the breakfast-room asleep, with a bottle of gin by his side. A policeman was sent for, and soon arrived. He found the fellow's pockets full of forks and spoons, and outside the window was a ladder. The burglar recognized that appearances were decidedly against him, and simply remarked, "If the gin had not been so strong, I would not have been here now." This leads an exchange to moralize as follows: "The moral of the story for householders is, Put not your trust in bolts and bars, but see that your gin be strong. By the way, Miss Barbier might have addressed the captive burglar in Lady Macduff's words of warning to her son:—

'Poor bird! thou'dst never fear the net nor lime,
The pitfall nor the gin.'

THE *Public Good* is the name of a weekly paper published in this city, in the interest of prohibition, from which we take the following story:—

Abraham Lincoln was a total abstainer for fifty years. On his election to the presidency, a large number of citizens crowded to the White House, to congratulate him. When the audience chamber was full, he cleared it with one of his practical jokes, of which he was fond. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am sure you will agree with me that on this auspicious occasion we should drink each other's health." This proposition was greeted with applause. Soon, a servant appeared, carrying a tray with a number of glasses and a large decanter filled with water. Turning to his guests, the President then said, "Gentlemen, we will now drink each other's health in the best beverage given to man, pure cold water." Subsequently, the President added to one of his friends, "That water joke effected two purposes,—it cleared my room, and gave them a lesson in the disuse of strong drink."

"LIBERTY enlightening the World" is not the only creation of Bartholdi in the United States. Theodore Stanton writes from Paris: "The Lafayette statue in Union Square, New York, and one of the public fountains of Washington, are his work. But perhaps the most characteristic of his American productions, excepting, of course, the colossus of New York harbor, are the four bas-reliefs around the steeple of the Brattle Square Church in Boston. The series is entitled 'The Four Stages of Christian Life,' and is peculiarly remarkable from the fact that the sculptor has given to the figures the faces of his friends and well-known public men. In the first bas-relief, 'Baptism,' it is easy to recognize the strong features of Sumner; in the second, 'Communion,' Longfellow is officiating as priest, while the whole Laboulaye family are there as communicants; and

in the third, 'Marriage,' Garibaldi is performing the ceremony, with Lincoln and Bartholdi's mother, hand in hand, before him."

WRITES Lillian Whiting, in the *Inter-Ocean*: "The Ixions of society, who go about with what Mrs. Whitney calls a process-of-culture expression, evidently believe that all culture is an external acquirement rather than a result achieved by intellectual activity. To read many books does not necessarily imply an acquaintance with literature; to travel in foreign lands, if one fails to see all the glories of scenery, the wonders of art, and the resources of intellectual life,—if one misses all these, and only earns the peculiarities of national and individual costuming,—is not, it may be presumed, a tour that results in any real culture. The key of life, the secret of all true social progress, is to be able to separate the essential from the unessential, the permanent from the transient, and to carry away from the feast of the gods some impression of deeper import than the pattern of the tablecloth."

In "Notes from Norway," W. B. McTaggart, in the *London Secular Review*, says:—

It will be gathered from this that the Norwegian peasant is not a man of much volatility, originality, or energy. As a rule, the Norwegians are men of great—nay, enormous—stature, with huge breadth of frame and the greatest physical capacity; but they are lacking altogether in nerve-power, or dash. For quiet, steady endurance of hardship and fatigue, scanty food, and climatic buffetings, they are probably without parallel; but for effort, such as we understand it, they are incapable. And the most insignificant cockney, with a chest of thirty-three-inch circumference, would over-ride the whole of them, under the existing conditions of the struggle for existence. The fact is, the hardy Norseman, whose progenitors are also direct ancestors of most of us in these islands, and more especially of the lowland Scotch, is a man of gigantic frame and strength and physical groundwork, so to speak, but phlegmatic and lethargic in the extreme. Fair, often almost to whiteness, in him the sanguine temperament degenerates into the lymphatic. What he wants, as a race, is an infusion of Celtic blood, which would give him fire and dash, while retaining the substratum of physical powers and calmness of judgment. This mixture is found in this, our land; and in one form or other, in more or less unequal combination, is the groundwork or type of the whole British nation.

THE attendance at the Congress of the National Liberal League (the American Secular Union), held in Cleveland the 9th, 10th, and 11th, was not large, except when it was addressed by Col. Ingersoll, who arrived on the last day. The number of League delegates present was extremely small,—smaller even than last year, at Cassadaga. Out of the hundreds of leagues claimed to be still in existence, only four were represented,—the Pennsylvania State League (five delegates), the Pittsburgh League (four delegates), the Cleveland League (five delegates), and the Newark, N.J., League (one delegate, by proxy). The entire number of delegates reported present by the Committee on Credentials was thirty-five. We take these figures from the report given in the *Truth-Seeker*, the chief organ of the League, whose editor was present, and who, after giving the names of the thirty-five delegates, evidently impressed with the smallness of the number, adds: "We think this list must be incomplete; for we recognized several present who should have represented leagues, if they did not. But the above were all who reported to the Committee on Credentials." Yet there were in addition a few persons in attendance from some other States than those mentioned, but the audiences were composed mainly of Cleveland people. A friend writes that some of the speakers, among whom

he especially mentions Mr. Courtland Palmer and Mr. J. D. Shaw, delivered able addresses, which deserved a larger hearing than they received. Col. Ingersoll repeated his "Myth and Miracle," his latest and one of his best lectures, to an audience of about two thousand. The treasurer's report sustained statements we had received from members of the League, that it was run by two or three individuals, with the aid of Col. Ingersoll's name, for their own personal benefit. Of the \$3,684.58 raised by contributions, etc., \$3,456.71 went to pay the salaries and expenses of Messrs. Putnam and Watts for lecturing against Christianity and in defence of Secularism, from the time they took charge of the League, a year ago. If any specific work were done during the year to advance the cause of State secularization, no proof of it appears in the report of the proceedings. Next week, we shall express our views on this subject more fully in an open letter to Col. Ingersoll, a gentleman with whom our personal relations, from our first acquaintance with him before he was known to fame, until now, have never been otherwise than cordial, but whose recent course in connection with the Liberal League we in that spirit of independence for which he so eloquently pleads, must frankly criticise.

THE *Banner of Light* complains that, when a "medium falls from grace, the secular, the infidel, and the religious press set up an awful howl," but that "when an infidel commits suicide, or a minister or an elder goes astray, silence or whitewash through respectable influences closes the door of such skeleton closet." But our neighbor should consider, assuming that what it says is true, that, "when an infidel commits suicide," the act does not disprove his reasonings or his views as an "infidel," and that, when a minister or an elder becomes a criminal, the fact does not affect the soundness of the views he teaches as a Christian; while, on the other hand, when an individual, whose reputation is that of a medium for spiritual manifestations, is discovered to be a fraud, and his so-called spiritual manifestations are seen to be clever tricks performed by himself, his claims as a medium are invalidated; and when sceptics have "been confounded" and many honest Spiritualists deceived by the charlatan thus pretending to stand between the living and the dead, between bereaved and aching hearts and the loved ones of whom but a glimpse, from whom but a whisper, would give unspeakable joy, it is not strange that there are people who "set up an awful howl." We do not think that our esteemed contemporary means to intimate that, with respect to merely personal behavior or private life, the medium is more often or more severely criticised by "the secular, the infidel, or the religious press" than is the "infidel," the "minister," or the "elder."

For The Index.

VERSE SERMON.

Chilled by the frosts and frowns of many years
And wearied with the bitter storm of life,
Brother, perchance through thy thick mist of tears
Thou seest but the dark and angry strife.
Throw off thy fears,
And trust. Thy grief may for a night endure,
Joy cometh with the morning, swift and sure.
Brother, maybe a heavy hand hath crushed
From out thy heart the lightness of its youth,
And all its glad songs for aye seem hushed,
While thou art left alone to mourn its ruth.
Thou once hadst blushed
To own a conqueror. Forth now with thy shield!
He only conquers who can face the field.

WALTER CRANE.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

The Famous Speeches of Wendell Phillips.

BY W. SLOANE KENNEDY.

There is no more fascinating reading in American literature than the speeches of the great master of invective, who has recently passed away. So loaded is every page with rich historic and anecdotal illustration, and so sparkling, fresh, and alive is every paragraph, that of them, almost alone among volumes of speeches, can it be said that they are as fascinating as a romance. And this is not due to the dithyrambic invective (the new Phillips) alone: it is due to the solid merit, the polished Ciceronian eloquence, the massy classicism of the style. But their piquancy is doubtless due largely to their cutting satire and sarcasm. The satire of Phillips' speeches is like those Amazonian blow-gun arrows which come silently and without warning, yet send their bitter acridity straight to the centres of the blood and brain. But the arrows of Mr. Phillips were all shot in noble causes; and, read by posterity, when all personal feelings have ceased to influence, his speeches will rank beside the ponderous Johnsonian orations of Webster and Sumner.

Undoubtedly, the best productions of Mr. Phillips are his anti-slavery war speeches. In his famous Sims speech, the orator gave Rev. Orville Dewey a rubbing down with his terrible crash-towel. Mr. Dewey had publicly stated his willingness to return his own mother into slavery, if such an act should be necessary to save the Union. Phillips says he attempted "to lie himself out of the delicate embarrassment which this statement brought him into" by explaining that he did not mean his venerable relative, but his son!

In his speech on the Garrison mob of 1835, delivered in Stacy Hall in 1855, Mr. Phillips rapped the newspapers over the knuckles; spoke of the *Daily Advertiser* as "of course on the wrong side, —respectable when its opponents are strong and numerous, and quite ready to be scurrilous when scurrility will pay,—behind whose editorials a keen ear can always catch the clink of the dollar,—en-

titled to be called the Rip Van Winkle of the press, should it ever wake up."

In his lecture on the Pilgrims (1855), he says: "Do you suppose that, if Elder Brewster could come up from his grave to-day, he would be contented with the Congregational Church and the five points of Calvin? No, sir: he would add to his creed the Maine liquor law, the underground railroad, and the thousand Sharpe's rifles addressed 'Kansas,' and labelled 'books.' [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]" In a speech of 1860, Mr. Phillips said that, although he had known Boston for thirty years, and seen many mobs, he had yet to see (with one exception) the first word of honest rebuke, from the daily press, of a well-dressed mob met to crush honest men: that exception was the Boston *Daily Advocate* of Mr. Hallett, in 1835 and 1837. In his Phi Beta Kappa address in 1881, he thus satirized the keeping of diaries: "Tremble, my good friend, if your sixpenny neighbor keeps a journal. It adds a new terror to death. Journals are excellent to record the depth of the last snow, and the date when the May-flower opens. But, when you come to men's motives and characters, journals are the magnets that get near the chronometers of history, and make all its records worthless." But journals are the source of history; and, therefore, it seemed to Mr. Phillips that "one-half of history is but loose conjecture, and the rest is the writer's opinion." In the address on the Pilgrims, alluded to above, the orator said (in the words of Douglas Jerrold) that "there are estimable people who can never fully relish the new moon, out of respect for that venerable institution, the old one."

In November, 1859, Mr. Phillips spoke in Beecher's church in Brooklyn, on "The Lesson of the Hour." "The lesson of the hour," said he,—“I think the lesson of the hour is insurrection.” And he proceeded to deliver an impassioned eulogy of heroic John Brown, then on trial in Virginia: "You see the great Commonwealth of Virginia fitly represented by a pyramid standing upon its apex. A Connecticut born man entered at one corner of her dominions, and fixed his cold gray eye upon the government of Virginia; and it almost vanished in his very gaze. For it seems that Virginia, for a week, asked leave to be of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. . . . Virginia, the Commonwealth of Virginia! She is only a chronic insurrection. I mean exactly what I say. I am weighing my words now. She is a pirate ship; and John Brown sails the sea a Lord High Admiral of the Almighty, with his commission to sink every pirate he meets on God's ocean of the nineteenth century. [Cheers and applause.] . . . John Brown has twice as much right to hang Governor Wise as Governor Wise has to hang him. [Cheers and hisses.] Harper's Ferry was the only government in that vicinity."

Beckford, in his *Hall of Eblis*, says Phillips, tells of a great crowd of men running round, each with an incurable wound in his bosom, and each agreeing not to speak of it, lest the building fall upon them. Such were the slaveholders; but Brown uttered the talismanic word, "cried: 'Slavery is sin! Come, all true men, help pull it down'; and the whole machinery trembled to its very base." He gave the South something to think of, as the blacksmith ties a cord around the nether lip of a restless horse, that he may fix his attention on that.

From his address at North Elba, in 1859, over the grave of John Brown, it appears that Mr. Phillips still hoped that the slavery struggle might be peacefully settled. "Ours is the age of thought," he said. "Hearts are stronger than swords." But, on April 21, 1861, he said in Music Hall: "Civil

war is a momentous evil. It needs the soundest, most solemn justification. I rejoice before God to-day for every word I have spoken counselling peace; but I rejoice also with a specially profound gratitude that now, the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the stars and stripes [alluding to his withdrawal from the bar, owing to his unwillingness to take the constitutional oath under a corrupt government], and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war. The only mistake that I have made was in supposing Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton-dust and cankered with gold." This was spoken before Theodore Parker's congregation. It was to them that he once declared his dislike of the prevalent religious organizations: "Understand me, I would never join one of those petty despotisms which usurp, in our day, the name of a Christian Church. I would never put my neck into that yoke of ignorance and superstition led by a Yankee pope, and give my good name as a football for their spleen and bigotry. That lesson I learned of my father long before boyhood ceased. I could never see any essential difference between the one portentous Roman pope and the thousand petty ones who ape him in our pulpits."

It was on Parker's platform in Music Hall, too, that Mr. Phillips twice spoke in the face of angry mobs. On Sunday, Dec. 21, 1860, he spoke on "Mobs and Education"; and a living illustration of his theme in the shape of a mob waited outside of the hall. A large detachment of police was in attendance at the hall, and many of the officers were stationed in two small rooms adjoining the platform. Others were stationed in various parts of the building, and members of the detective police force were present. When the address was concluded, a strange and thrilling pageant (worthy of the days of Republican Rome or Colonial America) was seen in the streets of Boston. It was no less a sight than a procession consisting of twenty friends of the great orator, a detachment of police, and a vast and angry mob, all moving up Washington Street, as the arch-abolitionist was escorted to his home. When the party of Mr. Phillips' adherents first emerged on Winter Street, they found a large crowd collected there, who immediately set up a babel of cries: "There he is!" "Crush him out!" "Down with the abolitionists!" "Bite his head off!" "All up!" And, with this, they surged forward, trying to prevent the escape of the company. But they were balked by the energy of the police. We can imagine how that terrible glittering eye of Phillips must have burned into the very souls of those of the miscreants on whom he turned it in his scorn. The immense throng moved down Winter Street, up Washington to Essex, where Mr. Phillips entered his door with a few friends. The deputy chief then requested the crowd to disperse, which they reluctantly did.

The mob of which Mr. Phillips spoke on this occasion was one of the broadcloth mobs of those times, that had broken up an anti-slavery meeting a short time previous.

In his address on "Progress," given in February, 1861, in Boston, Mr. Phillips said, "Our Constitution is a mere clapboard house, so square and sharp it almost cuts you to look at it, staring with white paint and green blinds, as if dropped from the landscape or come out to spend an afternoon." When the men of Massachusetts, in the convention that framed the United States Constitution, said that a three-fifths slave basis was a small matter, and would conciliate the South, "that moment the devil hovered over Charleston [South Carolina] with a handful of cotton-seed. Dropped into sea-island soil, and touched by the magic of Massa-

chusetts brains, it poisoned the atmosphere of thirty States. That cotton-fibre was a rod of empire such as Cæsar never wielded." "He needs a long spoon who sups with the devil."

In the speech of 1861, called "Under the Flag," occur these powerful utterances: "When the South cannonaded Fort Sumter, the bones of Adams stirred in his coffin. [Cheers.] And you might have heard him from that granite grave at Quincy proclaim to the nation: 'The hour has struck! Seize the thunderbolt God has forged for you, and annihilate the system which has troubled your peace for fifty years!' . . . That hour has come to us. So stand we to-day. The abolitionist who will not cry, when the moment serves, 'Up, boys, and at them!' is false to liberty."

The famous lecture on "Toussaint L'Ouverture," as delivered during the early days of the war, excited great attention. It is a masterpiece of oratory. Mr. Phillips, with his peculiar exaggeration, ranks Toussaint above every other great statesman and general in history. He reminds his hearers that the St. Domingo black men are the only race in history that has achieved liberty by its own efforts, while our own Saxon ancestors were slaves for four hundred years; were sold with the land, like chattels, and yet never dared to break those chains of servitude. Napoleon starved his other *ego*, his black shadow, the great L'Ouverture, in the dungeon of St. Joux. "That imperial assassin was taken, twelve years after, to his prison at St. Helena, planned for a tomb, as he had planned that of Toussaint; and there he whined away his dying hours in pitiful complaints of curtains and titles, of dishes and rides. God grant that, when some future Plutarch shall weigh the great men of our epoch, the whites against the blacks, he do not put that whining child at St. Helena into one scale, and into the other the negro meeting death like a Roman, without a murmur, in the solitude of his icy dungeon!" Compression of thought by an orator was never carried further than in this lecture on Toussaint. Mark this Antony-like paragraph: "Rochambeau sent to Cuba for bloodhounds. When they arrived, the young girls went down to the wharfs, decked the hounds with ribbons and flowers, kissed their necks; and, seated in the amphitheatre, the women clapped their hands to see a negro thrown to these dogs, previously starved to rage. But the negroes besieged this very city so closely that these same girls, in their misery, ate the very hounds they had welcomed. . . . Some doubt the courage of the negro. Go to Hayti and stand on those fifty thousand graves of the best soldiers France ever had, and ask them what they think of the negro's sword. And, if that does not satisfy you, come home; and if it had been October, 1859 [John Brown at Harper's Ferry], you might have come by way of quaking Virginia, and asked her what she thought of negro courage."

In his noted lecture on "The Lost Arts," Mr. Phillips shows how there is little new in the arts or customs of people. There are, for example, only from two hundred and fifty to three hundred distinct stories in Europe, and two hundred of these may be traced back to Asia and to a period preceding Christianity. Many jokes and bulls are thousands of years old,—as that of the man who said he would have been a very handsome person, but they changed him in the cradle. Among the lost arts is a kind of glass-cup manufacture of the Chinese. They made a cup which looked colorless until a certain liquor was poured in, and then the glass seemed to be full of fishes. There is a story of a certain Roman who came home from some foreign country, bringing a cup which was made of malleable glass, which, when let

fall, only received dents on its surface. There is a celebrated vase—that of the Genoa Cathedral—which looks exactly like a solid emerald, but no one knows how it was made.

Pliny says that Nero had a ring with a gem in it, which he used to look at the gladiators with. So Nero had his opera-glass.

The signet of the ring of Cheops contains figures and lines so fine that you cannot see them without the aid of a microscope. Hence, the Egyptians must have had that instrument.

The Pompeians knew the secret of Tyrian purple (a red color), and Titian knew the secret of mixing his wonderful colors; but Reynolds did not know it.

English steel cannot bear the atmosphere of India; but a Damascus blade, exhibited at the London Exhibition, could be bent so that the point touched the hilt, and could be twisted every way without breaking, like an American politician.

The crowning effort of Mr. Phillips' life was his Phi Beta Kappa Address, delivered at Harvard College on occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Society in 1881. It was so long since he had stood in the lists opposed to college conservatives that this tardy act of justice on the part of his *Alma Mater* did not seem to them a very dangerous proceeding. But the college dignitaries were made to smart before he had done with them. He recognized his opportunity, and resolved to use it well. Years before, he had publicly rebuked, in words stern and severe, President Walker, of Harvard, for countenancing by his personal presence at a Revere House banquet the sale of intoxicating liquors in hotels, so that it was no wonder he had never been invited to speak at any college commencement or the like meeting. But he had the scholars all before him now, and he gave them *their* dose. He accused them of distrust of universal suffrage. During the whole anti-slavery contest, the scholarship of the country was dumb, until imminent and deadly peril convulsed it into action. He had seen in his life-time many mobs, but *never* one that was not well dressed and countenanced by respectability. College-bred men fail of their duty by leaving it to others to agitate the great questions of social reform. But, in all modern governments, agitation is the only peaceable method of progressing, as the life and work of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Rowland Hill, Romilly, Cobden, John Bright, Garrison, and O'Connell prove.

"Never again be ours the fastidious scholarship that shrinks from rude contact with the masses. Very pleasant it is to sit high up in the world's theatre, and criticise the ungraceful struggles of the gladiators, shrug one's shoulders at the actor's harsh cries, and let every one know that, but for 'this villainous saltpetre, you would yourself have been a soldier.' But Bacon says, 'In the theatre of man's life, God and his angels only should be lookers on.' Sin is not taken out of man, as Eve was out of Adam, by putting him to sleep. 'Very beautiful,' says Richter, 'is the eagle when he floats with outstretched wings aloft in the clear blue, but sublime when he plunges down through the tempest to his eyrie on the cliff, where his unfledged young ones are and are starving.'"

Speaking of the scholar's distrust of ideas of liberty, of popular government, he said: "In boyhood and early life, I was honored with the friendship of Lothrop Motley. He grew up in the thin air of Boston provincialism, and pined on such weak diet. I remember sitting with him once in the State House, when he was a member of our legislature. With biting words and a keen crayon, he sketched the ludicrous points in the minds and

persons of his fellow-members, and, tearing up the pictures, said scornfully, 'What can become of a country with such fellows as these making its laws; no safe investments; your good name lied away any hour, and not worth keeping, if it were not?' In vain, I combated the folly. He went to Europe, spent eight or ten years. I met him the day he landed on his return. As if our laughing talk in the State House had that moment ended, he took my hand, with the sudden exclamation: 'You were all right, I was all wrong! It is a country worth dying for; better still, worth living and working for, to make it all it can be!'"

Mr. Phillips next proceeded to discuss briefly, but cogently, the subjects of temperance, woman's rights, Ireland, and Nihilism. Imagine the astonishment of his conservative audience, when he asserted Nihilism to be "the honorable and righteous resistance of a people crushed under an iron rule," and continued as follows:—

"God means that unjust power shall be insecure; and every move of the giant, prostrate in chains, whether it be to lift a single dagger or stir a city's revolt, is a lesson in justice. I honor Nihilism, since it redeems human nature from the suspicion of being utterly vile, made up only of heartless oppressors and contented slaves. As Emerson says, 'What the tender and poetic youth dreams to-day, and conjures up with inarticulate speech, is to-morrow the vociferated result of public opinion, and the day after is the charter of nations.' Submit to risk your daily bread, expect social ostracism, count on a mob now and then, be in earnest, don't equivocate, don't excuse, don't retreat a single inch; and you will finally be heard."

"In Russia, the young girl whispers in her mother's ear, under a ceiled roof, her pity for a brother knouted and dragged half dead into exile for his opinions. The next week, she is stripped naked and flogged to death in the public square. In such a land, dynamite and the dagger are the necessary and only substitutes for Faneuil Hall and the *Daily Advertiser*."

"Of all the cant in this canting world, though the cant of piety may be the worst, the cant of Americans bemoaning Russian Nihilism is the most disgusting. I shall bow to any rebuke from those who hold Christianity to command entire non-resistance. But criticism from any other quarter is only that nauseous hypocrisy which, stung by threepenny tea-tax, piles Bunker Hill with granite and statues, prating the while of patriotism and broadswords; while, like another Pecksniff, it recommends a century of dumb submission and entire non-resistance to the Russians, who for a hundred years have seen their sons by thousands dragged to death or exile, no one knows which, in this worse than Venetian mystery of police, and their maidens flogged to death in the market-place, and who share the same fate, if they presume to ask the reason why."

"Born within sight of Bunker Hill, in a commonwealth which adopts the motto of Algernon Sydney, *sub libertate quietem* (accept no peace without liberty), son of Harvard, whose first pledge was *Truth*, citizen of a republic based on the claim that no government is rightful unless resting on the consent of the people, and which assumes to lead in asserting the rights of humanity, I, at least, can say nothing else and nothing less,—no, not if every tile on Cambridge roofs were a devil hooting my words."

Such is an abstract of this famous speech. It is a curious coincidence that, twenty-four years before, Mr. Phillips had delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa of Yale an oration on a similar theme,—"The Scholar as an Agitator."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE BASIS OF RELIGION.

Editors of *The Index* :—

We hear from the liberal side much of "a new basis for religious unity," and are assured that religion has a scientific foundation, as if it were not itself an elemental factor in life. Does not this indicate that the liberal movement of to-day is taking a *backward* step, committing the very same mistake which has been the curse of Christianity, of making religion an intellectual system rather than a moral one, or of making it to consist of an intellectual assent to philosophical theories rather than of moral aspirations? And do we not see the same mistake which created orthodox theology repeated, when our liberal men strain their thinking faculties to invent or discover intellectual reasons for those moral obligations which we directly feel? Thus, nothing will be accomplished beyond changing the creed, setting Spencer in the place of Jesus, the philosophy of modern writers in the place of the Platonic philosophy of the early Fathers. Instead of mere intellectual systems, let us have one purely ethical movement in religion. The so-called ethical movements are mere intellectual movements around ethics as their motto, but unsuccessful in calling forth that ethical passion within us, about which they reason, and which is the one basis and life of religion. Religion is worthless whenever it ceases to be the life created and revelations obtained by our motives, ends, loves, and all faculties becoming ethical,—the immersion of our entire life in the moral passion; worthless, when it becomes mere intellectual speculations about ethics or about the origin and destiny of the world. Religion is spirit and life, and is never created by proving what it should be. If in us there is a moral nature, enough to speak forth till it wake; if not in us, arguments will never put it there. And we do have a moral nature, if we have an intellectual (though it might be more correct to say that human nature is ethical); and thereon must religion be based. We have a direct moral consciousness, and in it lies all our hope of the moral bettering of human life. Is not the great lack of all our modern movements in religion, faith in this moral nature of man, faith in the infinite might of moral truths, needing no propping of logic? Whether God created the world in six days or in six million years, or whether it grew up on the shore of infinitude through eternities, warmed and lighted by the Unknowable, holiness is beautiful, lovable, and blissful, love between men a beautifier and paradise-builder; and we may go on calling forth from each other ever new powers of love, truth, and righteousness, new heavens and earths,—for the "kingdom of heaven" is within us, ever there, be the world old or young, evolved or created. Intellect divides, and intellectual systems rapidly decay and change. The moral spirit is one through all ages and climes. Jesus, Buddha, and Confucius are one in it. The intellect must never pretend to form more than the ever-changing superstructure of religion.

Intellectually to interpret life is hard, while it is easy morally to do so. Every man, poor or rich, will respond to moral truth; while only the learned can respond to intellectual religious speculations. Base religion solely on the moral sentiment, make all preaching a direct appeal from the moral nature in one man to that in another, a mere presenting of the moral law and gospel (as definite and clear as the laws of light or heat, all these laws of conscience, and hopes and faiths of the hearts), and poor and rich, learned and ignorant, will once more unite in one spirit and one temple; and the intellect will be the servant of the heart, and science of conscience,—the end of all, character.

On this basis, we can unite, but not if assent to a scientific theory is the test of fellowship, or belief in or negation of a certain name or doctrine. When my assent to some theory about the fallibility of Christ or the mistakes of the Bible are made tests of fellowship, I am excluded.

On this ethical foundation, we have the religion of the spirit, the revealing of the law written on our inward parts, of the gospel in our hearts. It begins by lifting the veil to the truth that character is the end of existence, goodness a blessed necessity; that all life, all force, is "a power making for righteous-

ness"; truth and right, the fibres and nerves of this whole world, wherein no life can thrive nor vice prosper; that goodness possesses such renewing power that, when we sinful turn to it in love, resolving to do and live it, sin and all its effects flee away, and leave us pure and erect; if we turn to it, the universe turns to us. And it ends in the character which can say, "The Father and I are one, God in me and I in him."

And, as in character we rise, our horizon widens; as we live better, we see more perfectly the ethical truth of the universe, the origin, end, and way of it all.

If, on this one way, we, filled with a hungering love for perfect goodness and desire to help make triumphant the perfect will, should cry out of our souls to the Oversoul out of which we rose, and which on all sides surrounds us, for help; or if we, full of joy, should sing to it the praise and thanks with which our hearts are filled,—if thus we should pray and worship, call us not, therefore, superstitious. We agree with you that the end of all is character. We pray for it; we in prayer and spiritual communion draw into ourselves the good which beams from starry sky or truth-sown revelations. We worship, because we cannot help it: we must sing the praise of that Power which so has blessed us, even though he care not; must do so, as the lamb cannot but lick the shepherd's hand. To us there is the same pleasure in contemplating the ways of God all about us, his wondrous works and miracles without end, as in beholding the waving fields and whispering woods. It gives us joy to know that God lives, that our souls are but children of a larger Soul which fills all infinitude and all eternity wholly. And so, feeling within all nature the same moral life, perfected and almighty, which stirs beneath our sin and weakness, we cannot but break into songs and hymns and joy without end. Who can help it, who sees that the life of the world is ethical life, the end of the world a moral end, the origin of the world an ethical thought, the unity of the world the power of truth, the moving force of all a living Soul,—God, whose image and children we are? And shall we not at last have an ethical movement in religion?

H. TAMBS LYCHE.

THE DESIGN ARGUMENT.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In considering Mr. Underwood's remarks of the design arguments in *The Index* of October 1, as well as other writings on the same subject, it seemed to the writer that the chief failure to comprehend a design in life lies in its mode of consideration, presented always in a partial manner,—special pleadings, the watch argument of Paley, Huxley's teleology, Darwin's straying organisms, and the like. But looking at creation from the beginning, step by step, as a whole, no one conversant with the matter, it seems to the writer, can fail to see design. From a minute stomach to a perfect human mind (not yet attained), forethought, plan, and design are evident in every step of the still uncompleted chasm between the two. The contents of the earth give evidence of forethought in their utilities. The struggles of animals to produce the necessary ligaments, tendons, muscles, and other qualities, to compose a rude river-drift man on the line of a still higher being, give evidence of forethought and plan.

The final end to be attained could not be brought about in any other way than that adopted,—evolution and survival of the fittest among the lower organisms, experiences (civilize or die) among the higher. All the incongruities of life can be accounted for upon the ground of our still inexperienced state. No accident but what leads to final better conditions; and wars, strifes, and cruelties are only so many indications of our unwisdom and lack of experience, and are simply so many incentives and calls toward the final attainment. Looking at creation in its entirety gives no room for a "chance" theory.

I have not the time, necessary material, nor ability to fully elaborate this thought; but, to those as familiar with the gradual unfolding of life in its various phases as the average *Index* reader should be, the mere suggestions here given, "dumb mouths" though they appear, should plead "trumpet-tongued" for a designer.

Yours,

JOHN MILLS.

A FRIEND, who is a good literary critic, writes of Miss Cleveland's book: "It seems the work of a well-read, thoughtful, and high-minded and good woman, somewhat in the trammels of her early education, who writes not so much because she has something she *must* say as because she has cultivated the talent for saying things, and can make it swell her income of reputation and money. Her artificial attempts at brilliancy of style are the most conspicuous blemishes in the book to me. The *mazima ars celare artem* has not quite been attained by her. The several essays seem to me of very unequal merit. And her theory of the necessity of what she considers a religious faith in order to make a poet is open to some question,—at least, requires closer analysis. A poet may be without anything that can properly be called religion. But, to the poet of a certain order of thought and power, what I should regard as religious aspiration, or sentiment, is plainly essential. Keats, Shelley, and Byron, and many more, were poets in their range, surely. And what would Miss Cleveland say of Robert Burns?"

BARTHOLOI's affection for his mother is beautiful and touching. Theodore Stanton writes: "I well remember her presence last November in the court-yard of the foundry where stood the statue of Liberty, on the occasion when Victor Hugo visited it. She had never seen the great poet, and asked to be introduced to him. But the son feared lest the emotion produced by the presentation should be too great for her. But she pooh-poohed the idea, and insisted upon shaking hands with the literary king of France. Bartholdi yielded, and, leading her up to the poet, said, 'Permit me to present Mme. Bartholdi, my mother, who was born a year before you.' She made an old-fashioned courtesy. Victor Hugo bowed in his stately way; and, raising her hand to his lips, he kissed it. It was a touching sight to see these two more than octogenarians thus brought face to face. One has since passed away; but the other—whom I met a few weeks ago at table in Bartholdi's cosy dining-room—is still erect and strong. But Bartholdi has shown his filial regard in an original and extraordinary manner. At a banquet given to the sculptor a year ago, I heard M. Bozerian, of the French senate, speak as follows: 'Soon after I had met Bartholdi for the first time, he invited me one evening to accompany him to the opera. The head of the statue of Liberty had recently been completed, and I had been up to the foundry the day before to see it. As we entered the box at the opera, I noticed a lady seated in one of the chairs; and, turning to my companion, I exclaimed, 'Why, there's your model of the head of Liberty!' 'Yes,' was the reply, 'let me present you to my mother.' Bartholdi, therefore, has not only put his own soul into the work that is to stand forever on Bedloe's Island, but he has also breathed into it the features of her who gave him birth, so that the memory of mother and son will go down to the ages together.'

BOOK NOTICES.

MONISM AND MELIORISM. A Philosophical Essay on Causality and Ethics. By Paul Carus, Ph.D. (Tübingen). New York: F. W. Christern, 37 West 23d Street. 1885. pp. 83. Price 75 cts.

The author of this work means by Monism a conception of the world which ascribes all phenomena to one source, and explains all problems from one principle, and by Meliorism—a word which, if we mistake not, was first used in this sense by George Eliot,—a view of life which, accepting neither pessimism nor optimism, finds the highest duty and satisfaction in earnest labor for the improvement of the existing order of things.

The first part of the work is devoted to a consideration of the revolution Kant has produced in the empire of philosophy, and to a discussion of his method and the essential thought of his philosophy. Considering that the latter seems to consist of two souls, the one sceptical and radical and the other dogmatic and believing, it is not strange, the author says, that people are puzzled, and ask, "Which is now the real Kant?" and that Kantians are divided into two principal camps, the radicals and the dogmatists. "Both of them stand upon Kant; but the radicals (for instance, Schopenhauer) say that the real Kant is the critical philosopher, who was, as they pretend, so weak that he was afraid of losing his professor-

ship, and therefore stooped to hypocrisy. The orthodox party, however, to which belong the *élite* of Germany's philosophically trained clergymen, think that the Kant of the Practical Reason is the true Kant." The fact that Kant, when rebuked by the government, yielded to the pressure and promised obedience, and in his old age was weak enough to say that he "would do even more than was demanded of him, and abstain in future from all public lectures concerning religion, whether natural or revealed," does not, our author thinks, explain his dualism. Dr. Carus says that the great philosopher was "too thorough not to think his critical ideas to the end, and there he arrived at the abyss of atheism." But he could not stop there. "Pure reason is but half the soul of man: the other half, being the emotional part, has exactly the same right." "There is no doubt that Kant was scientifically a real atheist; but, on the other hand, he establishes simply on the basis of our emotional wants the idea of God." How this radical atheism and emotional theism can be combined into a unity, Kant leaves us to find out. This unmistakable dualism, our author holds, is not due to want of consistency, but to the fact that Kant is "standing on the tribunal of justice, and, being unable to decide, allows each party to say its mind."

There is, we believe, much truth in this explanation of Kant's dualism; but why characterize his ontology as atheism, considering the current connotation of this word? And why speak of Spencer as an atheist, when the word "agnostic" properly defines his position, recognizing as he does, with Kant, ultimate existence, the basis of all phenomena, while, with Kant, declaring that its nature is inscrutable.

The portion of this essay which treats of "Causality" and "First Cause and Final Cause" is thoughtful and interesting, but the discussion is too brief and fragmentary to be very satisfactory. It is argued that causality is a law of motion, and the ultimate principle inherent in the nature of things. Cause and effect mean not merely succession, as Hume and Mill claim, but the ensuing of one change from a previous one. The reasonings of these two profound thinkers on this subject, be they sound or fallacious, are certainly not refuted in this essay.

Dr. Carus rejects "the idea of a First Cause in the sense of Creator," but recognizes "the final principle of the world," "the most general law governing the whole universe, the fundamental basis, and, so to speak, the ground on which everything rests," which "an atheist like Herbert Spencer calls the 'Unknownable.'" By the three (3) principles of cognition,—matter, space, and movement,—we may comprehend anything in the world: "yes, anything except the world itself, and so really nothing." The principles of cognition, "simple and plain as they seem at first sight, are, by their very nature, incomprehensible." We cannot understand space; matter we shall never know; and, as for movement, it is a fact, but we cannot account for it, cannot understand the ground or last causation of movement.

The word "final cause" is rejected, and for it is substituted simply *finis*, answering to the Greek *τέλος*; and designating what Germans call *Zweck* and *Ziel*. Every line of motion has its *whence* and its *whither*. The *whence* is the *cause*, the *whither* the *finis*. The *finis*, by evolution, informs us as to the character of the final principle. Monism means unity of *finis*; that is, the same goal, as well as unity of the source of all phenomena and unity of principle animating the world.

Ethics can have no basis in the commands of a God who will reward and punish, and none in utility or happiness. There can be no moral actions without freedom of the will, and yet causation implies necessity. "The chief value of any moral deed rests on the fact that the man *could not*, under the condition, act otherwise than thus; that it was an act of free will and, at the same time, of inevitable necessity." The world were a failure, if its chief purpose were really happiness. We live, not to be happy, but to do something in the service of humanity; and "this must be done even at the sacrifice of comfort, ease, and happiness. And a successful performance of this duty is the highest—nay, the only—happiness of man,"—a statement which, after all, is in effect that happiness, the happiness of all, is the highest aim of life. A life worthy to be lived is one full of aspiration for something better; and this aspiration dwells in our souls as a categorical imperative, and is related to that ethical law governing the affairs

of the world. Here is the foundation of meliorism. The volume concludes thus: "And so meliorism completes and supplements the doctrine of monism in establishing the truth that the final principle of the world is ethical." Such is the leading thought of the volume.

We cannot say that Dr. Carus' work contains any thought which is new or novel; but it discusses some of the higher problems of philosophy in a style that has the merit of strength and clearness, and in a manner that fixes the mind on the subject, and makes it far from dry and uninteresting. B. F. U.

THE ESSAYS OF ELIA. By Charles Lamb. With Introduction by Alfred Angier. New York: John B. Alden. pp. 236. Cloth, price 50 cents.

It is a long time since these *Essays of Elia* first delighted the English-reading public, but the tender pathos and kindly humor which permeate them are just as appreciable to-day as when they were first written. Mr. Alden intends to supplement this volume (which contains twenty-eight of the best known of these essays, in the order they first appeared under the editorship of the author) by a companion volume, which will give some of the later miscellaneous writings of Lamb, to be entitled *Last Essays of Elia*. The following essays appear in this volume: "The South Sea House," "Oxford in the Vacation," "Christ's Hospital Five and Thirty Years Ago," "The Two Races of Men," "New Year's Eve," "Mrs. Battle's Opinions on Whist," "A Chapter on Ears," "All Fools' Day," "A Quakers' Meeting," "The Old and New Schoolmaster," "Imperfect Sympathies," "Witches, and Other Night Fears," "Valentine's Day," "My Relations," "Mackery End in Hertfordshire," "My First Play," "Modern Gallantry," "The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple," "Grace before Meat," "Dream-children, a Reverie," "Distant Correspondents," "The Praise of Chimney-sweepers," "A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis," "A Dissertation upon Roast Pig," "A Bachelor's Complaint of the Behavior of Married People," "On Some of the Old Actors," "On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century," and "On the Acting of Munden."

S. A. U.

BEADS FOR THE CHILDREN TO STRING. From St. Nicholas. Compiled by Mrs. E. W. Lane, Newton, Mass. Boston: J. F. Giles, 206 Washington Street.

"Santa Claus," through one of his corps of able assistants (Mrs. Lane), has devised a very unique and beautiful Christmas present for the entertainment and instruction of those of his young friends who are anxious to improve in their piano practice. It consists of a pretty box containing a lesson-book in shape suitable for use at the piano, with covers of cream and gold, and whose gilt-edge leaves are tied together with a golden cord. On each leaf is a scale exercise, with plain and simple directions as to the proper method of playing it. Each exercise thoroughly learned makes a "bead" of the "string." The box contains, in addition, a prettily designed envelope, in which is enclosed a printed letter from St. Nicholas himself; and in it he gives some excellent advice to young players, conveyed in a charming style, and accompanying that advice with a set of easily comprehended rules, which it is expected the learner will hang beside the piano for frequent consultation and reference. It is to be hoped that all the children who are piano pupils may be fortunate enough at the approaching Christmas time to receive from their patron saint this lovely and instructive token of his regard. S. A. U.

The opening paper in the October number of the *Andover Review* is "The 'Théodicée' of Leibnitz," by Prof. Torrey. Under the title of "The New England Company," Mr. Hamilton A. Hill traces the history of a London missionary organization which operated in this country until the Revolution, and which still continues its work in Canada. Dr. W. Barrows, in "Commerce, Civilization, and Christianity in their Relation to Each Other," considers the duties of civilized nations in dealing with those less advanced. Dr. Sheckenberg contributes a paper upon the "Present Religious Condition of Germany." Rev. C. C. Starbuck gives the results of Dr. Grundemann's compilation of statistics in regard to Protestant missions. In the "Religious Intelligence" department is an account by Rev. Julius Ward of the recent congress of churches held at Hartford. The series of editorial papers on Progressive Orthodoxy is continued. Other

articles, with book reviews and notices, help to make this number of the *Andover Review* a strong one. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"WIDE AWAKE" for October has a story from the pen of the late Helen Hunt Jackson, entitled "Poppy's Table-cloths." A companion story, "Poppy's Grand Journey," will appear in the November number. Margaret Sydney's "A New Departure for Girls" nears completion. "Pete's Printing Press" is a business story for boys, by Kate Gannett Wells. Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont describes interestingly "A Queen's Drawing-room," at which she was presented to Queen Victoria. Among other writers are Yang Phou Lee, Kate Foote, Mrs. Lizzie Champney, Mary Treat, Oscar Fay Adams, and Amanda B. Harris, who writes of Washington Irving, a portrait of whom accompanies the sketch. One of the full page pictures is a charming one of Tennyson's "Enid."

"OUR LITTLE ONES AND THE NURSERY" for October keeps up to its high standard as an instructive storyteller for the younger children of our households. This number contains stories, poems, and pictures about dogs, alligators, horses, and birds. "A Sad Story" gives the history of the formation, sea-life, and gathering of sponges. *Our Little Ones* is used in various primary schools as a reader, with much profit. Russell Publishing Co., 36 Bromfield Street.

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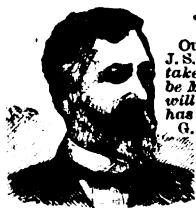
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Knowledge has adopted the revised version of the Old Testament as the basis for a new edition of the Scriptures, which is about to be issued for the use of English-speaking Jews.

GLADSTONE'S contribution to the English book, *Why I am a Liberal*, is this: "The principle of Liberalism is trust in the people qualified by prudence. The principle of Conservatism is mistrust in the people qualified by fear."

THE *Congregationalist* says that the recent inauguration of a series of popular Sunday evening concerts at Music Hall "marks a somewhat more decided advance in the direction of Sabbath desecration than anything else which we remember."

CANON FARRAR preached in Trinity Church, New York, on a recent Sunday, the papers state, to a "large and fashionable audience." His text "Little children, keep yourselves from idols," the *Boston Transcript* suggests, "was singularly appropriate, for there was some danger of the audience worshipping the preacher."

It is, as a rule, dishonorable and cowardly to make charges against a man after his death, when the alleged facts were known and withheld before his lips were forever mute in the grave; and, when such statements as some of those recently published concerning President Johnson years after his death appear, fair-minded and generous readers are very slow to believe them.

ACCORDING to a statement of M. Pasteur, made to the Academy of Science in Paris, he has, by means of vivisection, discovered that hydrophobia may be overcome by inoculation. M. Pasteur's experiments have been long continued and painstaking, and the positive statement of so cautious a scientist that by inoculation the effects of the bite of a mad animal can be averted will be received with confidence.

REV. SOLOMON SCHINDLER, the learned Jewish rabbi of Boston, is giving a series of lectures in this city, which, as the *Boston Herald* says, are "attracting the greatest attention, not only in his own church, but among Gentiles." Abstract re-

ports of these lectures, so far as given, have appeared in the daily papers, and awakened much interest. Rabbi Schindler has generously acceded to our request for permission to publish these lectures in full from the manuscripts, and the first will appear in *The Index* next week. They are remarkable discourses.

CANON FARRAR said to a Boston reporter last week: "I think there will be a strong attempt to disestablish the Scottish Church; and, when the English Church is surrounded by a cordon of disestablished churches, perhaps in five, six, seven, or even in ten, years there may be a strong attempt to disestablish the English Church. That, of course, may be successful, because a very large number of liberal members have expressed themselves in favor of disestablishment." Still, Canon Farrar thinks "it would be a very great evil to disestablish the English Church."

THE suggestion made in sarcasm by English papers, that on the frames of famous pictures in the national galleries be placed the prices paid for them, that they may attract the attention of the unintelligent public, would not be a bad suggestion, if made in all seriousness. The majority of those who go to public exhibitions are not competent to judge of works of art, and they do not pretend to be. A label inscribed with the price of a work would give them an idea of its rank, and be the means of directing closer attention to it by the mass of visitors, and of educating them to discriminate in the study of pictures.

THE *Nation* refers to the activity of the trades unions in the present political campaign in New York as a vigorous sign of political life. It says that "the movements of 'organized labor,' the questioning of candidates, and the holding of public meetings specially directed by laboring men to their special ends are signs that the persons or classes engaged in such endeavors have rightly apprehended their duties as members of a democratic republic, and are to be encouraged in all honorable efforts to promote their common interests through political agencies and the forms of law. It is for other persons or classes who may think that the trades-union programme is injurious to their interests or to the public interests to oppose them with the same weapons,—that is, by voting for different men, measures, and policies."

AMONG the subjects discussed at the Episcopal Congress recently held in New Haven, Conn., was "Ethics of the Tariff Question." Rev. Francis Anthony, of Ridgefield, Conn., said that protection was simply an iniquitous policy, by which a few become enriched at the expense of the many. Charles Heber Clark, of Philadelphia, arraigned the free-trade policy of England, saying that Ireland and India were the only countries where free trade had full sway, and these countries were periodically swept by famine. The superior condition of the working classes in this country was ascribed to protection. Rt. Rev. T. U. Dudley, D.D., said that free trade was the "law of worlds,—God's law." It was a question of morals; and, if the

Church had not looked upon it with sparing eye, the Church would have more influence in the thinking world to-day. Prof. W. G. Sumner, a volunteer speaker, said that the ethics of the tariff was based on the simple statement, "Thou shalt not steal." The papers said that he "received a perfect ovation" at the close of his speech. Rev. Dr. Courtney, of Boston, denied the statement of Mr. Clark, that the calamitous situations in Ireland and India were due to free trade, and intimated that the statement was a violation of the ninth commandment. This created quite a stir. Mr. Clark repelled the charge. His reputation, he affirmed, was as good as that of Dr. Courtney. A report says: "An attempt was made to quash the speaker by points of order and personal explanations. The audience took sides, and for a minute it looked as if a dark cloud hung over the hitherto harmonious proceedings. The presiding officer, however, was equal to the occasion, and imperatively closed the discussion."

PRAYING and Scripture readings, improper intimacies and suspicious relations between men and women, charges and counter-charges of gross immorality, talk about church covenants, reconciliations, weeping, sentimental twaddle and pious gush, renewed suspicions crimination and recrimination, backbiting, and all sorts of scandal,—these are shown by the testimony in the Downs-Taber divorce case, now being tried in this city, to have been so common and so mingled together in the Bowdoin Square Baptist Church that the deplorable social condition disclosed has shocked the common world's people, who have a decent, if not a high, code of ethics. The *Boston Sunday Courier* remarks: "The shamelessness of these professing Christians is as startling as it is outrageous. It seems to be time to institute an inquiry into the relation of religion and morals, which, in this set of people at least, appear to be regarded as incompatible." One of the witnesses, brought into court to testify as to what she had seen to sustain the charge of adultery, was a little girl, only twelve years old, daughter of Prof. Townsend, a preacher. After she had given her testimony, the opposing counsel, to his credit, said: "I hope you will go right home, little one. I advise Prof. Townsend to take his little daughter right home. I would not be guilty of cross-examining a little girl of twelve years." It is not strange that there was "a sensation in court." A day or two subsequently, a little boy, only nine years old, was brought in as a witness. The judge declared that a boy of that age was not old enough to give testimony in a divorce case, and he very properly declined to allow him to testify. While the trial is proceeding and the disgusting details are published in the daily papers which have the largest circulation, Rev. W. W. Downs, the most prominent figure in the affair, has his church crowded and overflowing with people attracted by prurient curiosity, to whom he talks in a style which alone shows the coarse nature of the man and his utter unfitness to be a moral or religious teacher.

THE TWO GREAT BELIEFS.

It was the philosopher Kant who said, "Two things command my reverence, the starry universe around me and the law of duty within me." And this saying may be said to embrace the two focal points of religion,—the perception of all-pervading power in the world of matter and the perception of an all-commanding law of right in the world of man. No great religious faith, no faith that has organized itself and had a history as one of the world's religions, has ever existed without a recognition of both of these perceptions. From these two focal points, according to the range of a people's intelligence, might be drawn all the peculiar doctrines, codes, precepts, and ceremonies which have marked any of the historical religions of mankind.

And many enlightened persons are coming to the conclusion that these two points represent to-day all that is *essential* to religious belief. With the general increase of knowledge, a disposition is manifest to abbreviate religious creeds. By reason of the very abundance of the information which science is bringing concerning the universe, people have become more modest both in respect to affirmation and denial about the attributes of infinite power. If they can keep a faith in a power in the universe that is not merely chance or fatality, but means order, law, and intelligible organism, and a faith in a law of right that has legitimate control over human life, they are entitled to be called persons of religious belief; and, if they assiduously strive to live in accordance with such faith and measurably succeed, they may justly be classified as people who practise religion. These two affirmations—belief in an intelligible power in the universe around, and belief in the law of duty within—are the only essential articles which sober wisdom, humble because of its larger outlook upon the world, will look for in a creed to-day. Other articles may be added to their creeds by individual believers, if they can gain rightful possession of them; but these additions are to be regarded as luxuries rather than necessities of faith,—luxuries for consolation, for hope and cheer, possibly for aid to life's nobler comforts and delights. But only these two are necessary; and, with these, human life may have a noble impulse and come to high achievements.

The first of these beliefs—the recognition of a Power in the universe above human power—is, doubtless, that which caused the first awakening of the religious consciousness in man, and marked the beginning of historical religion. Of course, the primitive human minds that first had this perception could only have had a very dim and inadequate idea of the nature and extent of the power whose existence they recognized. Nor will it be claimed that the most learned and acute scientists of modern times have an adequate and exhaustive conception of the infinite energy. But, because man's conceptions and theories about this power have always necessarily been imperfect, it does not follow that his perception of the power itself and of his own relation to it has no foundation. That perception is a fact of his consciousness and of his daily experience, which he can no more dispute than he can dispute the fact of his own existence. His own existence, derived, dependent, necessitates this prior and larger existence, this Power behind all finite powers, in order to explain itself. Nor, because, as man enlarges his knowledge, he becomes less inclined to claim that intimate acquaintance which the old theologians professed to have with the infinite energy of the universe, does it follow that his faith in it becomes diminished or his attitude toward it less truly reverent. Though

not claiming to know all its attributes, he knows that *It is*. Unable to lift the veil that conceals the innermost essence of its being, he yet stands in silent awe before its august activities, as the ancient Hebrew stood before the Holy of holies in the temple, behind which he believed to be represented the *Eternal I AM* that no mortal eye could gaze upon.

But it is not mere power that excites reverence. Power may excite fear, and this was a dominant feeling in primitive religion; but reverence is a sentiment of nobler mien. To win genuine reverence, the power must be seen or believed to work by intelligible, orderly methods to noble and beneficent results; or, in other words, to have a moral aim. Thus, all the great religions have sooner or later developed a morality. Mere exhibitions of power may have first aroused the religious sentiment; but, anon, man came to believe, and justly, that the power which brought him into existence should be the natural protector and sustainer of his existence; that existence itself is a good to be cherished and guarded, and everything hostile to it an evil to be resisted and shunned. And in due time followed the perception that what was good for one must be good for all, and that what one claimed as a natural right for himself he must accord to another. Thus came the knowledge of right and wrong, and the sense of justice between man and man, and the faculty of conscience with its commands, "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." These attributes of his own developing intelligence man would naturally transfer to the powers which he believed to animate the objects of nature around him. They shared, as he conceived, his passions, and also his moral sensibilities and aims. But, in time, he came to believe in one Power supreme over all, to whom the moral law, or righteousness, was also the supreme motive for action.

The question has, however, been raised whether the power that is supreme in the natural universe exhibits any moral sensibility or purpose. This was the question in one of its aspects, which engaged the author of the Book of Job; and it has engaged many philosophical writers in our own day. John Stuart Mill indicted nature as a cruel monster, if judged by the moral standards of mankind. And, constantly, it is asked whether the doctrine of evolution has not taken away from nature all evidence of a moral intelligence and aim. Is not the world a mere struggle for existence among blindly competing forces, with the victory going to such forces as may by any chance be favored in the struggle?

Let it be admitted that nature, meaning material nature alone, does not disclose a moral order and purpose. But material nature alone is not the whole of the universe: it is but a fragment of it,—the foundation of a building without the superstructure. According to the doctrine of evolution, man is a part of nature, the culmination and crown of the long evolutionary process in that part of the universe which comes under human cognizance; and not until we come to him, and include his history, character, and capacities in the scope of our observation, can we justly tell what is nature's meaning and aim. But, if we find in man a moral law and purpose, as we do; if we find in him an intelligent principle of beneficence, as we do; if we find in him gentle sympathies and charities, as we do, and a perception of justice, combined with a sense of obligation to make these the rule of conduct,—then is the power which through nature has produced man to be credited with a moral purport. The long process, which has culminated in a being capable of discerning truth and right and of consciously and purposely impressing them upon the

subsequent destiny of things, is proved by its product to be morally organic, and not a mere fortuitous concourse and struggle of forces. That law of duty in the human consciousness which has commanded the reverence of philosopher and saint throws back its glory on the long travail of struggle and agony of which it has been born. What the infinite and eternal energy may have achieved in other parts of the boundless universe is beyond human knowledge; but here on this little planet, after ages of movement in the apparently blind forces and atoms of material nature, we know that, in the organism of man, the mysterious power arrived at the point where it broke into rational articulation, and consciously pronounced the words Right and Duty. Man hears that voice, and obeys; and in that action confesses his supremest belief, and worships.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SPHERE OF ILLUSION.

I.

If the sphere of illusion were inclusive of no phenomena other than those of sleep and madness, it would not be small, and it would include much that is deplorable. The wise man will economize his dreams, for he will see in them reflections of the follies and the passions of his waking hours. The insane cannot economize their own insanity till they have been restored to health again. But the sphere of illusion is not exhausted by the phenomena of dreams and obvious madness. After a very real fashion, we are such stuff as dreams are made of through all our waking hours; and the line that separates the sane from the insane is one that cannot easily be drawn. Maudsley, than whom no one is wiser in these matters, declares that perfect sanity is an ideal conception which is never realized in actual experience. Between the idiot brain and that of Goethe (I take his for an example of the sanest possible) there is only a difference of degree. The lack of perfect sanity shows itself in a hundred different ways, here in absent-mindedness, there in a habit of punning, elsewhere in forgetfulness of people's names, and so on. And there are hundreds of illusions to which those are subject whose sanity is never questioned by their enemies, or even by their friends, as it might be in charity, but whose speech and conduct exhibit some deterioration of those cerebral structures and connections which, because they are the last result of evolution, are the least stable and the most liable to disintegration and mishap.

Even within the range of our most sound condition, the amount of illusion to which we are subjected is not insignificant. Upon the plane of their most normal action, our senses are a set of conjurers; and they never tire of fooling us. Epicurus was of quite a different opinion. All ideas not derived from the senses he regarded as illusions; and therefore, very naturally, he contended that the sun is about two feet in diameter,—it might be a little more and it might be a little less. If seeing were believing, his conclusion would be sufficiently correct. But so, too, would be the old astronomy. The sun *would* rise and set, and its seeming to do so would not be the most constant and inexpugnable of all our illusions. But seeing is *not* believing. Left to themselves, however it may be with men, the senses are "deceivers ever." Not till we see with the mind, not till we see with the understanding, do we see aright. "The eye sees objects inverted: the intellect sets them upright. The eye sees objects equally near: the intellect places them in the right perspective." The intellect, "the understanding, is the architect that builds the sensible world of our experience: the

senses only furnish the raw material." I read in Emerson: "Our conversation with nature is not just what it seems. The cloud-rack, the sunrise and sunset glories, rainbows and northern lights, are not quite so spherulic as our childhood thought them; and the part our organization plays in them is too large. The senses interfere everywhere, and mix their own structure everywhere with what they report of. In admiring the sunset, we do not yet deduct the rounding, co-ordinating powers of the eye." And why should we? When talking in this pleasant vein, does not Mr. Emerson forget his own idealism, and make his criticism from the stand-point of sensationalism pure and simple? If the senses and the intellect did not mix their own structure with everything we see or hear or in any way perceive, I fear that our idea of the world would be intolerably chaotic. May it be long before we do deduct the co-ordinating powers of both the senses and the intellect from our impression of the world! The "sifted sediment of a residuum" which would be left would not be worth the having.

Shall we say that the one great illusion is our assurance of an external world, and that our senses and our intellect conspire to palm off upon us something of their own creation for an objective reality? "Nay, is; I know not *seems*." The true reality is that appearance which the senses and the intellect have fashioned out of the objective something which has never been surprised in even semi-nudity, which never comes to us save in the garments which our senses and our intellects have first woven, and then made to clothe its nakedness. Of such illusion, it is impossible to have too much. "Whom God deceives is well deceived," wise Goethe said, and, meaning to or not, covered the case in hand. So long as we are all "drugged with the same frenzy," so long as your senses and your understanding, and mine and all men's, build up the same external world, what does it matter whether the *thing in itself* be such as we imagine it or not, or whether there be anything in itself? Idealism cannot state itself so strongly as to rob me of a moment's sleep by night or peace by day. If the external world is merely the projection of ourselves upon the void (which I do not believe), that should not trouble us. To cast so grand and clear a shadow, lofty must be our stature, and wonderful must be the light of God!

We shall do well, in speaking of illusions, to eliminate from the consideration those which are common to all men as men, and which really cease to be illusions by their commonness. "Deviation of representation from fact" is said to be illusion. But there are such deviations that are common,—the apparent motion of the sun around the earth. Corrected by the intellect, it remains as much an illusion as ever to the eye. For Newton or Herschel, this appearance is as unavoidable as for a primeval savage or a little child. Deviation of representation from the fact as commonly appreciated is the only real illusion. I could go to Carpenter and Sully and other mental physiologists, and return with many interesting illustrations of illusory sensations. Some of the most interesting are in the line of what is called illusory localization. Victims of the tooth-ache are often victims of this also: they do not know which tooth it is that aches, and have been known to make the dentist a partner to their ignorance. That, where there has been amputation of a limb, the sensations in its new extremity are referred to the amputated foot or hand, is a well-known form of illusory localization. "If," said one of Dr. Weir Mitchell's patients, "I should say I am more sure of the leg which *ain't* than of the one which *is*, I guess I should be about correct." Illusions of this sort (of which there are

many, and some of them very painful examples) are very different from those which are the common heritage of all, which merely attribute to an external organ—the eye or ear—what actually pertains to a nervous centre, or to a distant object what is an affection of a particular organ. Fred Vincy was a correct psychologist when he informed his sister Rosamond that the odor of the grilled bones, which was so disagreeable to her, was not in the bones, but in her little nose; but illusions of this sort are deprived by their persistency and their commonness of all disturbing power.

There are illusions of tactual sensibility which are sometimes of tragical importance. One's sensibility may be so exaggerated that a knock upon the door may be to him a clap of thunder, or it may be so defective that his body may appear to be of wood or lead. The attitude of expectant attention is a prolific source of illusory sensation. The external object is plastic to the besetting thought, emotion, or idea. We read words upon the page that are not there. We may not doubt that Dr. Johnson saw the Cock Lane ghost, even if it was not there for him to see. The deacon who had objected to a stove in the New England meeting-house,—that it was not a means of grace,—but whose objections were overruled, was obliged to take off his coat and sit in his shirt-sleeves the first morning after its introduction; and he afterward discovered that there had been no fire in it at all. Conversely, the poet Samuel Rogers, sitting near a window of plate glass, which he thought was open, took a dreadful cold from an imaginary draught. A French novelist, when writing a poisoning chapter in his novel, was near to die from the imaginary dose. It would be an easy matter to multiply such examples in connection with every province of sensation, and to add to them others corresponding to various internal impressions; as, when we imagine that we are enjoying ourselves, because we are acting up to some conventional standard of enjoyment, or declare that we have never been before so happy, simply because the moment's satisfaction has induced forgetfulness of former things. There is a common form of illusion, which consists in the attribution to a former state of the pleasure which belongs to our removal from it. But the "personal equation" is so considerable that it makes all situations beautiful to those who varnish them with the glittering exudation of their own self-satisfaction. "I never tire of this vista," said a gentleman to me, with an effusive gesture, standing at one end of his parlors and looking to the other,—a distance of some thirty feet. "Bare and grim to tears is the lot of the children in the hovel I saw yesterday," says Emerson; "yet not the less they hung it round with frippery romance, like the children of the happiest fortune, and talked of 'the dear cottage where so many joyful hours had flown.'"

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE CURSE OF IMMORTALITY CONSIDERED BY A BELIEVER.

The belief in a future life is among the most consoling the mind can conceive, and around it gather the fondest hopes and brightest dreams. By it, the seeming disparity and injustice of life here meet compensation, the tearful eye is dried, the broken heart finds balm; and, the burden of time and place cast aside, the possibilities of the aspiring spirit may be realized. It is an unfailing staff in the hands of those who mourn the loved and lost, offering the only adequate consolation

in the cruel hour, when we stand by the couch of death, feeling that, beyond, darkness gathers thick and brooding over a sea of eternal silence, from which only echo responds to our call of the name of the departed. Then it is that hope lifts our heart from despair, and a positive assurance of the continuity of life is worth all else in the world.

Yet this belief, so full of delight and rainbowed with anticipations, has been made, from the dawn of man's religious nature, the means of inflicting unspeakable tortures, both of mind and body. Selfishness thrust the priest between man and the invisible world of spirit, and made immortality the instrument wherewith it could rule with diabolical despotism over mankind. Even when the rain-maker shook his rattling calabash at the sky, and beseeched and imprecated the moisture-giving clouds, the priestly order had fast hold on the superstitious savage; and in all the transformations of history, surging with the coming and going of countless generations and the ebb and flow of empires, never for a moment has the grip been loosened. The power of the temporal ruler has been second to that of the class who held the keys of the life beyond the grave. What if the king could cast into a dungeon, condemn to the cross or the flames? That were pain for a moment, or, at most, for the few years of this life; and of what comparison these short years, or the most terrible tortures human ingenuity could invent, to the infinite tortures extended through an eternal existence? Pharaoh might command Egypt to-day, but, to night, his corpse would be summoned before the tribunal of the Dead; and those austere priestly judges would decide whether he be cast to the crocodiles of the Nile and become extinct, or again, clad with his mummified body, resurrected and purified, a companion of the gods.

Terrible position for ignorant man! Immortality is the Promethean curse, enabling the vultures to inflict ceaseless torment. The sweetest boon is oblivion, and that is denied. The sun may fade from the heavens and the stars cease to shine; but the spirit cannot escape its doom, and will only have experienced the first pangs of its sufferings. Is it strange men went wild with this dreadful belief? Ignorant men, who feared the unseen, intangible spirits of the air more than the accumulated tortures the human ruler might inflict, saw in the priest, who claimed the power to control this intangible world, who held the keys of the Great Unseen, the only hope of escape. How well that order has seized its vantage, and, fanning the flames of superstition, stifled reason and led poor Humanity over the quaking bog-lands and reeking marshes of myth-theology!

This life is nothing compared with that which is to come. Its most innocent pleasures are sins; for the body itself is sinful, and by sin man came into the world. Pressed down beneath the weight of universal disaster, the doctrine of Jesus was the wail of despair. Take no heed of the morrow. Live only for to-day. Give all to the poor. Resist not the tyrant wrong. This life is a vale of tears, and the eye that weeps most shall be the brightest in glory in the life which is to come. O Jesus, on thy cross, what infinite misery has come from this wretchedly false view of life! Men, believing that their immortal spirits were chained to sinful bodies, rushed in herds to the mountain cave or lonely desert, and, by fasting and thirst, by hair-cloth garments wearing through the flesh to the bone, by flagellation and daily crucifixion, sought to expiate the sins of the body, and enter the next life purified.

Believing in an immortal life, they sought to force their belief on others, and by sword and

torture succeeded in proselytism. Dogmatism grew rankly luxuriant in this hot-bed of ignorance and superstition. Humanity was bound to the wheel; and ingenuity exhausted its demoniacal skill in inventing new pangs, whereby the spirit might gain by the sufferings of the body. Poor humanity might well exclaim, "Blessed Oblivion to this curse of Immortality!"

Not to lead a happy and perfect life, but to avoid the pangs of hell, to escape the consequences of original sin, was the object to which all energies were directed. Not only for one's self, but there was obligation to propagate this belief until received by all the world. Out of this doctrine came centuries of persecution, such as the heathen world never dreamed. If your relative or friend accepted what you regarded erroneous dogmas, which would send him to eternal torment, would it not be plain duty for you to use all means to persuade and convince him, even, if necessary, to force? For should you, in last extremity, destroy his body, what fleeting consequence, if you saved thereby his soul!

The savage, having killed his enemy, trembles at the thought that the spirit has escaped, and may work untold mischief. He sits down at the cannibal feast, that, by eating the body, he may absorb the spirit, and thus be doubly avenged, by blotting out his foe, by making his body and spirit a part of himself. The Christian sits at the church feast, and partakes of the flesh and blood of a slaughtered God, in solemn imitation of the cannibal.

Noble and spotless lives have grown out of Christianity, as out of other systems of religion, as beautiful lilies grow out of the slime; but they grew in defiance of its teachings which make this life of no value compared with the next. As all religious rest on the foundation of belief in a future life, all the religious wars which have cursed mankind are referable to it; all persecutions; all the unutterable sufferings, physical and spiritual, which have made the centuries one long night of agony. It has blotted the star of hope from the heavens, and filled the vaulted darkness with wails of despair,—Lost! lost! lost!

Humanity rolling onward in a vast river, to plunge over the crags of death into a bottomless pit of eternal agony, and the best that Christianity has offered, or can offer, is eternal psalm-singing to golden harps, and that, too, whether the saved have any music in them or not. "Saving souls" has been the theme of the Christian world for near two thousand years, and various have been the means employed. Dungeon rock, the flames, social ostracism,—how shall I find space to catalogue the endless names of methods which curdle the blood at bare mention! The cannibal, feasting on his foe, is engaged in the honorable effort of saving a soul, and the priestly torturer is doing the same. The Brunos were chained amid the fagots' flames, to save their souls and the souls of others led astray by their doctrines. Go down into the dimly lighted tribunal hall, where God's vicegerents sit in judgment. Before them stands one gone astray in belief. There is no argument of words. On the table is a little thimble with a screw at one side. The heretic places his fingers therein, and the judges turn the screws down into the tender nails. The compressed lips grow white, the veins knot on the temples, beaded sweat gathers on the brow, as slowly down pierces the relentless steel, until, at last, human will yields, and the trembling lips gasp, "Dear Christ, I believe!" Then turn back the screws, ring the bells, and rejoice with great joy; for a soul is saved!

From that hall, go down a flight of stone

steps to another in the bowels of the earth, where the walls are reeking with mould, and the lamp darkens in the foul vapor. Tread with care on the slippery floors, for the slime of years has gathered; and now we have reached a great stone, which we can turn back like a trap-door, and reveal an opening. Lower your lamp, feebly burning in the fetid atmosphere. There are walls of stone: there is stone for a floor. It is like a jug without outlet, except at the top. At the bottom is something moving, living! Hush, it moans and has speech! An iron ring wears the bleeding ankle to the bone, to the ring is a chain, and the other end of the chain is fastened to the floor. What monstrous crime has this man committed that he should thus suffer? Nothing, except he has thought for himself, is lost; and his judges are making the desperate attempt to save his soul!

Saving souls, not the life here, but that which is to come, has been the blight and curse of mankind. The doctrine of "one world at a time," and this present supreme, is a reaction against this essentially vicious dogma. Neither extreme may be true; for the truth is the "golden mean," which makes the future life a continuity of this, carrying forward all its ideals to full realization, and making the spiritual realm held in abeyance to as fixed and unchangeable laws as the material world.

By knowledge, man has been led out of the fogs to the highlands of free thought, and aroused from the nightmare of theology, which for ages held him in thrall. Those were the ages when God and Christ were inwrought into the constitution of the State, and the Holy Bible was the foundation of the law. Those were the ages of St. Bartholomew massacres, of autos-da-fé, of the rack and the fagot. Those were the ages when the day was darkened by the smoke of burning cities, and the fair fields gleamed white with the bones of the slain. Those were the ages when the whole Christian world engaged itself in saving souls!

A Jesus may suffer on the cross; not only one, but ten thousands may die, admirable in self-sacrifice and examples of firm adhesion to their sense of duty: but, for saving souls, their sacrifice is lost; for they suffer for a misconception of the plan of the world. Man has never been lost, and cannot be lost, and hence cannot be saved by the blood of one or ten thousand sacrifices.

If the future life is a continuity of this, then the perfection of religion is the making of this life perfect. Not by crucifixion of the body, not by suffering or disappointment or eschewing legitimate pleasures, but by complete and harmonious culture is the most desirable result attained.

HUDSON TUTTLE.

THE DYAKS OF THE ISLAND OF BORNEO.

A book just published by Scribners, called *Two Years in the Jungle*, written by William T. Hornaday, gives an interesting account of the Dyaks, an aboriginal people who occupy the largest part of the great island of Borneo, where the writer, a collector for Ward's natural science establishment, made extensive and minute researches, both as a naturalist and an ethnologist. He found these heathen the most godless of all races, as they have repelled all attempts of Catholic, Protestant, or Mohammedan missionaries to enlighten them. It is true they have some faint notion of a Supreme Spirit, but not as inculcating any ethical rules or as requiring any kind of worship. They keep no Sabbaths, have no ministers, no gospel, build no temples, pray no prayers, and worship nothing and nobody. This lamentable state of spiritual darkness is coupled, according to Mr. Hornaday, with a state of morality quite unlike

that which prevails in Christian lands. He was astonished at the universal observance of the rights of property; for though they have no written language, and no civil or social laws except the customs and traditions handed down from their ancestors, yet these ignorant people are absolutely free from any transgression against property. And he had never heard of an instance of theft committed by a Dyak, though cart-loads of most desirable articles were left unwatched in their way. Though, in civilized countries, those who avoid illegal, criminal thefts yet will steal by wholesale through the contracting of debts which they are unable to pay, the inflexible probity of the Dyaks in the payment of debt is astounding. A foreign trader will give them his whole cargo, if he can get them to accept it, in exchange for a promise to pay at some future time; and, when the day arrives for settlement, the debt is sure to be paid. The Dyaks, too, as a rule, are temperate, never indulging in intoxicating drink, except upon some great occasions.

Monogamy is almost universal, except in rare instances a chief is allowed a second wife. They believe in strict chastity, both before and after marriage; and, to show how far removed they are from the influence of our Christian civilization, the author says, in any lapses from virtue, the disgrace and punishment are meted out equally to both participants in the offence. Consanguineous marriages are forbidden, and no daughter is compelled to marry against her will. Fœticide is a crime never practised by them. The author says, "From the cradle to the grave, woman is considered the equal of the man; and her advice is always asked in matters of importance." Divorce is allowed; but as in marriage the parties are equal, so in separation either one that leaves must pay a fine. He says, "Their moral laws are the product of their own indigenous evolution, for we see in them no reflection of the religious customs of any of the peoples that have thus far come in contact with them, either Hindus, Japanese, Chinese, or Europeans; yet in hospitality, human sympathy, and charity, the Dyaks are not out-ranked by any people living, so far as I know, and their morals are as much superior to ours as our intelligence is beyond theirs." Their wants are few and easily supplied; and, "if happiness be the goal of human existence, they are much nearer it than we." Mr. Hornaday says, "Borneo is no field for the missionary, for no religion will give the Dyak aught that will benefit him or increase the balance of his happiness in the least."

From the stand-point of popular theology, must we not dissent from Mr. Hornaday's view regarding missionary work in that island? Even if religion should not add to the present well-being of that benighted people, what is their temporary happiness compared to their spiritual salvation? But without reference to the welfare, either temporal or spiritual, of these reputed savages themselves, do not the interests of the orthodox Christian faith demand their speedy conversion? For this untaught people, without a ray of religion, practising all the cardinal virtues, are a standing contradiction to the theological dogmas of original sin and the total depravity of human nature, as, also, to the claims of our religious teachers that Christianity alone inspires and produces the purest type of morality and the highest good of society; and, at the same time, the moral goodness and integrity of these uncultured tribes corroborate the heretical ideas held by Spencer, the Ethical Society, and others, "that the moral law is imposed upon us by our own rational nature," and "is independent of theology."

EMILY P. COLLINS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THIS is a good time for all who are in arrears in their subscriptions to *The Index* to send to this office the amount due.

WE are compelled by the great length of the essay in this number—a philosophical paper of rare merit, which fully sustains the reputation of its author as a profound and original thinker—to defer till next week some articles designed for this, and among them an open letter to Col. Ingersoll, to which reference was made last week. Another paper to appear in *The Index* soon will conclude the series by Dr. Montgomery on "The Dual Aspect of our Nature."

MR. H. W. HOLLAND's essay on "Heredity," which he read before the Parker Memorial Science Class last Sunday, proved to be a very able and interesting paper. It led to a lively discussion, in which several speakers took part. Next Sunday, the address will be by Dr. Mary J. Safford, on "Consumption." The exercises open at 12.15 P.M. The public is cordially invited.

I MAINTAIN that Jesus was not the founder of Christianity, that he never planned it nor laid its foundation, but that his personality has been brought into the Church, and used as its cornerstone. I claim, furthermore, that there are no historical sources from which we could derive authentic information concerning his life, his deeds, and his death.—*Rabbi Schindler.*

THIS whole country is very, *very* rich in all things but intelligence. Our law makers do not know enough to originate or enact wise laws, and we suffer and smart for this ignorance on every hand. In the midst of plenty, we are poor. With great strength, we are very weak. With large experience, we are short-sighted. Every day shows us how ignorance costs and intelligence pays.—*American Journal of Education.*

IN view of the disabilities which ignorance brings with it, Mr. Beecher holds that the means of education should be made as ample and convenient as possible. He protests against the reduction of the salaries of teachers. "Take care of the schools," he says, "and take care of the teachers. You never will have the best schools until you make it the interest of men and women to devote their lives to that business, just as professional men devote their lives to their occupations. Give the mayor less, give the aldermen less, if they have anything: if they have not, they will get it. Reduce salaries everywhere, but increase them in the schools."

TRINITY.

For *The Index*.

The King with sword of hate
Sought justice for the State;
The Priest with saintly sneer
Despoiled the Church of cheer;
The Changers with their gold
Drove virtue from the fold:
Thrice Nemesis came down
And stormed the fated town!

Beneath the hands of Jove
The ruins rose in love—
The State, the Church, the Home:
The earth, the air, the dome:
The three in one and three.
Far from the sacred sea
Apollo blessed with song
The union of the strong!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

The Index.

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

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

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IF PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For *The Index*.**The Dual Aspect of our Nature.**

BY EDWARD MONTGOMERY.

The Mechanical Fallacy.

Even when we, far too leniently, admit that the kinetic influences which stimulate vital activity within the sensory nerves and the sensorium are really kinetically continued in those vital structures,—continued as purely mechanical energy,—we reach, in the central regions of the organic individual, a sphere in which the molecular motion seems all at once to produce an effect totally incommensurable with anything mechanical. You stimulate in a healthy animal a definite sensory province, and a definite conscious state is invariably the outcome. If, in nature, invariable sequence indicates a causal nexus, surely this occurrence of stimulated sensorium and supervening conscious state seems a clear case in point. No wonder, then, that, in spite of the utter incongruity of antecedent and consequent here obtaining, so many thoughtful scientists are led to look upon their bond of union as one of genuine causation. In possession of the scrupulously verified results of physical science, to them physical causation is naturally, and quite rightly, the only type of precise and unflinching efficiency in nature,—an efficiency not discernible in any other kind of natural connection.

Yet we have seen that the link which, in each higher animal, so infallibly binds molecular brain motion to consciousness, is, for all that, not one of causation. The chain of causal interaction runs uninterruptedly its physical course, and leaves the corresponding occurrences of consciousness completely outstanding and unexplained. This singular character of the relation existing between the two synchronous and specifically corresponding sequences of phenomena—physical on the one side, and mental on the other—has formed the great central puzzle of modern philosophy,—“the metaphysical problem of problems,” as Prof. Huxley calls it. Yet, I think, we shall see in the

course of this discussion that its solution lies near at hand.

But, to reach a comprehensive view of our strange double-sided nature, after having found that in presupposing atoms in motion as sole primitive existents we do not succeed in making the slightest approach to an understanding of the phenomena of mind, we will now lay bare the inadequacy of the same kinetic conception to explain even the simplest physical phenomenon,—time and space being, moreover, generously granted as pre-existing media for the unimpeded display of the kinetic activity.

The mathematical genius of Laplace revelled in the idea of an astronomical world-formula, in which the atoms would figure as stars. Sensible things of all kinds, and their changes, consisting avowedly of nothing but atoms in motion; all events in the history of the universe, down to every action and expression of living bodies,—would then be as strictly predictable through mathematical calculation as astronomical facts now actually are. The philosophical propensities of the scientific era nurtured such mechanical dreams.

Long before Laplace, a similar aperçu had led Descartes to advance his startling theory of animal automatism, which declared the display on the part of animals of even the most subtle physical signs of animation to be unaccompanied by consciousness. Human beings were then consistently conceived as just such automata, only with the superaddition of concomitant consciousness. They were conscious automata; the animals, unconscious automata.

Descartes had been allured to advance this extravagant opinion by Harvey's demonstration of the circulation of the blood (1628),—a demonstration which, by dint of its mechanical facts, seemed at that time to divest vitality of most of its mysteries. He drew from it the conclusion that vital activity in general is set going by no “other principle of motion or of life than the blood and the spirits, agitated by the fire which burns continually in the heart, and which is nowise essentially different from all the fires which exist in inanimate bodies.” This clearly means the animal organism is a machine driven by combustion.

Pneuma, the ancient mysterious principle of vitality, the quickening heat of life, externally manifest in the warm breath of animated beings, was now believed to have been traced to its very source. Here, in the heart, the central seat of life, it seemed to be continually generated by processes “nowise essentially different” from those by which “all the fires which exist in inanimate bodies” are kindled. This vital heat, also called animal spirits, the discovered circulation of the blood, proved now to be mechanically distributed through the blood-vessels to the remotest parts of the body, causing evidently in each organ, according to its peculiar structure, the activity displayed by it. All organic motions are therefore purely mechanical effects. The animal, nothing but an automaton; and such automata, when inhabited by a thinking principle, are human beings. We have then, thus far, as the highest expression of the understanding of our dual nature, vitality, animated by common heat, and consciousness, standing in no natural relation to it.

There is nothing so powerful in our human world as the imperial stress of logical conclusions, drawn from such premises as have captured our faith.

Plato, opposing to the unconscious operations of life the synthetical efficiency of conscious realization, split up the organic unity of the living individual into a vital and a thinking principle.

This separation, reluctantly adopted by Aristotle, and further elaborated and inculcated under church auspices during the long ages of Scholasticism, reached now its consummation in the mechanico-spiritual dualism of Descartes. But here the ocular demonstration of the circulating vital heat had despoiled the animal organism of all its "animism."

With this vitally impoverished, antithetical equipment of body and mind, modern thought—venturing at last to liberate itself from despotic and dogmatic coercion—went out in free quest of nature's living truth. Instead of the original three rationalistic constituents of nature,—shapeless matter, a formative soul, and a thinking principle,—philosophy had now, in its unifying endeavors, to contend only with two disparate substances,—extended moving matter, an unextended thinking spirit. Descartes himself accepted the dualism as final,—intensive thought on the one side, extended mechanism on the other. The human body, an automaton miraculously connected with a rational soul.

Thus, summarily, did the new epoch in the interpretation of life, initiated through the discovery of the circulation of the blood, at once eliminate all essential peculiarities of animality. It conceived the living organism—so instinct with vital spontaneity and conscious feeling—as a mere material mechanism, devoid of anything which fundamentally distinguishes it from other moved matter. To Descartes, already, the organism presented itself only as a very complicated mechanical problem. And this, we must remember, solely on the strength of what we now perceive to have been a jumble of mystified and erroneous ideas. The vital heat is not generated in the heart. It is not distributed as motor power through the blood-vessels. It does not actuate the function of any organ whatever. It is a mere by-product of the veritable vital activity which every organ displays as an energy emanating from its own substance, as its inalienable *vis insita*. Not a single item in the original mechanical conception of life has any foundation in reality. Yet, in a slightly modified form, it still dominates our biological science.

It is astonishing to contemplate what pains science has taken, and still takes, to prove that life—all-comprehensive, all-revealing life—is, after all, nothing better than the other dead things of this world. Having first placed its conscious manifestations out of natural reach by the easy device of attributing them to a hyper-vital, wholly unknowable entity, the further simplifying task consists in getting rid, in the unconscious spheres of organization, of what had always appeared the specific characteristics of living bodies. The closely interdependent constitution of all organic parts, adapted to work in mutual concert and in interaction with the external world, for the attainment of definite ends, together with the inherent, spontaneous, self-moving energy of life,—all this had to be mechanically disposed of, in order thoroughly to assimilate the living body with dead matter, and to estrange from it, to the full, its own revealing consciousness.

It is true the old notion of a formative soul underlying the shaping of organic forms, and impelling their activity, lingered long in physiology under the name of vital force; but, ever since Descartes, it has been held the glory of science to make progress in a physical explanation of organic composition and function, strictly in keeping with mechanical principles derived from the study of inanimate bodies.

In pursuance of such an aim, is it not rather an ominous coincidence that Descartes' view,—based

on a crude and false notion of motor power and moved machinery, fashioned in exact analogy to the artificial water-works of French and Dutch pleasure-grounds,—that such a hollow, machinal view should find itself in close agreement with the now prevalent theory of vitality first enunciated by Julius Mayer, the real originator of the doctrine of the correlation and transmutation of forces? According to it, the motion of heat supplied from outside to the egg is transformed into the motion of molecular rearrangement which fashions the chick from homogeneous albumen. And food fuel supplied from outside, and burnt up by oxygen from outside, yields all the force which really actuates the performances of life. So, you see, there is nothing particular in it. All moving energy, all vital activity, is furnished from without.

English-speaking students have been made familiar with this heat-engine view of organization and life, chiefly through Prof. Frankland's experiments and Prof. Tyndall's eloquent advocacy. Under its influence, and under that of the theory of reflex action, Prof. Huxley, in his address before the British Association, 1874, startled the self-complacency of the respectable world—hardly yet reconciled to its animal origin—by boldly reviving the conscious automaton idea. To be the descendant of a live ape left still full scope for the pride and hope of vital exertion. But, to be the descendant of an automatic ape, that dispels completely the illusion of any kind of self-importance.

Now, it can avail us nothing simply to ridicule the idea or to ignore the cogency of the reasoning on which this mechanical notion of vital activity is at present founded. From a scientific point of view, we have either to accept it or to expose the fallacy of the very premises which it assumes. For it is undeniable that, if the animal organism as an objective existent is really a machine,—i.e., a peculiarly collocated congeries of parts acting mechanically upon each other, and set in motion by heat derived from the combustion of food particles,—then never anything but purely mechanical effects can be expected from the performance of such a contrivance. And the link between its motions and its conscious states must ever remain as profound a mystery as it was to Descartes and his followers.

In Mayer's own words, the vital structure, the muscle, for example, "is only a machine through whose instrumentality is brought about the transformation of force," by which is meant the transformation of heat derived from combustion of food particles into vital motion through muscular machinery. He emphatically adds, "The muscle is not itself the material by means of whose chemical metamorphosis the mechanical effect is produced."

This modern notion of the organism being a machine, set going by an extraneous, non-vital force, is, in spite of its scientific garb, just as preposterous as the ancient mystic notion of vital spirits. It is a thoroughly unphysiological and totally mistaken conception. My own studies of motility in protoplasmic individuals and in muscular fibres* have visibly demonstrated that the force by which vital movements are effected is not derived from any combustion whatever, but that these movements are in every one of their stages the mass-manifestation of a definite cycle of chemical activity, occurring in the very substance which exhibits the motions. Previous to these researches of mine, Prof. Hermann had already inferred from a series of very accurate experiments—never yet contested—that muscular activity is not an energy

* See "The Elementary Functions and the Primitive Organization of Protoplasm," St. Thomas' Hospital Reports for 1879.

"Zur Lehre von der Muskelcontraction," *Pflüger's Archiv*, vol. xxv., 1881.

derived from combustion, but that it proceeds from quite different chemical changes, taking place in the muscular substance itself. This view is now almost universally accepted, as fully demonstrated by German physiologists.

Indeed, muscular action, as well as all other vital function, is a display of specific forces, strictly inherent in the wondrous complexity of the slowly elaborated molecular structure which performs the function. This molecular complexity is the phylogenetic result of the vital interaction of countless generations of living individuals with their surrounding medium. Vital energy is thus in no instance the mere transfer of some other energy furnished from external sources; but, on the contrary, the display of most peculiar, spontaneous powers, inwrought and persistently maintaining themselves in the living structures. Or, more correctly, vital energy is the display of the very powers which constitute the living structures. For these so-called substrata of life are themselves but the visible manifestation of such vital powers. How, then, can a vital force manifestation, issuing from the astounding hereditary wealth of such a minutely organized and living sustained substratum, ever yield to any mechanical explanation? The efficiency of this sort of explanation lies precisely in the demonstrability of an immediate cause quantitatively equal to its effects, and entirely consumed in producing the same; such, for instance, as moving energy in the production of other mass-motion or of molecular vibration. But living structures and their organic disposition are, in their very essence, the expression of the same vital activity which—when heightened through stimulation—is called their function. The contraction of a muscular fibre is only an exaggeration of one of the phases of the chemical cycle of activities which composes and maintains the living muscular substance itself. Vital activity, in every one of its manifestations, is wholly an emanation from within. Any *deus ex machina* believed to be actuating from without the organism and its life, whether imported in the shape of miraculous intervention or an animal soul, or vital spirits or heat, or electrical fluids or combustion of food particles,—whatever the name of such extrinsic causative agency, it has to be utterly expelled from biology before we can hope to gain an understanding of the transcendent wealth and import of individual existence.

The mechanical ideal in its purely kinetic form, working with passive masses in motion, finds really nowhere application in nature. Granting even that the conception of atoms, such as defined by physical science,—namely, ultimate particles intrinsically unchangeable by the application of any kind of force, and this because intrinsic change would necessarily imply manifoldness of parts; presupposing a number of still more primitive elements; granting the conception of "eternal adamant atoms" to be physically realizable in imagination; and granting also that such atoms are the vehicles of any desirable amount of motion,—then the first task on hand would be the construction of physical masses or bodies from such given material. In order to succeed in this, atoms have to be, and always have been, hypothetically endowed with two additional, entirely new forces, nowise derivable from the kinetic building-material at first assumed. The enormous force of cohesion, which, in many substances, binds constituent particles together into physical masses, can surely not owe its origin to the yielding during aggregation of a large share of the kinetic energy of such constituent particles to the surrounding medium. The gain of a stupendous new force, inexhaustibly exerted through any length of time, cannot

possibly be due to a loss of energy incurred by the same particles to which the gain accrues. Now, as the attempts to account for the peculiar force of cohesion by evoking the aid of external pressure furnished *ad libitum* by some fictitious agency have proved utterly inadequate, we are driven to assume that the atoms themselves were all the while latently endowed with the marvellous faculty of inexhaustible attraction, ready to come into play whenever occasion presented itself.

And if this specific efficiency, unaffiliated in its law of action with any other known force, lay all the while dormant in the material elements, starting into activity only when called out by peculiar conditions, why should not the same elements be endowed with ever so many other modes of efficiency, always present as specific potentialities, and awaiting merely the proper conditions to issue into incalculable activity?

Indeed, many of the properties manifested by masses compel us at once to conceive their coherent particles as exerting in some incomprehensible manner, simultaneously with cohesive attraction, a force of repulsion which keeps them at a certain distance from each other, resisting with increasing might any attempted approach, and causing moreover, on release from displacing pressure, a rebound to the original position.

Give, furthermore, to these lurking forces of atomic aggregation but a favorable chance, and they will build up not irregular or merely rounded masses, but complex structures of truly stereometric regularity, varying with the kind of aggregated material, or even only with a change in the conditions of manifestation.

We usually forget with what limited suppositions we ostensibly set out in our corpuscular world-constructions, and what we are forced subsequently to add on our way. Take, for instance, the world-stuff now generally assumed in physical cosmologies, a gaseous material and the principle of the persistence of force. Obviously, the kinetic energy of gas particles presupposes already, as such, a medium in which the kinetic motions are realized; and, in order that condensation may at all take place, there is, moreover, demanded another contiguous substance, absorbing part of the kinetic energy. But, besides all this, to bring about any real differentiation within this twofold substratum of matter and ether, otherwise doomed to remain forever homogeneously mixed, there is needed the intervention of another force, possessing some principle of inequality. And we actually find at work, over and above matter and its kinetic motion, a mysterious power binding together the material particles of the universe by dint of its all-embracing efficiency, but effecting this with an intensity diminishing as the square of distance.

It is this potent addition of so-called gravitative force to the kinetic world-material which furnishes the nebular hypothesis with sufficient plausible means of construction. First advanced in its world-wide scope by Kant, and then independently for our own planetary system by Laplace, and adopted since by most students of natural science, this luminous hypothesis affords the possibility of deducing mechanically from a primordial substratum the present celestial mass-distributions and motions. And with this fund of persistent matter and persistent motion, assisted only by gravitation, it believes itself in possession of the eternal sum total of objective existence, never augmenting, never diminishing, subject only to rearrangements. Inspired by this quantitative faith, Laplace himself, as we have seen, and many other physicists, have imagined that the climax of science would be reached in the expression of a world-formula, by which the future motions of the atoms compos-

ing any kind of body might be as rigorously calculated as the motion of stars. The difficulty in this undertaking is thought to lie merely in the complexity of mechanical data, and not in the inadequacy of the conception itself.

This ideal of mechanical science, so imposing to mathematical imagination, rests, of course, solely on the assumption that atoms, or units of mass, in all their mutual relations, are actuated by no other influences than those operative in celestial mechanics. Under this fascinating illusion, physical physiology, with all its scrupulous painstaking, has made but little progress in the explanation of vital activity. Mechanical science, with its imparted motions, can never furnish a clew to the doings of living spontaneity; and no dynamical law can express the possibilities of vital reaction.

This notion of a definite fund of available and manifest force attached to matter, and giving rise through mere redistribution to all the varying phenomena of nature, is a doctrine involving, without escape, a fatalistic determination of all actions of animate as well as inanimate bodies. It is impossible, therefore, to make any headway in a monistic and non-necessitarian understanding of our own life and its doings, without clearly exposing the fallacy of such an interpretation. And this can be accomplished only by positively defining its inadequacy in the very sphere over which it pretends to hold sway.

Well, then. In our astronomical cosmology, we have had already to admit into the universe a strange coercing power, besides mere so-called matter and motion. This potent and all-pervading efficiency we find in full operation among the particles of the objective substratum. Of course, manifold have been the endeavors to reduce gravitation to kinetic principles, to make it simply result as a mechanical effect of external impulses or pressures. But the highest mathematical and physical talent has labored in vain in this hopeless undertaking. Gravitation, with its instantaneous, never-relaxing, inexhaustible, indivisible efficiency, cannot possibly be due to any energy transmitted from outside. All kinetic energy requires measurable time for transmission; and, if it has to exert its working power on two material units instead of one, it becomes quantitatively divided into two halves. Gravitation, on the contrary, extends its influence instantaneously to remotest regions; and its working-power, far from being divided by the imposition of new tasks, is doubled, trebled, quadrupled, and so *ad infinitum*, with each new material unit added to the one on which its force was first exerted. Nor can any portion of gravitative force be intercepted or deviated by any obstacle or device whatever. The moon coming between the sun and the earth makes no difference. The molecular condition of the attracting masses makes no difference. Its constancy and rate of power can be changed or diverted by no imaginable contrivance. Moreover, the relative velocity and direction of the moving masses have no influence on their reciprocal attraction, save through increase or diminution of distance.

How utterly incommensurable, then, is this force causing gravitation with the kinetic energy supposed to be attached to inert particles! May not many other mysterious forces be thus potentially dwelling in the substratum of objective existence? And may they not become newly manifest, when suitable opportunities are afforded?

The mechanical interpretation of nature necessarily failed to make gravitation arise from kinetic influences. It is, then, kinetic energy-gravitation which, in the nebular hypothesis, thus far com-

poses the sum total of working-power, declared to be a constant quantity, never augmented, never diminished, but only redistributed. But how, then, does cohesion originate from kinetic energy-gravitation? We have already found that it is out of question that cohesion should be due to kinetic energy, and it may be taken for granted that no one will insist that it can be explained as the result of gravitation. It is evident that material particles by gravitating and by losing part of their motion of translation suddenly fall within the grasp of an entirely new force, immensely more powerful within its own range of action than gravitation itself. Cohesion is evidently another irreducible force, in no way resulting from the operation of the forces previously at work. When, in celestial mechanics, we started with a gaseous state of matter, we had no means of foretelling that, under changing conditions, the material particles would all at once display another totally unaccountable and non-mechanical efficiency, adding thus a further and this time an ever-varying amount of specific force to the store originally, all too rashly, pronounced to be the constant sum total of acting power in the universe. When the objective substratum subsisted in a gaseous state, it did nowhere, under any mode of action, reveal its cohesive force, even less so than our incoherent air at present. Yet we all know that, under appropriate conditions, the force of cohesions, previously utterly impotent, will suddenly convert any air into a solid mass possessing properties altogether incalculable from kinetic data.

In this light, does it not become highly probable that, under conditions newly arising, the particles of the objective substratum in their changing relations to each other may come to manifest additional amounts of ever more prodigious specific energies,—energies wholly undreamt of in mechanical assumptions, and increasing the wealth of nature, who knows to what extent?

Indeed, we need only deeply contemplate chemical union, with its selective affinities and qualitative marvels, to become aware that we have here before us, not a mere transformation of forces previously employed under some other shape, but the starting into actuality of new and specific energies, which, in their interaction with other energies, may manifest phenomena that were altogether absent in pre-existent nature. It is safe to predict that the hopes of quantitative science, with regard to chemistry, will never be realized. It will never succeed in its attempt to explain the properties of chemical substances as the simple result of atomic grouping and a concomitant compounding of units of force previously manifest among the units of mass. Nor are the specific characteristics of the qualitative differences arising from chemical union at all effaced by our present chemical elements having themselves been gradually elaborated,—a fact recently recognized and demonstrated by the keen scientific insight of Mendelejeff and Lothar Meyer. The qualitative difference between two elements following each other closely in the natural system of composition may be ever so slight, yet it can in no imaginable way be the result of a mere summation of elementary forces. Granting that there may once have existed in the world a substratum consisting of primordial elements, from which our sixty-six substances still resisting chemical decomposition are multiples, it is nevertheless clear that, if the chemical union of two of the original atoms, perfectly equal in every respect, can produce by combination a molecule differing qualitatively ever so little from its constituent atoms, then this very occurrence is certainly the manifestation of a specific energy, not the mere result of the numeri-

cal addition of the atoms and their former activities, but the unexpected result of the new chemical influences now at work in their union. And, if all qualitative differences in nature have thus originated by a gradual chemical compounding of the primordial unit and its derivatives,—a process allowing these differences to slide only by slowest degrees into manifest existence,—still the qualitative effect is a new creation, and not a mere resultant from the same forces that had been already active among the primordial elements.

How gradual and yet how definite the genesis of our present material elements must have been, and how changed from formerly the cosmical conditions under which they now steadfastly maintain themselves, may be surmised by remembering that even the atom or, physically speaking, the molecule, of hydrogen, once believed by Prout to be itself the primordial element,—that this comparatively simplest of our chemical elements discloses on spectral analysis a very complex structure,—a structure, nevertheless, indissolubly maintained under every variation of existing conditions, not only on earth, but in burning suns and starry mists.

Chemical compounds are products of specific energies employed in maintaining the peculiar combination and its properties in interaction with surrounding influences. The structures displaying vital phenomena are, through and through, the visible expression of an ever-flowing cycle of such specific chemical activities, constituting most highly elaborated chemical compounds. Indeed, when we contemplate the astounding degree of such inherited elaboration, we cannot wonder that the manifest energies of organic beings are of so marvellous a character.

Mechanical effectuation can bring about only the displacement of inert particles and alterations in the rate and course of their motion of translation. It changes from without the position, path, and velocity of masses. The chemical nexus which composes the organism and its activities maintains, on the contrary, from within, against such mechanical interference, the whole inherited wealth of its world-responsive constitution. Here mechanical influences do not normally change the intrinsically determined concurrence of molecular motions, but merely stimulate the living form to functions, which are in essence self-preserving reactions.

Readers conversant with the present state of physical science may suspect that in this anyhow far too cursory impeachment of the mechanical interpretation there has been purposely ignored its most signal triumph, the kinetic theory of gases. On the contrary, just on account of its admirable lucidity and apparent explanatory power, this very theory was here reserved to emphasize the inadequacy of kinetic premises, and to show how, in every instance, the introduction of mechanically unaccountable energies into physical operations is pre-emptorily called for.

A physical atom is a material unit, by definition intrinsically unchangeable, a vehicle of motion and therewith of kinetic energy, but not exerting any influence by dint of intrinsically determined actions and reactions. Such inert physical atoms and their motion of translation are the sole elements rightly admissible into the kinetic world-construction. Now, the kinetic theory of gases, with its supreme success in mechanical explanation, is actually based on just the reverse supposition; namely, on a specific, non-mechanical action and reaction, emanating from hidden sources of energy inherent in the operating molecules. Two veritable physical atoms, encountering each other with equal velocity in a direction radial to their

centres of gravity, would simply annihilate each other's motion,—totally annihilate it without even the possibility of producing the slightest intrinsic effect, atoms having no parts to be in any manner displaced. Considering that the reduction of all natural phenomena to atomic mechanics, which means to a mere exchange of translatory motion between inert particles, has been for centuries the highest aim of physical science, it seems hardly credible that the utter absurdity of the scheme should be so patent as to reveal itself at a glance. Yet it is most obvious and altogether undeniable that the collision of rigid units of mass would very soon annihilate any amount of kinetic energy with which they might have been started on their cosmogenetic mission.

For this reason, Sir William Thomson and others have declared that nothing short of perfect elasticity in the ultimate particles can bring kinematic science into agreement with the theory of the Conservation of Energy. In keeping with this declaration, we find that the kinetic theory of gases actually endows its molecules to the full with the hypothetical desideratum. Its units of mass are made perfectly elastic; and thus, when two elementary particles of this kind meet with equal velocity, radial to their centres of gravity, instead of coming to a standstill, they bound off again after impact in an opposite direction, with all their previous energy of motion unimpaired.

The eminent physicists who believe that by this bold amplification of the elementary powers, made to serve as kinetic world-material, they have succeeded in establishing harmony between mechanical laws and the principle of the Conservation of Energy, have surely deceived themselves. Not only would the structural complexity of molecules necessitated by perfect elasticity, and, in fact, manifest in the gaseous spectrum, take up a large amount of kinetic energy to be yielded during atomic vibration to the ether, and thus lost to the equivalent rebound which is to conserve the kinetic energy of the gas, but two perfectly elastic particles, meeting in the manner above indicated, would exhaust their entire kinetic energy solely by compressing each other. At the moment of maximum compression, the kinetic energy would be completely consumed, the motion wholly arrested. The work done, constituting the equivalent of the expended energy, would be the changed state of the molecules. Now, if the molecules remained in this changed condition, the process would be at an end. If the molecules did not possess an intrinsic spring of action, causing the forcible rebound, the kinetic energy consumed in the act of compression would not be replaced by the new kinetic energy arising in the act of expansion.

The whole efficiency of physical power and interaction has here been assumed as pre-existent in the active elements, and yet not even then has there any conformity been gained between the fundamental laws upon which physical science professes to rest. Consider how unaccountable the power that thus restores to the material particles the kinetic energy which they would infallibly have lost on mere mechanical principles. An intrinsic force which is capable, within its range of activity, to reproduce destroyed motion to any amount *ad infinitum*, must be deemed from the mechanical standpoint to constitute a truly marvellous source of energy, rendering childish the conception of a constant sum total of efficiency in nature, which, merely by transmutation of its modes of manifestation, is producing quantitatively equivalent effects. As long as a gas-molecule lasts, no multiplication of the task imposed on its elastic force will in the least exhaust or weaken it. It is spent as little in doing its work as gravitative force, and

is quite as inexplicable as the result of any mechanical contrivance. The endeavor of Father Secchi and others to reduce the action of elasticity to kinetic principles has failed even more strikingly than the same endeavor with regard to gravitation. Nor are elasticity and gravitation correlated forces, convertible into each other, as our unifying propensities might desire them to be. Immutably lodged, each performs its own work, never interfering with the other. Besides, the temptation so great in the case of gravitation and cohesion—the temptation, namely, to refer the manifestations of those steadfast modes of activity to the influence of some external agent—finds no ready play in the attempt to discover a mechanical explanation for elasticity. Elastic resistance and elastic resiliency are too palpably forces inherent in the manifesting substance itself. This becomes most obvious in tensile elasticity. In elongating an india-rubber cord, for example, one unmistakably becomes aware that one's work is done against a permanent source of power. It is certainly not my pulling which produces the counterpull, or that is in any way converted into it. But, while scientists are believing that they have proved the mechanical origin of the vital force of the muscles which pull in one direction, they are completely at a loss to account for the origin of the non-vital force, which is pulling much more inexhaustibly in the other direction. The serious contemplation of this one single instance of physical interaction involves very plainly the overthrow of the entire mechanical view of nature. It cannot be rightly maintained that by my pulling no action is called forth in the elastic cord, but merely a new state of equilibrium given thereby to its molecular constitution, and that—on returning to the former state—as much energy will be given out as was required to place it into its present position of advantage. It is a demonstrated fact that my muscles, in order to keep the elastic cord extended, are spending energy in exact proportion to their exertion. Now, the counterpull of the elastic cord is exerted just as constantly and with just as much force. Yet kinetic imagination fails completely to conceive a manner in which the elastic cord can possibly expend energy in its counterpull. It is quite clear in this instance that the slight amount of heat parted with by the elastic substance during extension does not yield the energy employed in the counterpull. We have to concede that the cohesive force, the tensile stress keeping the molecules of the elastic cord together and resisting their separation by a continual active pull, is the veritable force here in operation,—a force not spending itself in the exertion, not at all diminished after having done the work of decomposing ever so much muscle.

A similar relation obtains between an electromagnet and a permanent magnet. The former, in producing its effects, spends a proportionate amount of energy. The latter produces like effects without spending energy. To bring about in the substance called iron the intrinsic state which constitutes magnetic force,—i.e., the power of producing certain effects in other substances,—a continual supply of extrinsically imported energy is required. The substance called steel, on the contrary, when once rendered magnetic, produces like effects for any length of time without any external supply of energy.

And here we may as well recollect that, in all endeavors to explain the interaction of material particles by means of a medium of intercommunication similar to the one which is conjectured as transmitting radiant energy, the hypothetical medium is invariably endowed with any desirable amount of the intrinsic, non-mechanical force

called elasticity. This means really that, in order to explain kinetically incomprehensible actions occurring between material masses, kinetically incomprehensible forces are invoked from outside, and a suitable medium invented as substratum for the same.

A certain influence is evidently transmitted to us as radiant energy from suns and other starry masses. But consider a moment what an all but inconceivable store of original force inherent in the surmised medium is required kinetically to account for such transmission. The medium of transfer, the so-called luminiferous ether filling all space in order to accomplish its mechanical task, must be infinitely harder and more elastic than any substance we know. Its elastic force has, in fact, to be more than a thousand billions times greater than that of air at the earth's surface, its pressure per square inch about seventeen billions pounds.

Where, then, we ask, has kinetic science itself placed the veritable repository of force in this universe? Not in anything sensible; not in moving matter with which it ostensibly pretended to construct the world; not in anything in the heavens actually gaseous, liquid, or solid, but in the super-adamantine firmness and enormous elastic power of a hypersensible, immaterial, infinitely outspread medium. Less than a cubic inch of such ether-firmament would be quantitatively worth a vast deal more than any organic being on earth. Indeed, what value, quantitatively, kinetically considered, can have this little speck of curdling or rather frothing force-excess, making up the whole sum and substance of our tiny globe, when compared with the infinite resources of an immensely denser force, filling what we, most ironically, then, are calling empty space? Here, evidently, as usual, we have shifted the burden of scientific explanation from the realm of the actually realizable to an arcanum of boundless power.

The mechanical world-conception has no doubt proved a wholesome restraint upon the inordinate, ghost-haunted fancy of mediæval man. But, having allayed the portentous strife carried on for so many centuries against phantasmal powers, it now holds our consciousness spell-bound in a scientific nightmare, rendering our volition utterly impotent to execute the needful movements by which to ward off the crushing doom. Never shall we liberate ourselves from the dismal sense of a dead constraint mechanically necessitating all occurrences before we have broken the magic circle of quantitative science, which makes everything appear as the mere result of a rigorously determined transfer from one material group to another of just so many elementary units of acting force, previously wholly occupied in sustaining the antecedent state of nature. Thus arises the perplexity in which our present science finds itself entangled. Under the mechanical sway, its all-absorbing question naturally must be: How can the complex wealth of qualitative distinctions and specific energies now manifest in nature have originated from a redistribution of the pre-existent elements of matter and motion making up the objective substratum? How, above all, have organization and vitality resulted from the grouping and combination of such primitive elements of existence and activity?

The demonstrable, anti-mechanical truth is,—with new conditions, new powers start into actuality. Each changed physical state manifests new energies, called forth by the changing conditions, but not derived from them. Each new chemical compound displays powers of action and reaction, which had not been at work under any other guise among its constituent elements. Each increment

of chemical elaboration occurring in the objective substratum of vitality, though strictly induced by interaction with surrounding influences, brings as its specific property along with it a completely new instalment of intrinsic and peculiar efficiency neither due to the forces previously active in its own elements nor derived from the energies of the environment. Given a certain chemical constitution of the protoplasm composing a living individual, and all its peculiar organization and specific vital faculties are the property of just this chemical constitution, and by no means the mechanical resultant of the original forces of its constituent elements, at present only differently grouped.

Whoever wishes to become visibly convinced of this need only attentively watch the metamorphoses of infusoria. You have a specially organized kind of animalcule before you, carrying on with apparent sufficiency its peculiar mode of life. After a while, within its transparent substance is discerned at some definite spot a molecular activity not ministering to its present vital functions. From this nucleus of change, a metamorphosing influence spreads and converts, in a few minutes, through complete chemical reconstitution, the previous animalcule into an entirely new form of being, in full possession of quite different vital powers. The different organization and vital endowments are here evidently specifically attached to the new chemical constitution. They are not the former organization and its vital energies converted. For these were themselves obviously the outcome of the previous chemical constitution. Nor are the vital efficiencies of both these chemical constitutions the product of the forces which were at play among their constituent atoms previous to their peculiar chemical composition. It is the most specific molecular organization and activity, as such, which is the bearer of the vital faculties, and which constitutes the permanent living form. You decompose the vital individual, the vital structure, the vital substance, into their chemical components, and—though working *secundum artem* in one of the palatial laboratories erected in honor of the mechanical science of life—he is but a poor, deluded alchemist, who, having caught up the full weight of disintegrated stuff in his vials, believes himself in possession of the very forces that had ministered to all-efficient life. Then, indeed,

"Imperial Cæsar, dead, and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

But to reproduce from this same clay, from these same chemical constituents, Cæsar living, would involve the history of our planet over again.

Inert particles, knocking each other in and out of place, such is our mechanical world-material. Rich, in comparison, were those data from which Plato's inhabitants of the cave constructed their reality. They had moving shadows on a wall. We, only moving inertia in empty space. Exact science, ruling supreme with mathematical precision, will allow us no more. Units of dead mass with so much motion of translation, and the rest has to be made to follow through mere redistribution, according to strictest kinematic rules. All efficiency in nature, only the imparting and yielding of velocity through impact. The substratum of everything, mere forceless stuff, devoid of qualitative distinctions. All its energies and properties solely due to modes of motion,—motion just as indestructible in quantity as the inert masses it is now carrying along, and then leaving behind in its own Protean flight.

This, in a few words, is the quintessence of the physical insight into natural phenomena, gained by our mechanical science during centuries of strenuous investigation.

If it is at all wise at times to remind ourselves of the impotence and shallowness of our interpretative understanding, so recently emerged from mere subservience to daily wants, there could be no better opportunity than the one here afforded. Leaving, for the present, out of sight the deeper truth, that we can know matter only by dint of its effects on ourselves, and, therefore, only by dint of efficiencies not compatible with its supposed physical inertness or intrinsic unchangeability; leaving out of sight all direct relations to our own being,—this very property of unchangeability, involving as it does the incapacity of external powers to influence in any way the internal constitution of the units of mass, presupposes in each such unit a resisting power greater in amount than all the active forces of the universe put together. Instead, then, of being inert or forceless, atoms—"the eternal adamantine atoms" of mechanical science—could maintain their individuality only by means of an intrinsic resistance or reaction greater than any external energy that can be opposed to it. No wonder, then, that, in consequence of such absolute power of resistance, the material particles would, as we have already pointed out, very soon annihilate any amount of kinetic energy coming in conflict with them. Our kinetic world, the motion-woven universe of science, would speedily be brought to a dead standstill, its inert units of mass having completely destroyed its full store of "indestructible" energy, and laying ready to destroy ever so much more.

To obviate such a *reductio ad absurdum*, the mechanical interpretation is forced either to endow its so-called molecules or actual working units of mass with intrinsic springs of energy or to assume such springs of energy in a hypothetical medium. These suppositions are irreconcilable with mechanical principles. They both necessitate action at a distance, between the ultimate units at least,—a postulate altogether anti-mechanical. And they contradict, moreover, the law of the conservation and convertibility of energy; for intrinsic springs of energy, as here postulated, dwell inalienably in the masses, inexhaustible and inconvertible.

Thus, gravity, cohesion, elasticity, chemical affinity, etc., all turn out to be effective powers, not derivable from any mechanical action, but constituting so many kinds of specific energy steadily emanating from the manifesting masses. These specific energies are due to the peculiar consistency of the masses themselves, and to the relations of interaction in which they are standing to other masses, which are likewise sources of specific energies. Thus, new specific energies come into existence through new modes of material composition and interaction. And we have within the realm of being, not merely conservation, but creation everywhere,—new creation without end.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1885.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

"Two Thousand Years Ago," the second of Rabbi Schindler's course of lectures on "Messianic Expectations," will be printed in *The Index* next week, from the author's manuscript.

In a letter of date November 4, Mr. E. H. Heywood writes, "Yesterday, Tuesday, in response to an article put in the warrant to test the issue, the town of Princeton voted to petition the legislature to repeal the law exempting church property from taxation."

Says the *Ottawa Free Press*: "The Salvation Army in England carries on an ordinary business, in which religion and groceries are mixed like pickles. From the *War Cry*, which advertises the goods, it is warned that the store has soap for sale with 'Come to Jesus' stamped upon it; and nice, new salvation towels, with 'Wash your sins in Emmanuel's blood' printed in the corner, are retailed at 'one and tuppence' each. Is it any wonder that many Christian churches look with disfavor upon some of the methods adopted by the army to preach the gospel?"

THE *Springfield Republican*, referring to the meetings which will be held to-day in celebration of Mrs. Stanton's seventieth birthday, remarks that "such meetings are eminently proper in honor of so distinguished an advocate of a righteous and advancing cause. The goal of her efforts has not been gained; but she can count mighty steps in the securing of rights of women before the law, in hundreds of callings, and in public life. Mrs. Stanton is now engaged, with Miss Anthony and Mrs. Gage, in finishing an elaborate history of the movement. Her personal character and achievements have been picturesque; and she is a particularly handsome old lady, besides."

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE writes: "The Rev. H. R. Haweis has left us to lecture or preach to the men and women of Boston. We know him in London as a liberal and alluring preacher. Dark and bright, as dark-haired persons usually are, he is unconventional in clerical things and wilful in his ideas. His speech is charmingly con-

fident and articulate, his words as clear and separate as shots, and follow each other with a celerity which will incline the hearer to think they proceed from an ecclesiastical Gatling. Of his life and authorship you will already know all things. Go and hear him, and send me some of the papers which give (with American vivacity unrivalled in England) opinions of him. Mrs. Haweis is also a clever authoress. If you see any of her works about, read them."

A CORPORATE society has been formed in England, the object of which is to do away with the extravagances practised at funerals. One of the useless expenses which it is proposed to abolish is that of "the corpse dresser," whose business it is to beautify the corpse by adding carnation to the lips, rouge to the cheeks, etc. Undertakers are opposing the reform, on the ground that the money expended at funerals helps the milliners, tailors, florists, and lumbermen. Among those identified with funeral reforms are clergymen. Against these, the undertakers are extremely bitter, declaring that they are responsible for the evils about which they complain. One undertaker declares that in 1879 \$75,000 and upwards was paid in London for burial fees, of which \$20,000 went to officiating clergymen, and \$45,000 to incumbents "for no reason whatever."

It is stated that over five hundred persons have been converted at Birmingham, Ala., under the recent preaching of the eccentric Rev. Sam. Jones. In one of his sermons, he said: "Every man and woman has to get every vestige of the hog element out of their characters before they can become Christians. I am here to assist in destroying that hog element." At this point, he exclaimed: "O Lord, come down and help us kill hogs! I want this to be a regular hog-killing meeting." While discoursing upon the injunction, "Love thine enemies," he said: "I verily believe I love every human being on the top side of this earth; and, if you will bring a man whom I don't love, and stand him up here on this platform, I'll hug him until he squeals; and, if you can find a woman in all this world whom I don't love, and bring her up here, why, I'll—I'll—send for my wife and make her hug her until she squeals!"

REFERRING to the proposition made to the board of estimate in New York City to cut off the appropriation of \$15,000 from the Museum of Natural History and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, because these institutions remain closed on Sunday, and, to the statement of one of the trustees, that the support has come largely from those who would withdraw their subscriptions, should the collection be shown on Sunday, the *Boston Transcript* remarks that New York should no longer speak contemptuously of Puritanical Boston. "Our Puritanism has not survived so long as to fail to see that, as a moral, preventive measure, the opening of art galleries and public libraries on Sunday is desirable. Experience has certainly shown that the opportunities for healthful mental enjoyment, thus offered here, have been properly appreciated by the people. It is remarkable that the worthy

people of New York, who couple with their gifts to art and anatomy museums an expressed or implied wish that the institutions be closed on Sunday, do not see that on no other day can working people gain any advantage from studies of the works of art or nature."

A DESPATCH from London states that Tyndall, the scientist, has declined to stand as a candidate for member of Parliament for Renfrew. "He thinks that the atmosphere of the Commons would not suit him. If the members were permitted to speak by virtue of special knowledge or when they had anything profitable to say, he would willingly accept the nomination. He censures the Gladstone cabinet, which, he declares, headed by an unstable ruler, caused five years of confusion at home and humiliation abroad. Recalling the events of the Transvaal and the Soudan, he says: "If there be a day of retribution for the misdeeds of man, I would not willingly accompany to the judgment seat the unpurged spirits of those who were responsible for the bloodshed in the Soudan. It was a damning and damnable business from beginning to end. Yet the man who is answerable beyond all others for this waste of blood, who sent Gordon to the wilds, and there abandoned him to death and mutilation, now dares to talk to the people of Midlothian as if no fleck rested upon his workmanship." The Conservatives are using Mr. Tyndall's letter as a campaign document.

A RELIABLE Liberal, who attended the last Congress of the National Liberal League, wrote us, "Of course, the convention is run offensively into *Truth-Seeker* commercialism." We were not surprised, therefore, to see a complaint in a late number of the paper named that we "took advantage of the gathering at Cleveland to circulate copies of *The Index*, which was, to say the least, a very cheeky performance." Further complaint is made that "at Albany the same was done." It is true that we sent to Mr. Stark, of Cleveland, some copies of *The Index* containing his articles on "Silver," with copies of some other numbers for such free distribution as he might choose to make. It is also true that we sent some copies to a friend in Albany, for free circulation. No copies were sold; and the object was, not to compete in business with our irate contemporary, but to diffuse liberal rational thought. Doubtless, our occasional word of criticism of the action of the National Liberal League is unacceptable to a paper which professes to seek the truth, but actually hides it in reporting the proceedings of a convention, when deemed expedient (as the editor of the *Truth-Seeker* confessed he did last year); but it is not easy to see how the free distribution of liberal literature at the Albany or Cleveland convention can be regarded as "a very cheeky performance." We promise to see that some good free-thought literature is gratuitously distributed at the next Congress of the National Liberal League. Liberals of the class the *Truth-Seeker* represents need to be educated and liberalized, and we are willing to make some sacrifice to assist in this missionary work.

VICIOUS READING.

The societies for the suppression of vice have been turning their attention of late to the evil of the "dime-novel" literature; and, if they can do anything toward eradicating this source of moral mischief in the community, they will do a most beneficent work. The character of this literature—if literature it can be called—is such that it is in itself evidence that it must do immense harm. But frequently there comes direct testimony to the fact that, in special cases, where boys and girls have been led to leave their homes and enter on careers of adventure, vice, and crime, they have been first tempted by this kind of reading. Their heads and hearts have been filled with sensational stories of immorality, until the worst passions and ambitions have been nourished within them, and they catch the fever for the same kind of life. To diminish, therefore, the stream of this vice-nourishing literature, and, above all, to foster a moral and mental taste in young people which shall tend to destroy the demand for it, is a most needed and useful work.

But the sensational "dime-novel" is not the only species of vicious reading that needs to be suppressed. This kind of literature is already under the suppression of the best public opinion. It does not come into reputable parlors, nor is it hawked about the streets. If boys and girls of respectable families read it,—as, it is to be feared, they sometimes do,—they must do it in secret. They know that it is under ban. It is not to be found in first-class bookstores nor at high-toned news-stands. It skulks through back alleys, and is purveyed by venders who have no reputation to lose. It belongs to the sewers, and instinctively keeps in the dark. All the time, however, the daily press is publishing stories of essentially the same sort, the only difference being that it draws its stories from actual life. They are "realistic" in the strictest sense. The daily newspapers of all stripes, large and small, with only here and there an honorable exception, appear to vie with each other as to which of them shall give the fullest and most detailed account of the current exposures of vice and crime that blotch the face of modern civilization. Thus, stories of criminal love, intrigue, and murder, the salacious details of a divorce suit, frenzied acts of passion and crime which are full of horror, are given daily to the world by publishers of good standing, who are presumed to be persons not only of business sagacity, but of conscience. These stories come into our houses and places of business openly by the front door. They may be purchased at reputable counters. They are served with our breakfasts and at our tea-tables. The boys and girls may read them without carrying them clandestinely to their chambers. The merchant finds his clerks poring over them, when he goes to his counting-room. They are spread broadcast through the land, in homes and shops, in the street, in cars and steamers, on Sundays and week days, and have hundreds of thousands of youthful readers where the so-called "dime-novel" literature has scores.

That this kind of reading is morally harmful, there can be no question among thoughtful people. Even though it be not written or published with any immoral purpose, the effect of describing crime and vice in the style of picturesque detail adopted by the newspaper reporter can but be detrimental to many youthful readers. Passions are stimulated which may already be too strong, and a knowledge of the artful ways of vice is imparted which cannot be too long kept concealed from youth. When public information of this sort

becomes necessary for the protection of society, as may have been the case in the recent *Pall Mall Gazette* exposures, it should be given in language the farthest removed from making a story in any way attractive to the imagination. But too often this department of the newspaper is put into hands that wield the most piquant pen, irrespective of any sense of moral responsibility; and the result is a descriptive narrative calculated to excite a prurient or depraved taste, and to make the responsible and morally serious editor uneasy, when he sees his own children reading the paper he has edited.

Nor is it easy to see what possible good accrues from filling the telegraphic columns of the daily journal with the accumulated diabolism of the country. Of what advantage is it to us here in Massachusetts to know to-day of a brutal outrage yesterday in Kentucky, or the incidents of a bloody crime in Texas, or the frenzied deeds of a murderer in Pennsylvania? There are shocking deeds enough near our own doors that we cannot help knowing. And there is little doubt that the publication of the details of these gross vices and crimes tends to beget rather than repress the passions that produce them. There are always persons so nearly off their mental or moral balance in the same direction that the portrayal of deeds of violence before them only increases their morbid aberration, and serves to impel them to do likewise. The spirit of violence is contagious. The very means of crime used by a ruffian in Mississippi, telegraphed across the country, may suggest to a villainous character in Maine a similar act. Even Freeman's religious murder of his child at Pocasset, a few years ago, soon had its copy in the Connecticut valley and in Missouri.

We would commend to the attention of the societies for the suppression of vice this kind of vicious reading furnished by the daily press. The reform demanded may seem a formidable one to attempt, so great is the power of the press. But there is one feature of the evil which it might not be so difficult to reach and abolish, and that is the publication of morally objectionable reports of criminal court trials. A simple statute authorizing a judge, at his own discretion (or with consent of counsel on both sides), to forbid the publication of such reports by the newspapers, and to prevent the sale of any publication containing them, except the official legal reports of the court itself, would accomplish the purpose. Such a statute, through the power given to a judge to punish for contempt of court, would be easy of execution, and would interfere, so far as we now see, with no person's reasonable or rational liberty. The suppression-of-vice societies would do an excellent work, if they were to secure the passage of such a law by the various legislatures. One great channel of the evil in question would then be closed up. For the rest of the reform there seems to be no other way than to rely upon appeals made to the reason and conscience of newspaper publishers and editors, and upon the education of a purer public sentiment. It cannot be the better class of the newspaper patrons that now desire this kind of reading. This is not the sort of "news" that business men want for themselves or their families; and, in the end, it is the vast populous sections of the business world whose patronage supports the daily press. Let these make their demand for a clean newspaper. Let them shun those journals that cater to the taste of bar-room morals. Nor are newspaper editors and publishers wholly given up to the worship of Mammon and incapable of moral convictions. There are conscientious men among them,—men at least who have the mental and moral acuteness to see that, when they rebuke the mor-

bid curiosity of the crowd that rushes on Sunday to hear a clergyman preach who is undergoing a scandalous trial in court, they ought not, in consistency, to open their columns to matter designed to draw the same crowd, and to satisfy the same low and indecent curiosity.

WM. J. POTTER.

RELATIVE VALUE OF METHODS AND RESULTS.

Within the year, the writer attended a famous school of philosophy; and, having criticised the logic of one of the lecturers, he was privately informed by one of the leaders of the school that the criticisms were just, but that he liked the conclusions of the lecturer, and cared not how he reached them. This struck me as a supreme exaltation of a creed, and unworthy of philosophy, which always seeks to understand itself. On telling this story to some clergymen, they laughed at the philosopher, till they were reminded that their ecclesiastical relations were dominated by the same principle. While it is true, I said, that your *confrères* esteem you well in proportion as you can reason effectively in favor of your creed, your ecclesiastical standing among them will be just as good, though you cannot reason at all, provided you can lustily asseverate with them. On the other hand, if your conclusions are not palatable, they will "cast you out," however well you reason in their favor, and in proportion to the force of your reasoning in their favor will be the ecclesiastical antagonism to you. This is fundamental to a school of religion and theology, as hitherto conceived, because it is a union on the base of a creed. Philosophy has no such bond, because it is not a faith or a creed, but an intelligence discerning or searching for truth and the evidences of it, or of the claims of certain ideas to be admitted as true.

Philosophy may not say, with Lessing, that all interest is in the pursuit, indifferent to results, or, with the old theology, Believe or be damned, indifferent to rational proofs. Both are paradoxes, and they are related to the truth as the poles to the equator and as the horizons to the zenith. Philosophy cannot be indifferent to results, else the alleged pursuit is only a pretence. Nor, on the other hand, can it be indifferent to the method of pursuit, whether it be rational and logical, else we can have no guarantee that the results are rational, as this can often be seen only in the light of its connections and supports, or the method by which the results are attained, so that we have no evidence whatever, unless this method is self-justified. A correct method is, therefore, essential in philosophy.

As the means are always subservient to the ends they seek, there is an aspect in which results are supreme, and the method of comparative insignificance. This is true in all purely practical matters. It is very important that a man finds out what diet and regimen are healthful for him, but of no consequence how he attains it. A good medicine is none the less valuable to those who know it, whether they can give a scientific account of it or not. Truth and virtue are of practical value, even though they are advocated by a false method.

In theoretic pursuits and in all pure science and philosophy, the case is entirely altered. Here the method is everything, because it includes and guarantees the end; and, if we fail to appreciate here the supremacy of the method, we shall be likely to fail in regard to the end. We shall be tempted impatiently and blindly to adopt agreeable results in opposition to rational evidences of their untruth. I regard this state of

mind as so very strong and prevalent even now as to constitute the great philosophical misery and degradation of our times. I regard this as the only, or chief, source of the monstrous inconsistencies everywhere manifest in speculative thought, the parent of "the riddle of body and mind," and the blind clashing and revolting of materialism, dualism, and half-fledged idealism against the results of a consistent procedure in psychological and metaphysical studies. Hence, the lofty though partial jealousy of Plato concerning the practical uses of geometry. He saw, as all ages have seen, men interested in geometry and in all intellectual pursuits only for certain practical, material, and social results which they may be made to yield; and he knew that the higher advances of the mind could not be made in that spirit. He, however, was, no doubt, a little narrow at the bottom, too little in sympathy with the necessities of inferior minds and with the idea now dominant, that scientific truth should be made to yield practical fruit,—a demand which was emphasized by Bacon, till he came near merging science into an art, as merely the mistress of artisans, as a large portion of moderns have done.

Philosophy cares for results, not as practical forces, which is only art, nor as beautiful combinations, which is only poetry, nor as promisingly helpful to the spiritual life, which is morals and religion, but simply as logical consequences of a rational and scientific method. It therefore cares supremely for correct processes, for rational methods, because these justify themselves, and they constitute the true guarantee of correct results. Philosophy has no thesis primarily to maintain, but only a rational course to pursue, confident that that, and that only, can assure us that we shall reach the right point all along the endless. Hence, philosophy acknowledges no other obligation than the honest prosecution of such a method.

WM. I. GILL.

THE SPHERE OF ILLUSION.

II.

The illusions of mankind are infinite in their variety and in the causes of their development. Harmless as those that haunt the region of our dreams are many of the motley crew. Not all the toymen do so much to please our children as these invisible servants of their fancy who assist at all their games, who hold the book and add a comment that is better than the text. Praise to the Hawthornes and the Laboulayes who lend themselves so graciously to the maintenance of the entrancing show! Praise to the hero-worshipping historians, too! I have no grudge against John S. C. Abbott because he made Napoleon Bonaparte the idol of my boyish fancy, and kept him so, in spite of Channing's damaging reflections, until Emerson smote him for me, and he fell. There are no such match-makers as these same illusions. Francesca, finding that she had not married him whose face and voice had conquered her imagination, was one of many thousands in her grief. But Nature sings, "Heigh-ho! young maids must marry"; and, to this end, she makes young manhood beautiful with an imaginary beauty, with all virtues and nobilities. Young womanhood as well, and the trick is not discovered till it is too late; say, rather, till it is discovered that we have something better for a wife or husband than any bundle of impossible perfections, "a creature not too bright or good" for the sweet habitudes of our domestic life. But, if we wake from one illusion, it is to lapse into another. A Boston clergyman is

said to have a neat, invariable formula of exclamation when the newly arrived infant is for the first time brought down for him to see,—*"Well, that is a baby!"* He is a bachelor, or he would know that the maternal heart craves a more definite admiration for that puff-ball of sweet flesh she carries in her arms. Are not all its ways remarkable? Was there ever such cooing, spluttering, gaping, stretching, kicking, in the world before? And, sometimes, the illusion grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength of the new comer; and, sometimes, it is so beneficent that we would not dispel it for the world, though we can see so little of that rare perfection that the mother sees in the great hulking boy or dull-eyed, witless girl.

Yea, verily, as Emerson has said, "the pageant marches at all hours." What a master of illusion is our bodily condition! If it is health, it makes all weather fine, all labor light. It seasons every dish. "Almost I fear to think how glad I am." If it is sickness, who will show us any good? The sunshine is a weariness; and the air, which else were an elixir, is chilling to the marrow of our bones. But here is only another illusion of localization. Our mood is real enough, only it is not caused by the external circumstance upon which we charge it, but by our organization, the abundance or defect of our vitality.

There are more serious aspects of the matter than we have yet considered. There are illusions of belief that have in them an immense potentiality of harm. "My judgment is just," said Jesus, "because I seek not mine own will," and at once disclosed the primal source of our illusory opinions. It is the bias of our will. How many of us approach any subject of great interest or importance with a mind prepared to listen with an equal fairness to the evidence upon either side? In the great majority of cases, we have some preconception, got we know not how; and, straightway, it becomes a principle of natural selection. It is magnetic to all facts and arguments that tend to make it good: it is repellent to all others. The passion for unity in our beliefs is another master of illusion. We do not like to qualify our admirations. We want to think wholly well of our political candidate and wholly ill of his opponent, and all is grist that comes to our mill until we have attained to this result. We have our reason for a certain course of action; and very soon we have a dozen, which the brooding of the first has warmed into a vigorous life. What a master of illusion is the self-interest of individuals! Men will give you forty reasons for supporting a certain line of public policy, and withhold from you the one reason which is more than all the rest: it is for their pecuniary advantage. Held pretty near the eye, a silver dollar will eclipse the sun, sometimes the sun of righteousness. "Paris is well worth a mass," said Henry of Navarre, and soon convinced himself that he was Romanist enough for the emergency. What a bias is the power of old associations on our political and theological opinions! What a bias the affections! Our mother's creed,—how can it but be true? How much more reasonable and attractive Unitarianism or Presbyterianism or any other *ism* is apt to seem, when it is no longer impersonal, but comes to us embodied, comes to us as our beloved William or Thomas, as our dear Elizabeth or Jane! Once upon a time, I received the confession of a maiden, that since her engagement she could only conceive of the Almighty as having the appearance of the young man to whom she was engaged. *Oh, sancta simplicitas!* you cry; but, the more I think of it, the more I am inclined to the persuasion that her confession was but a parable of what is as common

as the mystery and mastery of love. It is the song which Robert Browning sings:—

"That one face does not vanish; rather grows;
Or decomposes but to recompose;
Becomes my universe that feels and knows."

The way from thought to action is not long, and the illusions that exist for the intellect exist for the conscience and the will. Beauty and Love are weaving them each day anew. The argument of Phryne's advocate, "She cannot be an atheist, because she is so beautiful," is one that custom cannot stale. "The king can do no wrong,"—the king whose throne is in your heart of hearts. And this magic which can make another's wrong seem right makes steep for us and lubricates the downward way. And, once we have done wrong, what a miserable illusion is that which makes another wrong seem right, because it is the only practicable thing,—at least, without some serious self-abatement or some violent turning round! What a miserable illusion, too, is that which stretches the forgiveness of our confessor till it covers that which we have not confessed; and that whereby we use our friend's unjust suspicion as a sponge with which we wipe out all the secret score of our offence against him, and even find ourselves magnanimously forgiving him; and that whereby we plume ourselves upon the courage of a repentance that is soon repented of, and, for the sake of so much beautiful behavior, though as yet undone, grant ourselves absolution in advance for some fresh deviation from the straight and narrow way! And these illusions are not all. There are many others, and among them those which Mr. Spencer calls "The Educational Bias," "The Bias of Patriotism," "The Political Bias," "The Theological Bias." He only names them as so many obstacles to the successful study of Sociology at the present stage of our development. But they are equally obstacles to the successful prosecution of a just, considerate, and steadfast course of life.

Is there something infinitely discouraging in this illusory aspect of our life? The victims of so many painted shows, is there nothing left for us but to abandon ourselves to the maskers of this glittering revelry, and let them lead us as they will? That were a lame and impotent conclusion. A better is, that so much of our illusion as is merely the result of the co-operation of our organization with external things is so beneficent that we would not dispel it, if we could. We know that we are fooled, and like it well enough. Would we have the sun appear to us as large as it actually is? Would we have the scent seem anywhere but in the rose, the light seem anywhere but in the star? The illusions of our dreams are easily corrected by our waking hours; and those of our more wakeful seasons, so long as we are sound in mind and body, afford a curious entertainment for our leisure time. Certainly there are those which are the offspring of dementia and of other morbid states, which can be made to yield up nothing obviously pleasant. But even here there are some useful implications: a knowledge of such things should breed a larger charity, the limits of a perfect sanity are so hard to fix; it should incite to a more reverent care of that intelligence which, because it is the last result of evolution, is the most liable to harm; it should arouse in us a more active pity for that suffering which is of all suffering the most tragical. And, as for the illusions of our belief and moral sentiment, to be forewarned against them is to be forearmed. "Whatever games are played with us," the Master says, "we must play no games with ourselves, but deal in our privacy with the last honesty and truth.... Speak as you think, be

what you are, pay your debts of all kinds." If we could live according to this rule, I doubt if, when the masquerade was over, we should find that we had danced with any but our friends; and she that would not unmask for us till we had gone apart with her to the most secret place might be as friendly as the rest, might say to us, with smiling lips and eyes, "You thought that I was Death, and I am—Life."

If we could go right in upon the centre of this sphere of illusion, whose surface has detained us over-long, I wonder much if it would not be to find, not, as we are so often tempted to believe, that we have taken less things for greater, but that we have taken the greater and the greatest for the least. What if the great illusion be that our housekeeping and store-keeping, our ploughing and draining, our washing and mending, are the device of the Eternal for making us his own elect? So Emerson has guessed, assuring us that, though all be phantasm, "if we weave a yard of tape in all humility, and as well as we can, long hereafter we shall see it was no cotton tape at all, but a galaxy we braided, and that the threads were Time and Nature."

"Seek not beyond thy cottage wall
Redeemers that can yield thee all :
While thou sittest at thy door
On the desert's yellow floor,
Listening to the gray-haired crones,
Foolish gossips, ancient drones,
Saadi, see ! they rise in stature
To the height of mighty Nature,
And the secret stands revealed,
Fraudulent Time in vain concealed,—
That blessed gods in servile masks
Plied for thee thy household tasks."

Oh, better yet, to find that we in servile masks, not by ourselves discoverable unto ourselves, plying our homeliest tasks with brave fidelity, have done the housework of the gods !

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE NEW RELIGION.

That religion is undergoing a transformation, that a new conception and rendering of it are destined to prevail in intellectual circles, must be admitted. Even now, in progressive orthodox pulpits, it is not taught as the unnatural, irrational, mysterious gift of sovereign grace it once was, but is treated as a natural, practical, growing form of moral life, purpose, conduct,—an adjustment, so to speak, of human thought, feelings, and activities to the unsolved, mysterious powers of earth and the surrounding heavens. Philanthropy and morality seem to define it better than piety. And yet religion, in any real sense, cannot omit the recognition and practice of reverence, of gratitude for good received, and of those qualities of gentleness and self-renunciation which comport with a right relation of the ego and non-ego of man, with the mysterious powers of life and nature. It is not the purpose of radicalism to root out any of the needful, noble, saintly virtues of manly, true life. So far as religion represents or embodies the higher and truer and real humanity,—qualities which make for peace, purity, love, and goodness in human life,—it certainly is not antagonized by knowledge, and scientific progress cannot dispense with it.

But the question is inevitable, and is proper. What philosophical or theological basis has even the new religion or any religion? What faith of the intellect must it carry with it, or imply, concerning the cosmos? Will it be materialistic or transcendental? Will it rest on creation or evolution, retain the old conception of gods outside of nature, willing and designing whatsoever is, or the other equally old idea of the "ceaseless becoming," involution and evolution?

Theism is rapidly resolving itself into a scientific pantheism, conformable to the growing doctrine of evolution; but the ideas of men are vague and misty, as they cannot but continue to be, concerning a subject about which so little is or can be clearly known.

Mr. William Graham, an able English writer, who contends for "an inner Power at work behind natural selection, that manifests both unwearied purpose and all-comprehending executive skill," allows that "natural selection is a *vera causa*, which we can now see, actually at work in the organic world as well as in human societies and nations. . . . In such ways as natural selection indicates, Nature *must* have travelled. By such a law as natural selection, she undoubtedly did do some, at least, of her work. . . . The only question of importance is, Did natural selection, which did some, or even much, of the work, really accomplish all?" He says: "We are asked to believe that natural selection made, not only the tree, but the bird that sings in it; not only the flower, but the bees that suck it; not only the man himself, but also, in great measure or altogether, his art, science, invention, language, institutions, civilization, and all his special higher associations. Besides the species, natural selection made the music of the bird, the beauty of the flower, the thought of the man; and all these different effects, when we view them in their totality, are so prodigious in comparison with the cause assigned that the hypothesis seems wholly incredible."

Yet he admits that, "if the perfection of organs and their exquisite adaptations to their several ends and to each other were achieved by a slow natural process, and only after many abortive and unskilful attempts had been made,—the blunders and failures being necessarily dropped and hidden away from sight,—it is futile to argue from adaptations that have been slowly made, and necessarily left to a designing mind that conceived and constructed them all at once"; and he asks, "If all adaptations can be accounted for as *results* that came simply by natural process, why suppose *preconceptions* and special construction of them?"

To a thoughtful mind, studying the history of only human life, collective and singular, as the great struggle it has been, and imperfect and weak as it still is, the question irresistibly presses, If there be a purpose in the ups and downs of Nature,—the purpose of a designing mind,—separate from and greater than the universe, how is it that this mind is so bound in by the rigid necessity of fate that it cannot do perfect work at once, instinctively, but must yield such gigantic sway to misery, vice, and crime? It is easy to assume and assert that diseases and monstrosities are purposed, and that the innocent child is providentially removed from loving parents for some ulterior, wise design; but the physician knows that there is an intelligible reason for the child's death in the material conditions of life, which conditions of life may be controlled by the *intelligence* of parents, but will not be in any way helped by the piety or religion of the parents.

If there be a God who causes earthquakes, cyclones, pestilences, shipwrecks, hereditary vice, innocent suffering, and premature death, no matter though they be alleged to be punishments for sin, either in our first parents or ourselves, it does not appear reasonable or right that we should be required to adore and praise and love such a God. The nobler sentiments of manhood ought to save us from such degradation.

If the order of nature can be better and more satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis of evolution, as Mr. Graham admits a part of it must

be, then, manifestly, no ancient traditional faith in a miracle-working demiurgos or creating divinity ought to impede or bar the progress of scientific thought and knowledge. That knowledge which is the exemplification of the truth, and which saves mankind from error and wrong and remorse, ought to be dearer than any blind faith or devotion, which is simply weakness and consecrated ignorance. Preserve and perpetuate all that is good in human life and its relationships, but do not let the ghost of ancient superstition and darkness frighten us out of loyalty to light and truth into servility to authority and established falsehood. If the new religion will bear the light, and will help, not harm, mankind, then let us accept and cherish it. As yet, the question is on trial. Discussion is not closed. The verdict is not rendered. Humanity awaits the issue in hope and fear.

A. N. ADAMS.

CHARLES VOYSEY'S REPLY TO F. W. NEWMAN.

I am a careful reader of *The Index*; and, therefore, sometimes I get in arrears with them. So it happens that I have only just seen Prof. F. W. Newman's letter to you, in *The Index* of September 24.

It is not surprising that independent thinkers should differ from each other, and that Prof. Newman should object to some of my teaching. But it is very surprising to find that grand old thinker and teacher so inaccurate in his language as to do me a great injustice. He directly accuses me of "making a dogma of the duty of church attendance and public prayer," and indirectly charges me with "making a dogma" of life after death.

The phrase, "making a dogma," here, is wholly inaccurate and misleading. I have often dwelt on the difference between doctrine and dogma, showing that doctrine is mere opinion, formulated opinion it may be, but held by living and wise men as liable to modification, correction, and even removal: whereas, "dogma" is petrified opinion of the past, enforced by authority or taught in such terms as to terrify people into believing it. I hold *doctrines* tenaciously as long as they seem to me to be reasonable and true. I have no *dogmas* at all on any point, not even the existence of God, whom I, nevertheless, deeply love and reverence.

I have urged the duty of church attendance and public prayer only by fair argument and persuasion, because experience has taught me how helpful these are in maintaining both a virtuous and religious life. But I have nowhere taught this as a dogma.

In reference to the life after death, I have taught it only as a *doctrine* corollary to our belief in God's love to us; never as a *dogma* essential to be believed in order to be a theist. If, every time our dear old friend becomes energetic in urging upon us his theories and crotchets, we should accuse him of dogmatizing or "making dogmas," it would not be more unfair than his present charge against myself.

I am sorry this reply to him is somewhat behind time, but I trust you will kindly print it.

CHARLES VOYSEY.

DULWICH, Oct. 22, 1885.

AN OPEN LETTER TO COL. INGERSOLL.

My dear Sir,—Last summer, you were kind enough to address me a letter, stating that there was much in common between us, referring to our views of the liberal movement, and expressing a desire for an interview, which would afford an opportunity to consider the situation together and to compare notes, before the next Congress of the

National Liberal League should convene. Since circumstances did not permit the proposed interview, which was mutually desired, I wish, in a communication, to state in part what I should have been pleased to say to you verbally; and, as what I shall write will relate entirely to matters of interest to the liberal public, I deem it proper to present what I have to communicate in the form of an open letter.

At the first Congress of the National Liberal League, held in Philadelphia in 1876, there were present one hundred and seventy delegates, or members to whom certificates of membership had been issued by the committee of arrangements. About forty leagues had been organized, and were active, fifteen of which were represented by delegates. In the Congress were represented twenty-four States and two Territories. Besides, applications for membership had been signed by six hundred and twenty persons who were not in attendance. Letters of sympathy and encouragement were read from William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Judge Hurlburt, Hon. Nathaniel Holmes, Hon. Samuel E. Sewell, Hon. Geo. W. Julian, Rabbi Wise, Robert Collyer, M. J. Savage, and other well-known men, whose names are never thought of now in connection with the National Liberal League. At the second Congress, held in Rochester the following year, there was an increased attendance; and the work done was quite satisfactory.

At the third Congress, as is well known, the control of the League passed into the hands of a faction, who subordinated the original object of the organization—the secularization of the State—to an agitation for the repeal of the postal laws of 1873, against the transmission of indecent literature through the mails. Mr. F. E. Abbot, the President, who had initiated the Liberal League movement as a definite organized effort to accomplish the separation of Church and State, and who had done more than any other man to make the League so far a success, was turned out of office, because he was opposed to repeal; and Mr. Elizer Wright was elected to fill his place, because he was in favor of repeal. The League, in its administration, was thus committed to a policy which drove from it Mr. Abbot, Judge Hurlburt, and many others, who had been identified with it from the beginning, and which, at the same time, attracted to it certain strange sort of men and women, who had manifested no interest in its declared purpose when it was simply the separation of Church and State. That policy checked the movement for State secularization, and brought discredit upon the liberal cause. On account of persistent opposition to it, from its inauguration at Syracuse till it collapsed at Cassadaga, *The Index* has received every species of abuse, especially in the paper which started the "repeal" agitation, and which continues to be the main organ of the League.

Some months before the Congress convened at Cassadaga, Mr. A. B. Bradford proposed an independent convention of Radicals for consultation. There were, he said, "men in the land who are not identified with either the Liberal League or its opponents, and who, if they would invite a national convention of free thinkers to meet, might, from their high character, close up our ranks, and, if nothing more, ascertain approximately our numerical strength, so that the public might know the fact." This proposal was "seconded and accepted by the president and secretary of the National Liberal League for a new deal and a new organization of the Liberals of this country." In reply to inquiries by the officers of the National Liberal League, I signified my approval of Mr.

Bradford's proposition and the assurance of my cordial support, if it were carried out in good faith. I said in *The Index*, "If there is to be a national liberal organization, let the call be made without reference to the National Liberal League or any other existing organization, and let the convention called to effect a union of Liberals on a broad and comprehensive basis be unhampered by the past."

The next Congress convened; and forty-eight delegates, several of them proxies, were present. The entire attendance was, of course, much larger. There was no reorganization of the League, no attempt to "revise the basis of the League" which the "call" had announced as a part of the programme; and there was no rescission of the repeal resolutions, the adoption of which at Chicago caused you to resign your position and leave the organization. Two or three persons prominently identified with opposition to the repeal folly were, without their knowledge or consent, proposed for vice-presidents. "Jesus Christ and the Almighty" were derisively proposed, when the names of the offensive anti-repealers, including that of Mr. Abbot, were dropped.

At this Congress, you were elected President of the National Liberal League. There were several circumstances that made it easy for those present to forgive your protest and withdrawal from the League at Chicago; while your talents and wide reputation as a popular advocate of free thought made your election as president extremely desirable, indeed, absolutely necessary, to save the League from speedy dissolution, and to enable Messrs. Putnam and Watts to carry out their scheme designed to give them certain advantages. The former had attempted the work of a liberal lecturer, failed and returned to the pulpit, and remained in it as long as circumstances would permit. The latter had failed in his contest with Bradlaugh, and in his effort to organize a Secular Union in England. Although he had been in full sympathy with *The Index* in its opposition to the action of the National Liberal League, he was ready at the first opportunity to profit by the division among American Liberals, and to stultify himself by active work for the League a year before the Cassadaga convention, when it had no thought of abandoning the policy which he had professed to hold in abhorrence.

There was nothing surprising in your election; but many of your friends, who admire your genius and your generous impulses, were surprised when you, after some months of silence following the announcement of your election, authorized the present leaders to declare your acceptance. Certainly, it would have been better if the League had been allowed to become extinct, as it certainly would long ere now, had not the magic of your name been used to revive it and to continue it, for a while, under a leadership which makes it serve personal interest, and is quite devoid even of the consistency and spirit of sacrifice shown by its late leaders. If a national organization of Liberals in this country is desirable, it should be one in fact, and not in name only; and it should be conducted in a way to command the respect and approval of all classes of true Liberals. The present leaders of the League the past year have called upon all, Christian and non-Christian,—all who believe in the separation of Church and State,—to support the League by contributions; and, at the same time, they have been chiefly engaged as officers of the League in lecturing against the Bible and Christianity, and in defence of the system or cult called "Secularism." In one of the League circulars, the secretary announces that he and his colleague "will be ready at any time to serve those who, in the

shadow of death, require the noble consolations of our secular faith." Such an announcement by an individual secularist or by a society of secularists would be proper enough; but how can an organization justly or honorably declare that the "nine demands" are its platform, solicit aid from all who subscribe to those demands, from all who believe that the Church and the State should be separated, and be at the same time directing all its energies against the religious faith of the majority of those upon whom it thus calls, and in propagating views which many who favor divorce of Church and State utterly reject?

It is not strange that intelligent Liberals generally still feel no interest in the National Liberal League. They understand that you, whose genius they admire and whose work they appreciate, are only nominally President of the League, your name being simply used to fly the kite of interested parties. The little interest felt in the organization is sufficiently shown by the fact that only four leagues, out of the hundreds claimed to be in existence, were represented at the Cleveland Congress last month. The entire number of delegates reported present by the Committee on Credentials, according to the chief organ of the League and of the repeal movement, the *Truth-Seeker*, was thirty-five. Considering that the League through its secretary a year ago proposed an "aggressive campaign," in which there should be for "the enemy no resting spell," and which was to effect "a change of front of the universe," if \$5,000 should be raised, the results of the year's work do not seem to be very encouraging.

The free use of your name enabled the actual managers of the League to raise by contributions the past year \$3,684.58, and of this sum \$3,456.71 went to pay the "first vice-president" and secretary for lecturing against Christianity,—certainly not a large amount, but which should have been expended in the cause of State secularization, when that is declared to be the object of the League, and when, on that pretence, requests for contributions are made.

A friend suggests as the most charitable explanation that neither of the gentlemen above referred to comprehends fully the difference between the system called "Secularism" and the secularization of the State. This is possibly true; but, if so, they should have been duly instructed before being authorized to represent a liberal organization at the head of whose list of officers stands the name of America's most brilliant, eloquent, and widely known advocate of free thought. I do not doubt that you have permitted your name to stand as President of the National Liberal League from generous motives; but please consider whether, in so doing, you are not giving a new lease of life—very feeble life, though it be—to an organization that is controlled in the interest of a faction, that is doing nothing for State secularization, that only serves to perpetuate ill-will and dissension among Liberals, and to prevent or delay a national organization with the numerical strength, character, and consistency of action necessary to command the general respect and support of intelligent and independent Liberals.

I have no personal interest in the League. As a public lecturer, I have never depended upon it nor upon any other organization, but, like yourself, have worked upon an independent basis, and aimed to represent on the platform my own positions, not those of a society, although ready always to work with any organization, when I have been able to do so without sacrifice of principle.

I write you in entire frankness, but with great

respect and with high appreciation of your courageous and effective warfare against superstition.

Sincerely yours,

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

DR. W. T. HARRIS writes: "Dr. Montgomery's articles are wonderful. I look upon him as one of the greatest lights in true science."

"SCIENCE," which has removed its publication office to New York, will, in future, aim to be a paper for educated readers generally rather than for the specialist.

REV. E. C. TOWNE informs us that he will lecture November 19, at Tremont Temple, on "The Real Life of George Eliot: Her Relation to Literature, to Society, and to Religion."

HEATHEN idols have become articles of traffic by missionaries in India. A Methodist paper out West advertises an invoice at \$1.10 each. "These idols," it remarks by way of commendation, "are curious and instructive, and are intended to aid in awakening an interest in missionary affairs, especially in Sunday-schools. Superintendents will find that they add greatly to the interest of the monthly missionary Sunday."—*Springfield Republican*.

THE *Boston Record* says, "Mr. Howells is now staying at Auburndale, with his family; and it is an open secret that he will remain there during the winter for the good of his daughter's health." This sort of flunkeyism leads the *Springfield Republican* to ask: "Why, pray, is it an open secret; and, if a secret, why open? Are we to infer that Mr. Howells is watching the human animals on the sly, to catch specimens, and pin them up in his contributions to magazines?"

HUDSON TUTTLE, of Berlin Heights, Ohio, writes: "I am so often written to by free thinkers to know, in case a friend die, if I will give the funeral discourse, that I have thought of asking you to state for the benefit of the Western readers that I will do so. I am called on nearly every week by Spiritualists; and it is really a great tax at times, yet I feel it a duty to take such occasions to extend more correct views than the preachers, who otherwise would seize the occasion, are accustomed to. I have often wondered why the friends employ, as they often do, orthodox preachers for out and out 'infidels,' whom said preachers, if these speak out honestly, must consign to perdition. In many cases, they can engage none other."

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Presbyterian* does not understand how "any minister of the gospel who professes to be educated, and to believe in the Bible as the supreme rule of faith and practice, can deny the existence of a personal devil"; and, after quoting several passages from the Bible to show the folly of substituting "evil influences" for the devil, "for the real, genuine one clearly and indisputably presented in the Bible," submits "to those whose eclectic creed will permit neither Satan nor his angels to have any personal existence" the following conundrum: "Will they please inform us how our blessed Lord could cast out a whole legion of 'evil influences' from the man among the tombs, and how it was that the same set of 'evil influences' entered into the swine, and drove them into the sea?"

SAYS the *Congregationalist* of September 17, deploring the sad mistake "of the Prohibitory party of Massachusetts in committing itself to the move-

ment of what is called 'woman's rights': "We are as solidly convinced as we can be of anything that woman suffrage opposes the plainest teachings of common sense; but, more than this, that it is squarely against not only the explicit teachings, but against the general drift of the Bible. As we minutely demonstrated but a few months ago, in a series of articles which we happen to know received the unqualified indorsement of many able New Testament scholars as well as sagacious publicists, the notion of woman suffrage stands so obstinately and destructively across the plain teachings of the word of God as to make it simply impossible for those who reverently accept the inspired authority of the Bible to favor it."

IN reference to a remark in a contemporary that "Jews never can by any possibility be converted to Trinitarian Christianity, but they may one day be converted to Unitarian Christianity," the *Jewish Chronicle* remarks: "We have always thought that Unitarians, like sensible people, allowed their Trinitarian brethren a monopoly of the conversion business. We regret to find that we are mistaken. Since Unitarians and Jews are agreed on the one main point as to the oneness of the Deity, would it not be well to let them agree to differ on the remaining points? If Unitarians imagine that Jews will ever be induced to place Jesus higher than Moses, and to regard the Gospels as teaching a loftier and more practical religion than the Pentateuch, the sooner they are undeceived, the better. Judaism, moreover, has its historical factors, which the Israelite is not likely to ignore at the bidding of the Unitarian, charm he never so wisely."—*London Inquirer*.

BISHOP COXE recently in Buffalo preached against cremation on theological grounds. His text was the burial of Jesus as narrated in John's Gospel, and he claimed that the prevailing method of disposing of human bodies was a Christian inheritance from the Jews, that has come down to us with divine sanction. But his only argument against cremation was an appeal to prejudice: "Think," he said, "of taking the corpse of a loved one, the hand that you have so lovingly pressed these many years, placing the body on a cruel iron car, and pushing it into a fiery furnace. I confess my soul shrinks in horror from it. Brethren, I beseech you, retain the Christian customs of eighteen centuries, and see that our dead are quietly laid in the tomb." To this, the *Springfield Republican* sensibly replies as follows: "Well, think of taking the corpse of a loved one, and thrusting it beneath the ground, 'to lie in cold obstruction, and to rot'; to become a loathsome mass of putrescent corruption, poisoning the springs of living water, sending foul gases into the air and germs of disease into the life of those who dwell around,—which is the more repulsive, which the more horrible to think of? The true Christian idea is to rise above the penthouse of the flesh, and to consider that the loved one has no longer any property in the deserted tenement, but, released from 'this muddy vesture of decay,' is now a spirit. We all have felt the force of custom and prejudice. Bishop Coxe does not argue with unfeeling clods, who have no reverence for their dead; but those who advocate cremation have a higher thought of death and life, and have escaped from what is really a gross materialism, repugnant to the civilization that is dawning on the world, and which will find in reverence for the living a better motive than outworn custom."

SOME have thought that beyond our solar system and the galaxy, or system of solar systems to which it belongs, are other systems of solar systems,—a whole galaxy of such systems and sys-

tems of such galaxies. Kant thought there might be systems of systems, and systems of such systems, and so on, to higher and higher orders without end. But Proctor tells us that the discovery of the new star in the Andromeda nebula confirms what one or two reasoners had already shown to be all but certain,—that we have no evidence of galaxies external to our own. Referring, in the *London Times*, to "the transcendently beautiful queen of the nebula," as the old astronomers called Andromeda, Mr. Proctor says: "The sudden appearance of the new star is decidedly the most interesting astronomical discovery—or, rather, event, for the discovery was not inevitable—since Adams and Leverrier calculated the place of the as yet unknown Neptune. It disposes finally of the theory that the nebulae are, or may some of them be, external galaxies. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in 1859, gave three or four convincing reasons showing that the nebulae cannot be external to our galaxy; and, ten years later (not knowing of this work), I repeated those, and supplemented them with many others and with maps of nebular distribution, demonstrating to the eye that the nebulae belong to our system. Some of these reasons and illustrative statistics I presented at a Friday evening lecture at the Royal Institute, in May, 1870. The views I then urged were precisely those which the new star, regarded as physically connected with the Andromeda nebula, has made certain, and, what is more, obvious and clear to all."

For The Index.

A WOMAN'S ANNIVERSARY.

TO ELIZABETH CADY STANTON ON HER SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY, NOV. 12, 1885.

The "threescore years and ten" are thine;
That high-tide mark of our existence
Thou see'st with eyes whose dauntless shine
Age cannot dim; nor Time's insistence
On waning years make thee repine
The strength spent in a firm resistance

To every form injustice took
'Gainst men, or slaves, or weaker woman,
Thou fear'st not demon, man, nor book:
Thy faith was in the purely human,—
A faith which cannot overlook
The honest dues of e'en a foeman.

To thee the years so marked have sped
The swifter for thy earnest doing.
Each day, each hour, some subtle thread
Of cause, too fine-spun for our viewing,
Hath drawn thee into ways that led
Beyond lines marked for thy pursuing,

Beyond the boundaries man imposed
On woman's free, untrammelled action;
The bars gave way which thee enclosed,
Equality was thy exaction,
Thy rights were asked where'er disclosed,
In spite of frowns, sneers, or detraction.

In all the events of thy career
As daughter, housewife, loving mother,
As friend, reformer, pioneer,
As author, preacher, and in other
Ways, thou'st shown true "woman's sphere,"
Broad for her as for her brother.

Because of this, throughout our nation
To-day in many a home and hall
Freedom's friends of every station,
Alone or grouped, with love recall
Thy work for woman's elevation:
Thank-offerings greet thee from us all.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 12, 1885.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS.

LECTURE I.

Introductory, delivered at the Temple Adath Israel, Boston, Oct. 9, 1885, by Rabbi Solomon Schindler.

Ideas are as mortal as men, who are their exponents; their origin and life are similar to that of any human being; they are limited, as is mankind by time and space. Ideas are first conceived by the human mind, and pass a period of embryonic existence before they become fit and strong enough to bear the light and the changing temperature of the world. Then they pass a term of childhood, during which they are subject to all kinds of diseases, and the weak among them die fast, like infants in a crowded city. Those only which are endowed with sufficient vitality survive: they grow up to manhood, fight their battles, and not seldom conquer the world. After their mission is fulfilled and their vitality exhausted, they enter into a period of decrepit old age. Though they are now of little, if any, usefulness, they still command the respect and the reverence of the world on account of their age and their former renown. But every day brings them nearer to the grave, until their last hour strikes; and, after a few last convulsions, they pass away, sometimes as unnoticed as they appeared upon the stage of life.

Before, however, their contemporaries are ready to bury them, a dispute frequently arises as to the reality of their death. Some can hardly believe that an idea which has lived and worked among them for such a length of time, which has performed such great and marvellous deeds, and which has commanded their reverence during all their lifetime, has indeed passed away. They cling to it with filial love and devotion, and deceive themselves with the hope that the departed idea is only asleep for a while, or in a trance from which it will surely awaken after a few hours. Others, who have always been depending on the departed idea for their sustenance, are fearing the

loss of their support, and are unwilling to give up their privileges. They, too, claim that death has not yet occurred, that they still observe some tokens of life, and they, too, are opposed to a speedy interment. On the other hand, the health officers, reason and common sense, insist upon the necessity of the burial. They claim that the process of dissolution will be accompanied by poisonous exhalation, which will infect the neighborhood with the germs of disease. Thus, the defunct idea is finally buried, in spite of all remonstrances; and posterity either passes by its grave indifferently or places a wreath of evergreen upon it, as the case may be.

As there occur cases of death among men every day which, though unnoticed by the multitude, cast their gloom over the circles in which the departed had moved, thus ideas are dying away in and with almost every generation, the death of which affects only those who stood in near relationship to them. And thus, ladies and gentlemen, have we, the Israelites of the present generation, been the witnesses of the death of an idea which was conceived more than two thousand years ago by our nation, which passed its childhood, manhood, and old age under its protection, and which now has expired after a long and marvellous career, never to be revived again.

The idea to which I refer is no other than the hope of our nation in the advent of a personal Messiah who would collect the scattered remnants of Israel under one banner, re-establish them in Palestine, rebuild Jerusalem in its former glory, and make Zion the capital, not only of the Holy Land, but that of the whole world.

In a course of lectures to be delivered in this place at our Friday evening meetings, I shall eulogize this idea, and trace its history from its very conception to the hour of its death. May it suffice, however, to-night, if I explain the reasons first why I selected such a topic, and then why I maintain that the idea of the advent of a Messiah has died of late, is stone dead now, and ought to be buried by the side of similar defunct ideas, in spite of all opposition which may be raised against its final interment.

Although our nation is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, on earth; although it has lived on every continent, in every zone, in every climate; although we have a history, a literature of our own, excelled by no other,—it has been our misfortune that we have never been understood by our neighbors. At best, we have been looked at with distrust; and though we have always thrown in our lot with our fellow-citizens in happiness and adversity, though we have been born and raised among them for generations, we have always been denounced by them as a foreign element, as a sect, the aspirations and hopes of which differed widely from those of the majority. This misunderstanding, this distrust, has not been removed even in our time and in this our country. You meet with it wherever you turn in political, social, mercantile life. One of the causes why we were and are distrusted is, as it appears to me, that we were and are still supposed to consider our country as only a temporary domicile, or, in other words, that we are suspected of indifference toward our country and its inhabitants, because we are said to yearn for a return to the land of our forefathers, and are impatiently awaiting the time when a Messiah shall appear among us, and not only restore our political independence, but make us the masters of the world. If this were the case, if these were indeed our hopes and aspirations, I must say that our neighbors would be perfectly justified in distrusting us; for I agree with them that a man cannot love two countries at the same time, that he can be attached

with sincerity to only one country. He will never be a good American citizen, who always dreams of a return to the country from which he came, and who delights only in the customs and usages of the fatherland.

But, in this regard, our neighbors were and are entirely mistaken. Not one of us cares to leave this country except on a visit; not one of us harbors in his heart any love for Palestine, unless it is that esteem in which classical ground is held by every man of culture; there is not one among us who expects the advent of a Messiah.

I always took it for granted that, with the exception of the ignorant, our fellow-citizens were aware of the fact that modern Judaism has long since discarded the hope in the advent of a Messiah, and that the modern Israelite is a citizen of the country in which he lives, and where he is granted human rights, with all his heart and soul; but how great was my surprise when in conversation with persons of high culture, of eminent scholarship, and of rare intelligence, I found that they still believe us yearning for Palestine and praying for the advent of a Messiah, that they still think it a distinguishing feature between Jews and Christians that we believe the Messiah will come, and they that he has come! Open the geographical text-books which your children use at school, and you will find therein, in cold print, the statement that the Jews are a sect which is expecting a Messiah, who, as the Christians claim, has already come; and thousands of children memorize this erroneous statement year after year, and hear it repeated Sunday after Sunday at church, and we do absolutely nothing to contradict it and to rectify the error. It is, therefore, time, high time, that we make an attempt to enlighten our fellow-citizens in regard to our hopes, that we show to them the tomb in which the Messianic expectations of our nation are buried.

But, ladies and gentlemen, although the misunderstanding may be partly laid before our door, although we may have neglected to notify the Christian world promptly of the demise of the Messianic idea, we shall find that our Christian friends are not entirely faultless; for they have never been ready to accept our information: they have reasons for not believing in the death of that idea, and they remonstrate against its interment. The same people who distrust our patriotism on the ground that we are expecting a Messiah and wishing to return to Palestine,—these same people are shocked and horrified when we tell them that we do not any longer expect a Messiah, and have not the faintest desire for a political restoration of our people. Now, why? Because such intelligence strikes at the root of their own religious belief. The whole structure of their religion rests upon the belief of the Jewish nation in the advent of a Messiah. As long as this idea has been strong and vigorous among us, their building stood firm; but from the moment the idea expired, from the moment its fallacy was demonstrated, their structure could not be saved from its downfall. They are actually placed between the two horns of a dilemma, and do not know which to choose. They do not know at present whether they should prefer us to be indifferent citizens or to be indifferent to Messianic expectations. For this very reason, it becomes doubly our duty to spread that intelligence as far as our circles reach, and to show to the Gentile world that Messianic expectations are not essential to Judaism; that Judaism can exist without them; that the Jewish mission is not chained to Palestine, but embraces the whole world; that, metaphorically speaking, Israel itself is the Messiah

whom God has destined to enlighten the nations of the earth.

In the course of my subsequent lectures, I shall therefore show that the Messianic idea had originally a political, and by no means a religious or spiritual tendency; that it never appeared as a manifestation of a healthy condition of the body-politic of the Jewish people, but rather as a mental disease, as a mania, as an epidemic, which would break out at times of great national calamity. I shall show that these epidemics repeatedly occurred with greater or less force up to the eighteenth century. I shall show how the originally political Messiah was transformed by degrees into a divine messenger, directly descending from heaven, who should reassemble, in a miraculous manner, the Israelites from all the corners of the earth, bring them to Palestine, raise the dead, judge the whole world, past and present, punish the wicked and reward the faithful, and establish a universal government and a universal religion. I shall show how the Messianic fancy finally pined away when the new era shed its full light upon its absurdities, until it died out entirely.

The word "Messiah" itself deserves a close scrutiny. The Hebrew word "*mashach*" means to spread an oily or greasy substance over a person or an article; but, right from the start, it implied a sanctimonious ceremony. Jacob poured oil upon the stone upon which he had rested and enjoyed that wonderful dream. Moses is ordered to prepare oil for the special purpose of anointing his brother Aaron as high priest, and also to anoint the different articles of furniture which were to be used in the tabernacle, in order to give him and them a certain sanctity in the eyes of the people. The narrative and command are given in such a matter-of-fact way that there cannot be the least doubt that, among ancient nations, especially those with whom the Israelites had come in contact, there must have been in use a similar ceremony of installing the highest officials, kings or priests, into their exalted position. Why oil was poured over their heads, in what connection oil stood with the dignity of the office, what the meaning of the custom was originally, when and where it originated, is more than I can tell, and, I think, more than anybody else can tell. The fact, however, remains that the ceremony of pouring oil upon the head of a person meant to consecrate him for a high political position. The Mosaic constitution had provided for a hierarchical government. The high priest alone was, therefore, to be anointed. After the decline of the primitive priesthood, we find that Samuel anointed Saul, and afterward David, as kings over Israel, and that from that time it became necessary for a king to be anointed in order to be acknowledged by the people as their legitimate sovereign. *Mashiach*, or the anointed, is, therefore, synonymous with the word "king." Whenever, in political language, that word has been made use of, it had no other meaning, and could have had no other, than that of legitimate king. None, however, of all the so-called Messiahs which have appeared in the course of history, has undergone or has found it necessary to undergo the ceremony of having oil poured over his head, which evidently shows that, the original meaning having been forgotten or obliterated by that time, the word "*Mashiach*," or, in the Latin version, "*Messias*," denoted simply a king, but not a divine messenger.

The illustrious reign of David, the independence which the united kingdom of Israel enjoyed during his government, appeared in the next centuries the more glorious, the more the weakness and dependence of Israel were then felt. At a time

when royalty was hereditary and people not seldom waged war to install an infant upon a throne for no other cause than that it was the lineal descendant of a king, it was quite natural that, when, for the first time, the hope of a regeneration of the Israelitish kingdom was expressed, a Messiah, or king, was expected, who, descending from David, would also be heir to his courage, power, and success, and would bring back the glory of the past.

All Messianic expectations centred, therefore, in the requirement of a lineal descent of the Messiah from the Davidian house. None of them, however, has ever proved his descent; and, to-day, such a proof has become entirely impossible, as all traces have been lost.

The absurdity of upholding the hope in the advent of a Messiah in our or any future time will furthermore appear in a still more glaring light, if we take away its theoretical fanciful garment, and translate it into practical reality.

Supposing a person should appear among us who should be equipped with all the necessary testimonials of his divine mission, even of his lineal descent from David, if this could improve his title; supposing he should by some means gather the Israelites from all parts of the world, and settle them again in Palestine,—would this enhance our happiness? Supposing, even, he should find for us room and employment in the new country, supposing all impossibilities should be made possible by him, let me ask the one question, What kind of a government do you think the Messiah would establish? The republican form would be entirely out of question. Just imagine a Messiah elected for a term of one, four, or seven years; just imagine a Messiah passing through the ordeal of a political campaign in which not only his own record, but that of his ancestors upward to David, should be exposed and laid bare to ridicule. No, those who expect a Messiah must give up forever the hope that he would establish a republican government. Would it be a constitutional monarchy? Equally absurd. Imagine a Messiah quarrelling with his parliament, and the latter refusing to vote the necessary appropriations. The only imaginable form of government under a Messiah would be despotism. Under his rule there would be no free thought, no free speech, and surely no free press. No opinion differing from that of the Messiah either in politics or religion would be tolerated, and this we should call happiness? This condition of slavery should be the *ne plus ultra* of our hopes and aspirations? For this state of mental stagnation we should be supposed to pray? Absurd, thrice absurd.

At the time when the Jews were crowded into the Ghetto, at the time when our ancestors were denied the most fundamental of all human rights,—namely, the right to live,—at the time when they were chased from country to country, and had to purchase at heavy expense the privilege of breathing the foul air of their secluded quarters at the time when ignorance ruled supreme among them, and still more among their oppressors,—at such a time, all fanciful hopes and fantastic expectations were permissible, at such a time no picture of Messianic happiness could be overdrawn. Did they care what kind of government a Messiah would institute? Did they care for liberty of speech and freedom of the press? They would have kissed the feet of the most selfish despot, provided he would have granted them recognition, and placed them on an equal footing with their fellow-citizens.

But we, the children of the nineteenth century; we, the free citizens of a free republican country; we, the graduates of the best schools the world

has seen; we, whose hands have learned to fold and cast a ballot,—we do care under what kind of government we are placed; we do love the privileges of a republic, and would not change it for the world with any other form; we do value free thought, free speech, and free press as the highest attainments of humanity, and shall never renounce them. How could we, therefore, be expected to yearn after Messianic despotism, how could we be suspected of infidelity to a country which grants us these boons, and of favoring Palestine, where all these glorious privileges would have no room?

The hope in the advent of a Messiah and in the restoration of Israel is surely dead. It has died out in the heart of every intelligent American Israelite. As, with the increase of knowledge, the horizon of the human mind has been widened, as the universe has grown larger for us than it ever was for by-gone generations, as God even has grown infinitely larger, mightier, and holier than ever, thus our hopes have grown in proportion. They have lost their national character, and have become universal. We have given up all those fanciful notions of a political restoration of Israel by the instrumentality of a Messiah, and have adopted in their place the hope that all humanity will some time reach by steady evolution a degree of happiness far beyond the present and far beyond description,—a state in which the evils still adhering to mankind will be removed and its virtues increased and developed. United and hand in hand with all our human brethren, we shall strive to advance toward this goal; and, if there must be a distinction between us, let it be that of a generous competition as to who shall reach the mark first.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY AND FREE TRADE.

Editors of The Index:—

In the report which the Boston papers gave of Mr. Kelley's address before the Liberal Union Club, I was surprised at his denunciation of the "Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and Bohemians" he found "huddled together" here, on his return from Europe; but I was more than surprised to read "that, whenever a vote of mine shall restrain the importation of these classes, such a measure shall go into effect." I need hardly say the thought suggested itself that only the political sagacity of Mr. Kelley prevented him from including with the above nationalities the Irish and the Germans, as well as the Swedes; and, in truth, the whole theory of protection, if it means anything, means a restriction upon all immigration. If protection is a benefit, to make it a universal benefit, and not a monopoly, a nation must build a Chinese wall about its borders. It can in no other way deal equably with all its citizens; for there are other things besides money, labor, and manufactures which should be protected. There is wit and genius, the product of the brain. Bar out the foreign historians and essayists, and all the foreign scientific men and their productions, the great story-tellers of Europe, and her marvellous painters, and give the poor fellows in America a chance. Who will read —'s histories, when Froude, Green, and Carlyle can be had? Who will read —'s choice English, when Cardinal Newman is on our shelves? What chance for a first-class story-teller here, when Scott and Eliot and Thackeray are so freely allowed us? Doesn't our friend, the protectionist, see how debasing it is to our literature and our science to allow every foreign writer to enter our domain? Just now, all Boston is crowding to hear Canon Farrar. Is it fair to the arch-deacons of the United States to allow this English Churchman to empty their pews and the purses of their parishioners? Or is the growth of literature, science, and art, stimulated by a free interchange of ideas? But, if brain labor is thus bettered, why will not the same

free interchange benefit manual labor? It seems to me we are apt to look at the question of protection just as the hand-loom weavers looked upon the invention of the power loom. It was a severe blow to their special industry, and yet the general welfare of the laboring man was vastly bettered. John Ruskin deplors the building of factories and of railroads, because they deface so much the rural districts of England, and tend so much to destroy the old-time customs; yet every factory and railroad increase the material wealth of the laboring classes, although they may sadly interfere with Ruskin's ideas of beauty and of character. But the paramount objection to the protective theory is rarely touched upon, and that is the moral objection. Now, all trade restrictions, all restrictions upon legitimate commerce, are immoral in their nature and in their practice. Leaving out of consideration the abuses which they always engender, their very creation and existence are contrary to that principle of justice which is the basis of all religions, whether they be heathen or Christian. The Golden Rule is as profitable a guide in commerce as in any other department of life; and to prevent a man from the use of any faculty or talent, because it is more than a match for mine, is one of the worst of tyrannies. As Herbert Spencer says, "Morality knows nothing of geographical boundaries or distinctions of race." I am bound by all the considerations of justice to deal as fairly with my English as with my American brother. To restrict the trade of the Englishman and to allow the trade of the American is to enslave the one and to free the other, and the sin differs from what we call actual slavery only in degree. It is fortunate, however, that, in these mistakes or misdeeds, the punisher suffers as much, if not more, than does the one punished.

CHAS. F. FITZ.

WATERTOWN, Nov. 2, 1885.

"THE POWER NOT OURSELVES."

Editors of *The Index* :—

Will you kindly allow space for the following answers to Mr. Thomas Davidson's questions in *The Index* of Oct. 15, 1885.

Ans. 1. If "the power not ourselves" be many, it must be limited, and therefore imperfect. Perfection is oneness. Manifolddness signifies limits and imperfection. Harmony is one, discord is many. The manifestation of "the power not ourselves" is harmonious; and, therefore, the power must be one.

Ans. 2. There is a limitless force—"power not ourselves"—which, for the want of a better word, I shall call an uncreated life or power; and there is a limited force—the power that is ourselves—which I shall call a created life or power. Those differences which define what we call individuals are not in or of that uncreated power, but are effects or attributes of the limited, created life.

Ans. 3. The created life produces all the phenomena about which we know anything, hence the variety of phenomena. The created life or power is manifold, being the manifestation or reflection of the different parts of the design included in the uncreated life or power. It is spiritual and invisible. Being created and sustained by the uncreated life, it acts and reacts; and we see in matter (its coarser fabric) the manifestation of that action, or the motion produced by it.

Ans. 4. Certainly, this is the only hypothesis that can explain the facts of nature, if by *facts* the writer means the *visible* things in nature; but the limitless force, uncreated life, or "power not ourselves," lies back of these invisible created spiritual lives, is their cause and sustainer.

Ans. 5. Supposing the energy of the universe to be the uncreated life or force and to be multiplex, only a unity of space and interaction would be possible, if that. The writer's meaning by the phrase "unity of space and interaction" is not quite clear to us. Unity of action in space would imply a oneness in wisdom or design. The wisdom or design would really be the force or power itself that produced action; and, if it be multiplex, there could be no unity in the action. For instance, we might call a house a harmonious whole. Many hands unite in its construction, but one mind designed it; and that one mind or that unity of wisdom is the controlling force that produced it, or is the primary cause of it.

If, by the energy of the universe, the writer means the direct cause of the motion of matter, it is not the uncreated life or power, but is the invisible, created,

spiritual life. And the unity of its manifestation—motion in matter—consists in the action of that created life as governed or directed by the uncreated life,—one power.

Ans. 6. The power behind the "intelligible order" of the universe is intelligible in its quality, in its purpose, and in its action.

Ans. 7. Order is more intelligible than disorder, in the same sense that harmony is more intelligible than discord. Harmony is the agreement between parts which together form a connected, therefore intelligible whole; while discord is the absence of that agreement, and its result is not a fact or being. Harmony is the true, and discord is the false. Order is the true, and disorder is the false. That which is must be intelligible; while that which is a false appearance is not, and it is unintelligible because it is not.

Ans. 8. All that is, is intelligible. We could not know (using the word in its true sense,—i.e., to be aware of as true or actual) anything about that which is unknowable, any more than we could know an illusion or dream as a fact or reality.

Ans. 9. That which produces an intelligible order must be intelligent. An intelligible order must be the result of a wisdom or design, or, in other words, the fulfilment of a design or purpose. If that design be not an intelligent design, the fulfilment of it would be disorder, and consequently unintelligible. The intelligible is not necessarily intelligent.

Ans. 10. When we say that a thing is intelligible, we mean that it can be comprehended: that, of course, implies the existence of a power capable of understanding.

Ans. 11. We should say that the necessary correlate of the intelligibility of the universe is to be found in the indefinitely progressive intellectivity of man. When we say that the universe is intelligible, we mean that there exists an ability to understand it,—not necessarily that it is understood.

Ans. 12. If the intelligible were necessarily intelligent, the intelligible being multiplex, the intelligent must also be multiplex; for the intelligent must necessarily be intelligible.

Ans. 13. If all that is intelligible be necessarily intelligent, every action in the world would be an intelligent action: that would, of course, include the "fall of an avalanche," the "actions of madmen," and "reflex muscular actions."

E. J. ARENS.

SOCIETY.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Many words in the English language lose their broad significance by means of a toleration not justified by philology, and this is peculiarly true of the word "society."

Wealth usually tries to place itself at the front, and demands recognition as the exponent of society; but, unfortunately, there are many who have the good fortune to possess large means who are not entitled by education nor any other claim to be looked upon as distinctly deserving of prominence in the community.

Those who have grown up in a locality are almost sure to claim a sort of birthright to be considered the favored ones, and they ask all new-comers to look upon them as the centre of attraction. But, very often, these are more vulgar and ignorant than ancestors who had no leisure for culture, owing to the necessities of their early condition taxing every moment of time to obtain a livelihood. This class is so prejudiced against innovations that they are simply a set by themselves, living on a sort of mutual admiration for each other, because they are the first families.

John G. Saxe happily illustrates this class in "Proud Miss MacBride." He says:—

"Of all the notable things on earth,
The queerest one is pride of birth,
Among our 'fierce democrats'!
A bridge across a hundred years,
Without a prop to save it from sneers,—
Not even a couple of rotten Peers,—
A thing for laughter, sneers, and jeers,
Is American Aristocracy!"

"Depend upon it, my snobbish friend,
Your family thread you can't ascend,
Without good reason to apprehend
You may find it waxed at the farther end."

By some plebeian vocation!
Or, worse than that, your boasted Line
May end in a loop of stronger twine,
That plagued some worthy relation!"

It will not do to say that wealth nor the accident of birth creates that standard expressed by the word "society." In some instances, where colleges and schools abound, the teachers try to make themselves the charmed centres of a circle known as society; and government officials, when they largely predominate, set up the claim; and, while education is inseparable from well-regulated society, those who give their attention to study or teaching have little time to devote to anything else; and government officials are usually the result of association with all these classes, and even those of lower degree, depriving them of the ability to be distinctive in any assertion.

Then there are always a set of upstarts of fortune, fame, or learning, who pretend to an excellence beyond those with whom they had early association, too arrogant and self-conceited to deserve respectful toleration.

The word "society" was not intended to apply to any set in a community; but the true application is to the condition created by all the inhabitants in regard to education, sanitary regulations, protection to each individual, and all that which makes up the true amenities of life, and the standard asserted is regulated according to the higher or lower respect given to these attainments.

J. F. WETMORE.

ALBANY, N.Y.

For *The Index*.

THE LIGHT WITHIN.

Traveller, as thou passest by
Where the roads diverging lie,
Which one chooseth thou, and why?

Right or left or straight ahead,
Which the path thy steps shall tread?
By what motive art thou led?

As I look upon thy face,
In its features can I trace
Aught of comfort to thy race?

Findest thou in church and creed
All the help that thou dost need,
Guidance sure thy steps to lead?

Creeds by mortals were designed,
In them, thou shalt never find
Trace of an Almighty mind.

Dost thou find in human love
Joy all other joys above,
Stay where'er thy steps may rove?

Human love its course may run,
Death may take thy dearest one,
Turning into night thy sun.

Seek within thyself thy stay!
True unto thy soul, thy way
Shall be lit with some bright ray.

But thou sayest, Age will chill;
Slowly on, with footsteps still,
Comes the messenger of ill.

Then, where findest thou the light,
When the soul's enclouded sight
Falters in the coming night?

Then, the banquet o'er, thy place
Thou must learn to leave with grace:
Thou hast had thy life's brief space.

But, when tenement of clay
Falls and falters day by day,
Yet shows fair the spirit's sway,—

Softly falling evening's shade,
Yet thy soul in light arrayed,
In thyself shalt thou be stayed!

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

HAVE charity, have patience, have mercy. Never bring a human being, however silly, ignorant, or weak, above all, any little child, to shame and confusion of face. Never by petulance, by suspicion, by

ridicule, even by selfish and silly haste, never, above all, by indulging in the devilish pleasure of a sneer, crush what is finest and rouse up what is coarsest in the heart of any fellow-creature."—*Charles Kingsley*.

WHEN a true genius appeareth in the world, you may know him by this infallible sign, that the dunces are all in confederacy against him.—*Swift*.

WE judge ourselves by what we feel capable of doing, while others judge us by what we have already done.—*Longfellow*.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS. Third Series. 1885. Boston: Old South Meeting House.

These leaflets, now bound together in covers, convenient for preservation and reference, originally appeared in leaflet form for free circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for young people; and the subjects of the leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures at which they were distributed. Bound together in this form, they make a valuable collection of stirring standard historical documents. This series contains the following leaflets: J. R. Lowell's thrilling poem, "The Present Crisis"; William Lloyd Garrison's memorable "Salutatory" in the *Liberator* of Jan. 1, 1831; part of H. W. Beecher's address at the raising of the flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter in 1865; a description of the battle between the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac" from the *New York Tribune* of March 10, 1862; a portion of the address of Edward Everett at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Nov. 10, 1863, and the address of President Lincoln on the same occasion; a description of "Sherman's March to the Sea," from his own report; J. R. Lowell's "Ode," recited at the Harvard Commemoration, July 21, 1865; extracts from the Inaugural Addresses and Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln and the "Memorial Service over General Grant in Westminster Abbey," from the *London Times* of Aug. 5, 1885.

HISTORIC BOYS: Their Endeavors, their Achievements, and their Times. By E. S. Brooks. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885. pp. 259.

A very fascinating inducement and introduction to the study of general history are offered to boys in this handsomely bound, quaintly illustrated, and clearly printed volume of stories. Sufficiently lengthy sketches are given of the youthful achievements and daring deeds of twelve historical personages, representing as many different nationalities. Among these are Marcus Aurelius, of Rome; "Brian the Brave," of Ireland; "William the Conqueror," of Normandy; Frederick II., of Germany; Henry V., of England; Louis XIV., of France; and Charles XII., of Sweden. These stories, though told in a lively and interestingly dramatic style, are, as the author states in his preface, "based upon historic facts, and prepared with a due regard to historic and chronologic accuracy." About thirty beautiful engravings illustrate some of the most thrilling events in the lives of these boy heroes.

In the *Art Amateur* for November is the usual variety of criticism on the artistic exhibitions in New York and Boston. The very interesting collection of pictures made in Japan by Allan Lay, formerly so highly esteemed for his court views, is justly praised. Stephen Fiske makes the usual review of theatrical events. We are glad of his condemnation of the character of Madame Judic's acting, and that it can be truly said that "Manager Grau should have known that, in this country, an entertainment which ladies cannot attend is a certain failure." How it clears the atmosphere to raise a standard of moral excellence alike for both sexes, where women must be brave and true and men pure and kind! The sketch of the young painter, Henry Mosler, is very interesting, and is well illustrated by some of his pen sketches, which show a good knowledge of anatomy and vigor of expression. These sketches of the lives of living artists, showing the difficulties in their path and the means of overcoming them, are very helpful to young students. It is interesting to see how often what dilettants call the drudgery of the profession is the stepping-stone to real artistic success. While speaking of American artists, I would like to call the attention of readers of *The Index* to a portrait of

Margaret Foley, the gifted sculptor, whose death was so deeply lamented by a large circle of friends, both in Rome and in Boston. It is a crayon drawing by her sister, and may be seen in the window of Palmer & Bachelder on Tremont Street. Miss Foley has also some works of her sister Margaret which she would like to sell.

The Decorative Art Department offers abundant suggestions to lovers of novelty, even if they wish to put a "blue jay and yellow-headed parrot" on their panels.

THE September number of the *Revue de Belgique* contains articles on living English painters, Egypt and the Mahdi, Tilly and his Walloons, etc., also a curious story of heroism in battle, displayed by a fool who does not know what he is fighting for, and an elaborate review by Count Goblet d'Alviella of Holland's *Rise of Intellectual Liberty*.

Although this work has been eulogized by the secular press, it has been bitterly attacked by the greater part of the religious press, because the author, from the highest intellectual and moral grounds, denounces some of the superstitions which have crept into Christianity as essentially irreligious, and the men who, knowing better, teach those superstitions, as essentially dishonest.

The Religion of Philosophy; OR, THE UNIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

A comparison of the chief philosophical and religious systems of the world, made with a view to reducing the categories of thought, or the most general terms of existence, to a single principle, thereby establishing a true conception of God. By RAYMOND S. PERRIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

"A work which aims to teach a true conception of God, of life, and of morality."

"Mr. Perrin's able work offers a deep interest. . . . It is a remarkable book."—*Morning Post, London, Eng.*

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"The author is no imitator. He has a well-defined theory of his own to advocate; and he advocates it with clearness and energy, and does not hesitate to give heavy blows at what he conceives to be the narrow views of most Christian theologians. 'The religion of philosophy,' as delineated, is not simply a scheme of thought: it is broadly and intensely practical."—*Wm. J. Potter, in the Mercury, of New Bedford, Mass.*

"The author makes a masterly analysis of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, and subjects his theory of the *Unknown* to a most close and searching criticism. It is an extraordinary work, one of the most important contributions from the press of recent times."—*F. S., in The Index, Boston.*

"Mr. Perrin writes with habitual good taste and unvarying decorum of the beliefs which he holds false in basis and spurious in sentiment. . . . His sympathy is so frank and so thorough with the true sentiments of Christianity, his aim so high and his argument so modest and earnest, that even those who will repudiate his conclusions will find satisfaction and enjoyment in reading his pages."—*Sunday Herald, Chicago.*

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The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript.*

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE President of Dartmouth College, says an exchange, vetoes the opening of the library reading room to students on Sunday afternoons. How much better use of their time will the young men make elsewhere?

In the death of Dr. William B. Carpenter, the eminent English physiologist, which occurred at London last week, the world has lost one of the brightest lights in modern science. He died in his seventy-second year.

MR. GLADSTONE regards the success of his party and the defeat of the Tories, involving of course the disposal of questions which are unavoidable as issues in the present campaign, as of such vast importance that he is quite willing that the question of disestablishment shall be relegated to the remote future.

In referring to the death of Gen. McClellan, the first love and idol of the great army of the Union, the Philadelphia Record says: "Posterity—whose justices, if slow, are sure—will give McClellan his due place among the respectable but unlucky commanders whose fortunes were not commensurate with their merit. It will clear his figure from the confusing mists of extravagant detraction and unmeasured praise, do justice to his motives, and record the purity and unselfishness of his professional character."

MRS. ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH, in a letter to a Long Island paper, thus writes from North Carolina: "The negro no more marries here than does his black brother on the island of Hayti; nor, if he does marry, does he any more respect his vows. Hence, the support and caring for the children devolve almost entirely upon the women. Just within my own area of knowledge are five or six colored girls, with two or three, or even six,

children apiece to support, and neither of them with a husband. The utmost licentiousness prevails among them all."

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON will pardon us, we know, for giving the following extract from a letter not written for publication: "Well, this has really been the happiest birthday of my life; rich in loving tributes, beautiful presents of books, silver, mosaics, fruits, and flowers, and good words of encouragement in prose and verse. Words of affection and approval, after being so long under the ban of disapproval, are full of consolation, and will gild the sunset of my life. Next to the approbation of our own conscience and judgment, there is nothing we prize more highly than the praise of our friends. To celebrate a birthday, and find out your cardinal virtues while still in the flesh, is better than to die, and have them rehearsed in obituaries, when you are not supposed to hear anything about them."

THE absurdity of having churches dedicated to the service of God and open only one day in the week strikes a writer in the *Christian Advocate* very forcibly. Speaking of New York, he says: "Are not these three hundred locked up churches preaching more effectually during those six days than their pulpits can unpreach on one day the idea that religion is a matter of set times and set circumstances, and not a primal necessity in the last detail of complex human activities? Are they not saying that man is to pay his respects to God on one out of seven days as a matter of course and duty; as for the other six, it is not so very important if any thought be given him." This writer would have Protestant churches, like the Roman Catholic, open every day of the week.

MR. LANGTRY, husband of the professional beauty who bears that name, must be a remarkably good-natured creature. The "beauty," having been summoned into court to pay certain bills, claimed that they were contracted when she was living with her husband, and that therefore he was the responsible party. The said husband states that he is unable to pay the bills, because he is entirely dependent upon an annuity paid him by his wife on condition that he does not "molest" her. It is suggested that this explains why he does not enter proceedings for a divorce. He would have to do so on the money paid him by his wife, who would probably regard herself as "molested" and stop supplies. This is a clear case of female tyranny. Mr. Langtry's position is most embarrassing, and the poor fellow is entitled to the pity of the entire male creation. Men as well as women have "rights."

REV. ROBERT FULTON, a Jesuit, delivered a lecture in this city last week, entitled "Review of Ingersoll." In opening, he stated that he had been "engaged on matters foreign to literary and scientific pursuits,"—a statement fully verified by the lecture. In concluding, he said: "I was at Wakefield a few years ago, lecturing; and, in speaking of Charles Sumner, I mentioned that it would have been better had he died with a recom-

mendation of his sinful soul to God than as he did, saying, 'Take care of the civil rights bill.' I was hissed, but that did not crush me. So it would have been well for these poets [Goethe, Schiller, and Burns] to have thought of their souls. Tom Paine will be in hell, too, and Voltaire. Where else would you suppose them to go? And Spinoza and Hume, Beethoven and Wagner, who, I think, well deserves it for all the torture he has inflicted on us. Hell, Mr. Ingersoll asserts, is heartless. Whatever is heartless, so he thinks, does not exist. Therefore, hell does not exist. Now, as to what Mr. Ingersoll does believe. There is no God, and, therefore, there is no hell; for, since there is no Providence, there can be no law, which always presupposes a higher authority. There is no good or evil, or the two are confounded. This man, worse than a murderer, goes around the country, taking away from every man every reason for doing right, depriving us of a God, making unsafe our lives, our property, and our religion." The lecture was loudly applauded,—a circumstance which sufficiently indicated the calibre and culture of the audience.

THE tragedy in the North-west has ended in the execution of Riel, who met his fate with courage and with the glow of the religious devotee on his face. His crime was unsuccessful armed resistance to constituted authority. He was, no doubt, a fanatic, and much that is said in regard to his cruelty and unscrupulousness may be true; but the fact that the revolt which he headed had its origin in acknowledged injustice in the treatment of the half-breeds, and could have been averted by prompt recognition and redress by the government of half-breed grievances, should have mitigated the severity of Louis Riel's sentence, which, it must be said, was due as much to the folly of his friends and sympathizers as to the frightened condition of those who clamored for his death. Riel dead may be more powerful than Riel living, and we expect to see soon both political parties in Canada demanding land reform for the half-breeds.

THERE is no doubt, as Mr. Chamberlain lately said, that the time is fast approaching when Parliament will disestablish the English Church. That Mr. Gladstone clearly sees this is evident from his Edinburgh speech of the 11th inst. But the question will not receive its final settlement, and it is doubtful whether it will even be introduced in the next Parliament. There is still considerable opposition to be overcome, in the form of prejudice, religious bigotry, church livings, church and party affiliations, general conservatism, etc., before the problem can be solved; and leaders like Lord Salisbury are sure to avail themselves of this opposition as long as possible, to secure the extension of Tory influence. But the Tories are being forced by political exigencies into concession after concession, as seen in their admission of the right of Ireland to some kind of local self-government; and they may yet be compelled to support disestablishment, which they are now using as a scare to weaken the Liberal party.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

The Century Company of New York has issued two elegant volumes entitled *William Lloyd Garrison: The Story of his Life told by his Children*. Each of these volumes contains about five hundred pages, and yet the story is brought down only to the year 1840. It covers, therefore, but a little more than ten years of the anti-slavery struggle after Garrison enlisted in it. Evidently, the completed work is intended to be an exhaustive history of Garrison's life and times. There could be, indeed, no true "Life" of the man without taking in also all the important reformatory and humane interests of the time in which he lived. And, if these two volumes may be taken for a sample, the work is to be not merely a filial tribute to the moral greatness of the man, but a conscientious and painstaking record of that greatest moral contest, with its various ramifications, which this or any nation has known in modern times, and of which the subject of this "Story" was the centre,—the contest against slavery. This institution was so rooted in the social and industrial system of the Southern States, and had such strong guarantees in the national Constitution, that the whole nation was shaken in the struggle to throw it off, and all the great interests of society—political, social, commercial, philanthropic, religious—were involved in the struggle. The Civil War was only the culmination of the moral contest that preceded. Of this long and terrible conflict, William Lloyd Garrison represented pre-eminently the moral forces. As Wendell Phillips said of him, he was the "one man north of Mason and Dixon's line who was able to confront the logic of John C. Calhoun and South Carolina with an assertion direct and broad enough to make an issue and necessitate a conflict of two civilizations."

This, of course, is not to say that there were not many others who rendered most important service, and were in the front rank of the moral host that went into the battle against slavery. There were those in the ranks more eloquent and learned than he, those who had more various intellectual ability, and those, too, who stood no whit behind him in earnestness of moral purpose and readiness for self-sacrifice. Yet it was his voice, with its direct, trumpet-toned appeal to conscience, which first rallied and organized those who were like-minded and like-hearted on the moral principle of immediate emancipation as a duty; and it was his clear moral vision, never dimmed nor wavering, and his intrepid moral will, that, through all the vicissitudes of the struggle, kept that goal in view, and steadied the march toward it. He had the prophet's vision and the prophet's power. In many of his characteristics, he closely resembled the old Hebrew prophets, whose words were mighty weapons in his hands. It was through the inspiration of his exceptional moral genius that he became the natural and acknowledged leader of the anti-slavery army. By this moral genius, all his faculties of mind and heart were focalized on one object. Not the first to enunciate the doctrine of immediate abolition, he was the first to make it the rallying-cry for an organized effort which made itself heard through the land. The now oft-quoted words from the first number of the *Liberator* marked the prophetic character of the man. They would have been mere bombast, had they not been inspired by a moral conviction as genuine and deep as it was intense. Two years later, when the first anti-slavery society was organized in New England, by some dozen persons who met in a school-room under an African church in Boston, Garrison

said, on leaving the room: "We have met to-night in this obscure school-house; our members are few and our influence limited; but, mark my prediction, Faneuil Hall shall ere long echo with the principles we have set forth. We shall shake the nation by their mighty power." And this prophecy he uttered, notwithstanding that some of the best educated and most wealthy among his friends up to that time had hesitated about making a declaration of the doctrine of immediate emancipation a condition of membership in the society, and had not yet signed the statement of principles. He planted himself uncompromisingly on moral ground, and took no account of questions of expediency or policy; and so firm was his belief in the victory of the right that he could never doubt the final success of his cause.

It is reason for rejoicing that the career of such a man is to be so fully and worthily given to the world. A chapter is devoted to his ancestry, with vivid glimpses of his father and mother; and then comes a description of his boyhood, which was all too short,—for, on account of a keen struggle with poverty, he was doing man's work while yet in his teens. He was early apprenticed to type-setting in a newspaper office, and began writing anonymously for the paper on which he worked, when only sixteen years old. At twenty years, he was editor and publisher of a paper of his own! Then follow two or three chapters on editorial experiments and enterprises in various places, including the experience in prison at Baltimore for too plainly printing his thoughts on the slave system, during which the boy was intellectually and morally ripening into the man who, at twenty-five, launched the *Liberator* in Boston. Then the great public story really begins. Before a year passed, the young man, as he had prophesied, had been effectually heard. Demands came up from the South that he and his "incendiary" paper be suppressed. But, though Boston could mob him, there was no legal power in the city nor State to stop him. Irresistibly, the tragic drama went on; and these books faithfully unfold it from the files of the *Liberator* itself, from Garrison's extensive correspondence, and from other contemporaneous public and private records.

The early conflict with the old Colonization Society; the episode of the persecution of Prudence Crandall in Connecticut for admitting a colored pupil to her school; the organization at Philadelphia of the famous American Anti-slavery Society; Garrison's missions to England; the work of George Thompson in this country; the two Boston mobs; the mobocratic burning of Pennsylvania Hall, which had been dedicated to free speech; Garrison's growing interest in other reforms, as peace, non resistance, the elevation of woman, a rational use of "the Sabbath," a more rational and humane religion; his disappointment in the churches because of their lukewarmness or opposition to the abolition movement; the suspicious and machinations of the clerical party against him; the growth of contentions in the anti-slavery ranks, the schism which finally separated the "Liberty Party" from the Garrisonian Abolitionists; the "World's Convention" in London, to which Lucretia Mott, because a woman, was refused admittance, and from which, in consequence, Garrison also withdrew as a delegate,—these topics mark the steps of the story up to the important year of 1840. And every chapter gives evidence of careful research and labor.

The publishers have done their part well. Portraits of Garrison at different ages, and of several of his co-laborers, adorn and add value to the volumes, which are in every way worthy of their eminent subject. The volumes which are to come

will doubtless tell more of the personal and private life of the man; and, indeed, this is promised by the sons who sign the preface to the work. They also intimate that, while the "fundamental characteristics" of their father are given in these volumes, a final judgment upon his career must be reserved till the history is completed. He grew after the time that these volumes end; and he lived to see his life's mission accomplished, as it is given to few reformers to do.

WM. J. POTTER.

METHUSELAH AND METHUSELAH.

In the Calaveras grove of Sequoias, I saw a colossal tree which Californians had called Methuselah. It was prostrate. We do not know how long it lived or when it fell. It was very old. Its span of life, perchance, was two thousand years. It may have been a sapling when Alexander the Great went to the conquest of Asia. Through what events it has lived! What events has it recorded? We pass inward through the rings of growth, and read. Under five hundred rings, we find traces of fire. Digger Indians were in this grove five hundred years ago, and their camp-fire singed the tree. We pass inward through other rings, and find that eight hundred years ago a squirrel nested in a scar left by a fallen branch. Grisly bears were scratching the great bole a thousand years ago. We pass inward to the heart, and find in the gnarled wood a record of storms that beat against the sapling.

This is all. The pelting of storms, the scratching of bears, the nesting of a squirrel, the singeing of fire,—this is all of world-history which the great Methuselah through a life of two thousand years has recorded.

There was another Methuselah. What was his life-record? Here it is: "And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech. And Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years; and he died." This is all. "And he died." This was the end of all. Gulliver found in the land of Luggnag a class of men called Struldbrugs. They were doomed to an immortality in the flesh. The Gulliver who wrote the Book of Genesis found this Struldbrug Methuselah; and all that he has to record is that he begat sons and daughters, and endured nine hundred and sixty-nine years.

There was another Struldbrug in Greece. His name was Tithonus. He lived through the allotted span of mortals, and began to wither. The gods at last were moved to pity, and they changed him into a grasshopper. The change was slight, natural, and not miraculous. The Greek Methuselah simply glided down along the slope of age into a grasshopper. Our Methuselah glided along through nine hundred and sixty-nine years, and his Gulliver records of him not even a Tithonic chirp. Whether he went to pieces at last like the deacon's one-horse shay, or whether he became

"A high-elbowed grig"

and chirped over the grass, his biographer tells us not.

"Little of all we value here
Wakes on the morn of its hundredth year,
Without both feeling and looking queer."

When Tithonus was a hundred, his wife shut him up in a pantry. When a Struldbrug attained the age of two hundred, the Luggnags enclosed it in a pen. I use the neuter pronoun advisedly. Swedenborg saw in Hades a certain old ghost who had sunk so low that other ghosts called him "it." It lived—Methuselah, we mean—in the gray morning

of our race. We place it with Methuselah, the tree, as a text to this lay sermon for the science it may teach.

In the gray morning of life itself there lived in the oceans a mollusk, whose nearest of kin in our own seas is the chambered Nautilus. We know it under the name of Goniatite. It housed itself in a chambered shell. The partition walls were slightly flexed. The surface of the shell was smooth. As time passed, the descendants of Goniatite were flexing more and more their shell-walls, and Goniatite passed into Ceretite. The septa, or partitions, were now bent into pectinated lobes, and the shell surface was striated. Time passed,—such æons as the rocks alone record,—and the curvatures of the septa were growing more and more complex. At last, they were crumpled into a labyrinth of curves; and the Ceretite passed into an Ammonite. The surface of the first Ammonite shell was striated. As time passed, the striæ were rising into ridges. The ridges broke up into tubercles, and the tubercles rose at last into spines.

Goniatite recorded no history save the simple life history of the individual. The septa from infancy to age were the same. The Ceretite began life as a Goniatite. Its septa at first were slightly flexed. As the shell grew, the septa became pectinated. When the Ammonite came, it began life as a Goniatite. Throwing off this historic form, its septa became pectinated, and its life was that of a Ceretite. Passing this stage, its septa became a labyrinth of curves. In youth, this race of chambered shells lived as if there were no history behind. The shell knew nothing or remembered nothing of a past. In the Jurassic age, when the race had reached its culmination, the Ammonite lived as if conscious of the æons behind it. Its infancy was in the carboniferous age, with the Goniatite. In youth, it lived in Devonian seas with the Ceretite. In early prime, it lived again the life of the first Ammonite of its line; and the shell it wrought was faintly ornamented with striæ. The next stage of its life was in recollection of the spired and embossed Ammonite which adorned the seas of the early Jurassic. Having epitomized in its own life the cyclic life of its race, it died, leaving its shell a rich legacy to the mind of forthcoming man. Analogous to the life history of the order of chambered shells is the life history of the race of man. The wealth of individual life increases with the increasing age of the race.

Our Goniatite was the primeval man. Let Methuselah have his years unchallenged. What were they? Each new whorl in the chambered house of Goniatite was in the same plane with the last, each new chamber in the same pattern as the last, each new partition flexed in the same curve as the last. A thousand years of Goniatite would have been as a day.

Methuselah's life moved on, twisting itself around in the same plane. He had no history to learn, and he made no history. "Day unto day uttereth speech,"—the same speech. A word about the bite of an adder, the spring of a tiger, the night roar of a lion; kine, camels, tents,—these were boundaries to the horizon of his mind-life. "The lilies of the field" he did not consider. He had no theory about the origin of species. The stars, if he considered them at all, he believed, as his biographer believed, that they were lights placed in a vault, hammered out of something by the Elohim, or powerful ones. He never heard of a nebular theory. Nor did the Milky Way ever suggest to him the semblance of

"A swarm of fire-flies tangled in a silver braid."

His thought was no more Tennysonian than Newtonic. His imagination was bounded by the

world-roof which held the stars. Or, if his fancy pierced the roof, it pictured above only water and gods. Perchance he began to feel the dread which, in after years, created the flood myth,—dread that the firmament might spring a-leak, and the waters above fall in a deluge on the earth.

As Goniatite's shell was a repetition of identical flexures and chambers, so Methuselah's life was an idle repetition of days and months and centuries. Methuselah, the tree, lived on, adding the same fibre to its bole and repeating the same cone on its boughs. An inventory at the age of a thousand years would have been the same as an inventory at the age of a hundred,—only a few bear scratches the more, and a few more singes of fire. An inventory of Methuselah at nine hundred would have been the same as at fifty,—the same fibre in his thought and the same scanty leafage of sentiment, only a few more cones—sons and daughters—on his bough.

No poet could have picked up on the shores of a carboniferous sea a Goniatite which built more spacious chambers as the seasons passed, and made it the text of a song to this Goniatite of men:—

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven by a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea."

The last chamber was as the first, and the shell of that longest of human lives lies stranded as rubbish on the shore of our palæozoic sea.

You are, or should be, the Ammonite of man, your mind-life cycling through the vast æons behind you. You explore the lost continent of Lemuria, and live with troglodytes of the prime. You build again the circular hut over Lake Leman and the stone pueblo on the cliffs of Arizona. You follow again the wandering herds over the steppes of Asia, and sing again the nature hymns which, under the domes of Himalaya, broke from the lips of a shepherd race, when man was waking from the slumber of animalism. You stand with Abraham at the door of his tent in Mamre, and whisper to his dawning thought that the angels, who eat his kid and cake, are men with like passions as himself. You join the throng which listens to the blind Homer, and see that, like the Jurassic Ammonite, so the mind of man has cycled up into an era of ornamentation. You watch the marble under the hand of Phidias. You walk through Athenian groves with Plato, and see the human mind strike its wing against the highest azure in the heaven of thought. The Cæsars are your countrymen and contemporaries. Lemuria, Atlantis, Asia, Europe,—you live in every land that was and in all lands that are. You

"Watch, like God, the rolling hours";

and your mind-life is an arch which spans the abysses of time, from the morning of creation till now. You forerun your times, and plant your feet

"In midst of knowledge dreamed not yet";

and your thoughts converse with men who hold dominion over nature and the passions of their own nature. "Thought is life"; and, in you, time, space, star, mountain, ocean,—all things,—minister to a life intense. If Methuselah ever saw the sea, it gave no more wing to his thoughts than it had given to his prototype, the Goniatite. "Atrugetos," the unfruitful; "Thalassa," the laughing; "Polyphloisboios," the many-voiced,—these are all the words which the ocean spoke, even to the Greek. What does Polyphloisboios,

the many-voiced preacher, say to you, the heir of all that men have felt, thought, said, and been? I, who embosomed the simple life of Goniatite and the life of historic lore, lived by the Ammonite. I, who record the mutations of life, am myself mutable. Every drop has laved the body of a Saurian, whose race is entombed in rocks formed on my floor. Every drop has thrilled under beams of an equatorial sun. Every drop has been locked in fetters of polar ice. Every drop has risen volitant, and sailed in argosies of cloud over mountain and plain. Every drop has been pencilled by the sun into burnished glories of sunset and dawn. Every drop has broken beams of light into color, and arched the earth with an iris of beauty. Every drop has fallen in crystalline rosettes of snow. Every drop has distilled in life-giving rain. Every drop has babbled in stony brooks, has plunged over the rim of Niagara and Yosemite, has joined a brimming river, and flowed back into the bosom of the deep, whence it rose.

So does Polyphloisboios, silent to Methuselah, speak to you. And so mountains, suns, all things which science has voiced, minister to the mind-life in you who span with a day the nine hundred sixty and nine years of Methuselah, as the Ammonite spanned, with its first infantile whorl, the entire shell-life of the Goniatite.

W. D. GUNNING.

CAUSES RETARDING OUR RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

In *The Index* of October 8, we dwelt on the influences on Protestantism in this country, accelerating progress in religious belief. It is the province of the present writing to adduce what appears to be the more important causes retarding that progress. In noting these, however, we pass by any consideration of the Anglo-Saxon veneration for precedent, which characteristic French and German critics of our civilization seldom fail to touch upon.

The first reason naturally arising is, that the passion for material gratification has been so controlling, while the conditions of equality and opportunity have so greatly ministered to it, that the spur of "noble discontent," which pricks the mind to interrogate religious or political dogmas, lacked the requisite sharpness. The democratic character of Calvinism, respecting church government and worship, has constituted a binding link between it and the American people. The organization, and the clergy themselves, being so largely under the control of the laymen, the desire for autonomy, marking a free and self-reliant people, was satisfied, and a variable standard of ethics secured, sufficiently conforming to the prevailing influences in the practical world. As to the drift of Anglo-Saxon energy, the pulpit permitted it such free course that the unideal pew-holders, absorbed and unrestrained in the pursuit of money-getting, were hardly disposed to question ecclesiastical authority in matters of theological belief. The transcendent importance of securing salvation in the next world might be the central idea of every Sunday's homily, but the preacher manifested due sympathy with his hearers' overmastering love of the good things of earth. In temporal affairs, the American clergy have shown somewhat remarkable facility of conformity to the uncontrollable tendencies of our mutable and material democracy. By reason of their discreet maintenance of a non-interference attitude toward politics and the business life of the community and of the separation of Church and State, they have escaped much jealous hostility. Their tenure of power has been more

enduring, less subject to those changing and disturbing agencies at work in the secular world. No such antagonism between the Church and the friends of political liberty has been experienced as marks the history of France during more than a century past.

But while the clergy, except in the days of the Puritan theocracy of New England, have not encroached upon those dangerous fields of passionate energy and fluctuation, politics and business, they have wielded enormous power over the two fundamental forces in our civilization, the home and the school-house. Woman—by reason, especially in the past, of little opportunity; by reason of a narrow public opinion respecting rights and privileges, the exercise of which sharpens the faculty of common sense; by reason, indeed, of the naturally more limited and petty sphere of her activities—clings with greater tenacity to religious traditions than man. She is, therefore, the more fixed ally of the Orthodox Church, to whom is due the possibility of sustaining life in many a community. It has been the writer's observation in these days of religious disintegration that division in the household is a common state, in the sense that the husband is fastening or has fastened to the new order of thought, while the wife adheres steadfastly to the old. In many homes the pastor has prejudiced the female mind—rendering it stationary—against all clergymen, books, or periodicals expounding progressive ideas in religion. If it be true that "who rocks the cradle rules the world," is not here a centre of great retarding influence?

As to the other social force, that of education, it has been until within a few years, and very largely is yet, under the domination of the Church. From its intolerant bosom have come the professors and faculties in our colleges, and teachers generally, from the highest institution of learning to the lowest primary school. Being shackled by the dogma of an infallible Bible and by an idolatrous reverence of authority and of the past, the clergy naturally cherished paternal ideas about education, and exalted learning exhaling conservatism above science, whose spirit is innovating and progressive. Therefore, under their ascendancy, the range of studies was narrow and classical, and little heed given to differences in inclination and purpose, which, happily, are beginning to obtain recognition in the extending application (notably by Michigan University) of the principle permitting the student to form his own curriculum. The text-books in our schools and the volumes in our public libraries were generally selected with a jealous exclusion of all knowledge contravening the theology of the Church. Every avenue to healthful scepticism and untrammelled thought was guarded with anxious precaution. This crippling supremacy in matters of education may still be witnessed in the Southern States, where the theological training is given to a much larger number of students in the higher institutions of learning than the scientific or practical; where not only are the instructors in the sectarian colleges and seminaries required to be communicants, but even in the State universities the faculties bear the orthodox stamp. The same sort of conservatism characterizing ecclesiasticism, whenever in full control of the forces of society, obstructs to this day the growth of liberal ideas at the South, in almost every sphere of human interest.

Another influence retarding religious progress takes its source in cowardly fear of or unself-reliant deference to the opinion of the majority. The real strength of the majority is much magnified, because of this very feeling constraining many, in outward appearances at least, to help constitute that majority. The process of change

in belief, therefore, works in secret longer before giving vent in open expression. De Tocqueville, in his *Democracy in America*, discerningly observed that religion held sway among us "less as a doctrine of revelation than as a commonly received opinion," and because of faith in and fear of that opinion "hypocrisy is common." Since, in the composition of public sentiment, the cerebellum, so to speak, of our democracy, or ignorance massed, weighs down the cerebrum, there could not be such boldness and freedom of speculation on religious subjects as have distinguished for about a century the civilization of Germany, where literature is produced almost wholly with reference to the cultivated classes.

How many clergymen, from sheer moral cowardice, are but intellectual slaves in the pulpit, time-serving mouth-pieces of a dead or dying theology, giving forth no inspiration, no holy aspiration, in life! The religion of tradition is thus expounded from Sunday to Sunday until, through the current literature of the day, or a chance book, or, mayhap, hearing or reading the discourse of some contemporary minister of manly and progressive mind, the new thought finds ingress to the souls of the pew-holders; and they at last are pushed into some half-declaration of it. Doubtless, many a clergyman, accepting more or less in his private heart the new truth, voices in his pulpit the old, under a mistaken apprehension that the congregation are hopelessly wedded to it. Since religious change is nearly always a process of evolution rather than revolution, if the clergyman of this class will reflect in his sermons (exercising due tact in doing so) his own gradual expansion of belief, he may likely realize that a transition from the old to the new thought can be made with no serious breach between himself and congregation.

If yet another reason for the slow growth of liberal ideas in religion be desired, it may be found in an attitude of mind altogether too common among every civilized people. It was an observation of Cicero that there is a religion for the cultivated and one for the vulgar,—an observation having more significance for his day than ours, or for an aristocracy than a democracy, owing to the great difference in the diffusion of knowledge. Now there are many of the former class who, on the supposition that they are serving the common weal, sustain to religion the relation of professed believers in what they do not believe. They assume that the inculcation of more or less dead belief ministers to the happiness and virtue of the other class they deem not prepared for something better. This is the patronizing feeling which maintains a State Church long after its creed has become a mummy in the temple of the living God. As, for political reasons, the Roman Stoic, and even the Epicurean, performed the rites of a State religion they secretly despised, as many cultivated Englishmen, for like reasons, render perfunctory service in their established Church, so, also, in our American democracy the State policy view holds many in the Orthodox Church who no more cherish certain of its dogmas as true than the Stoics did the Greek myths, whose inward attitude toward those dogmas we fancy little better than the insincerity of the Roman augurs, concerning whom the sham-hating Cato wondered how two of them could look each other in the face without smiling. Of what hollowness, corruption, and irreverent scepticism have not the cant and hypocrisy herein involved been the parent? This is the true infidelity. Considering that a large proportion of the very class for whose benefit, chiefly, this make-belief is kept up have become themselves non-believers, and, partly for this reason, non-church-goers, does

it not appear that hereby is rendered exceeding poor service to society?

GEORGE W. BUCKLEY.

"PREPARATION FOR DEATH."

A "tract" was handed me on the train, headed "Are you prepared to die?" And a weapon was presented,—the sword of the gospel." But I did not care to die in that way, and so urged the tract-distributor on, to a good orthodox brother some seats ahead, whom I knew to be so happy in his expectation of a spacial heaven by and by as often to sigh to depart. But the tract set me thinking; and I recalled Emerson's word, "The universe was made at one cast,"—a word formulated also by philosophers centuries ago.

The universe made at one cast! Its laws, then, throughout, are one. And man is of a piece with it all. Man is not an anomaly in the universe, thrust in by creative fiat a few thousands of years since. But rather, he has been in process of becoming since first the nebulous mass swept to and fro millions on millions of years back, when as yet there was no single star or planet condensed throughout all the chaos, much less a habitable earth. Man was potential in the primeval fire-mist, and is a product of the ever-on-going, evolving laws of the universe, which have been in operation through countless periods. The continued life of man to-day is still the ongoing of these same laws; of the laws which, hundreds of thousands of years back, first started him onward upon his way, and which, through higher and ever higher forms, have developed him from the lower organizations which went before. A product of the universe's forces, man's highest life to-day is in implicit obedience to and co-operation with the forces which have made him what he is. His best life cannot be something different from this.

Man in his origin sprang from the universe's heart; and, in his present and his future, he is linked forever, in some way, with the universe's highest life. This is "life eternal,"—this is the beginning and end of all religion,—this is "salvation" complete and thorough: to know the highest ways and means of existence; to know the beauty of the world around about, and take it into one's life; to know the bliss of earnest, continual co-operation with all life's upward-tending energies, and to live in hearty labor with, and faith in, these.

This, and this alone, is true "salvation" and true "preparation for death,"—so to live, day by day, in truth and love and honesty and temperance and upward-striving as to make the most of one's self here and now on earth, in every possible direction, following with careful search and obedient heart every helpful energy and idea. For this is to be in true and complete communion with the God-power throbbing through all, whose life is the life that has formed us, and that still makes our existence, and will always make it. Moreover, to be thus in true and helpful accord with the universe's good forces now is to be so in accord with those forces always, is to be ready for any life or any future that death or time may ever bring. All the universe is natural. There is nothing about human life here, there will be nothing about it ever, that is not of a piece with and like the forces that have developed it. The future, whatever it shall prove, will not be, cannot be, something entirely new and different from the present.

Let me live now, then. The universe was made at one cast. The power that throbs through it is one, and will always be the same. Then let me truly live now. For would we, any of us, be

truly saved, we must face the universe and human life and all the forces of good and evil about us, bravely and honestly, and by true communion—that is, co-operation—with the powers of right and of love, help build ourselves up now and for all time.

"Each man, in this world, has his lampful of oil:
He may dull its glimmer with sorrow and toil,
He may leave it unlit, and let it dry,
Or wave it aloft, and hold it high.
For mine, it shall burn with a fearless flame,
In the front of the darkness that has no name."

But there is my "gospel-distributor," two cars ahead, just passing through to check the remainder of his tracts as "baggage"; and, as the train whirls along, I look out of the window again to enjoy the autumn foliage and be glad in a beautiful world.

JAMES H. WEST.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE publication office of the *Rundschau*, Mr. Fritz Schültz, editor, has been removed from Carver to New Ulm, Minn.

"THE CARPENTER'S SON," by Rabbi Schindler, the third of his series of lectures on "Messianic Expectations," will be printed in *The Index* next week.

A WRITER in the Boston Sunday *Herald* asks: "Why does it not occur to the Boston parsons, when discussing the ethics of Sunday newspapers, to treat of Monday morning newspapers, which, as they must know, are largely written, set up, and 'made up' on the 'holy Sabbath'? I wonder if any of them forego the luxury of their Monday morning journals on this score, or the comfort of a hot muffin because the yeast in it was 'working' on Sunday?"

THE *Spiritual Offering*, referring to Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's seventieth birthday, says: "The first time we heard her speak, more than twenty years ago, and listened to her logical, unanswerable arguments, noticed her dignified, statesman-like appearance before the vast assembly, we were reminded of Charles Sumner's demeanor in the United States Senate, which more nearly resembled our conception of an ancient Roman Senator than any other we had ever seen. After the close of Mrs. Stanton's address on the occasion referred to, our remark to a friend was, 'I hope to live to see Mrs. Stanton in the United States Senate.' That we shall probably not see; but she has done more than any one else ever did to open the way for some other women to occupy that place. Mrs. Stanton would not be specially honored, were she to occupy the position. The Senate would be."

SCARCELY a decade ago there died a well-known citizen of our metropolis, who, in the utmost stretch of charity, could not but have been assumed to have some grave financial sins to confess before God and to atone for to man. As he lay upon his dying-bed, he reiterated with solemn assurance to his pastor the fact that he had never doubted the Bible, and evidently took infinite comfort to his soul therefrom. A little manly restitution to the public would seem to the average human eye to have been a much better shrift for his soul than such a confession of unquestioning belief in any book whatever. To have been able to say, "I have tried to live by the Bible," ought, to reasonable beings, to have been something nobler for a dying man to say than to affirm, as the security of the soul, "I have believed in the Bible." Yet such was the fatuous folly of religion but a few years ago throughout

our Christian Churches; and such is it to-day among hosts of men who call themselves reasonable beings that this confession of faith counted for more than a Zacchæus-like confession of restitution.—*R. Heber Newton.*

SAYS the *Graphic*:—

A very common belief is that women, even when studious, are rather literary than scientific. Statistics prove either that they are changing in this regard or that the notion is erroneous. The great majority of the women at the universities of Zürich and Geneva study, not letters, but science and medicine. M. Ernest Legouvé reported in a recent competition for fellowships in the University of France: "The papers of the scientific candidates were greatly superior to those of letters. The result contradicts a very general opinion, which I myself have strongly supported, that scientific studies, the abstract sciences and mathematics, must hold a subordinate place in women's education, because they are incompatible with the nature of the female intellect. We have been mistaken." In England, Miss Ormerod has distinguished herself by her observations on insect life. Very recently, a paper was read before the Mathematical Society of London, by Mrs. Bryant, Sc.D., on the geometrical form of perfectly regular cell structure, illustrated by models of cube and rhombic dedecahedron. In another section, Mme. Traube Meugarini studies the function of the brain in fishes; while, in our own country, Mrs. Treat and others have made valuable progress in scientific research.

DR. MONROE, in his *Iron-clad Age*,—which, he says, is the only atheistic paper published in America,—is emphatic in his rejection of the claims of spiritualism. "When," he says, "we see a ghost without the aid of a medium, and where human agency is impossible, we shall begin to take treatment for optical delusion or softening of the brain. And, if the spirit keeps on appearing, we shall apply for admission in an asylum for the insane. When we see one by the aid of a medium, we shall set it down as a deception and fraud, and shall so continue to set it down till we pass to spirit life. We have beloved ones dead who would be materializing here every day, were such a thing a possibility in nature. However we may long for a reunion with loved ones in another life,—however we may long for immortality,—the melancholy fact remains that the dead are dead. They are dead here and dead everywhere. They are dead from head to heel. They are dead clear through and all over. They are entirely dead, and we warrant them to stay dead. We will go any dead man's security for a million, the conditions being that he shall stay dead and stay away."

SAYS the *Montreal Star*: "We call upon the poor to be honest, prudent, temperate, industrious, and humble. Well, who is showing them an example? We really ask them to live a kind of ideal life, to have unbounded faith in principles, to struggle, under disadvantageous circumstances, with temptations that are too much for many in higher station. It is asking a great deal. Does it not seem as if the more favored classes should move first in this matter of moral reform? If the poor could see that the rich, or those whom they regard as the rich, were living earnest lives, earning honest money, and spending it in a reasonable way, without undue ostentation, and with a manifest sense of social responsibility, they would be encouraged to fight their own battles more strenuously. What is wanted on the part of the so-called 'upper classes' is, not a certain quota of benevolence by the way of redeeming their lives from the appearance of complete selfishness, but a serious study of their responsibilities, and the government of their lives in general upon right and reasonable principles. There are duties for all, for rich as well as for poor; and if the rich will only find out what their duties are, and do them, some social problems will perhaps begin to look more hopeful."

OUR venerable friend, Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Ill., writes: "—has gone, I trust, to the better world. I trust, I say: I do not say I know; for, in that severe scientific sense in which you philosophers use the term 'know,' no man knows what will be five minutes hence, outside of demonstrable physical truths, and not strictly even there. Still, we all have to act continually on ideals of the future not at all demonstrable; and we say in general terms that we know this and that will be, when, strictly speaking, we really, in the rigorous sense, know nothing at all about it,—that is, our realm of absolute knowledge is exceedingly narrow and shallow, our realm of practical 'trustful' knowledge far wider and deeper. But this realm is liable to the greatest abuses private and public, so that I entirely sympathize with you in striving to hold a *very taut* rein over it, far more taut than is usually done, especially by the ecclesiastics of all ages and sects. Still, we must not rein this wild colt of humanity in so taut as to break down his finest spirit and hopes, even if their basis is not perfectly demonstrable to all alike. The devil of all bigotries lies in the attempt to force all on earth to march *exactly* in line of some imposed belief or unbelief. Let the colts prance a little, where it does no serious mischief. Even if nothing comes of it but the 'fever of prancing,' it helps to increase their real strength and speed."

For *The Index*.

THROUGH DOUBT TO LIGHT.

I stood alone, the creeds to which
My soul had always clung gave way,
And round me surged a sea of doubt
Whose restless waves I could not stay.

Life lost its meaning, and the grave
Seemed unto me the end of all.
Goodness was nothing, and from heaven
I feared that God himself must fall.

Friends turned from me, and counsellors
Upon my doubts could only frown.
Was it the glare of hell I caught,
Or light from heaven cast down?

I could not tell, but soon I saw
Old landmarks rise in that dark sea.
If heaven must pass like some burnt scroll,
This earth, at least, was left to me.

If all religious truth was dead,
Yet moral truth untouched might live;
If there should be no other life,
I'd have the best that this could give.

"Better," I said, "is truth than lies,
Better the generous than the mean,
Better the brave than coward act,
Better the chaste than the unclean."

My feet upon this rock I stayed,
And slowly sank the waves of doubt:
With fear and trembling, thus it was
I wrought my own salvation out.

Creeds grew to me but empty husks
On which I could not feed my soul,
While moral and religious truth
Blended in one harmonious whole.

New faith in human nature rose
From the broad, open sea of thought,
As statues in the marble hid
Are by the stroke of genius wrought.

'Twas always there,—this glorious faith,—
But cramped and hidden from my sight,
Till, stroke by stroke, Doubt set it free,
And suffering gave my soul new light.

NEW BERNE, N.C.

MARY BAYARD CLARKE.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS.

LECTURE II.

"TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO."

Delivered at the Temple Adath Israel, Boston, Oct. 18, 1885, by Rabbi Solomon Schindler.

Upon what does the earth rest? This question greatly agitated the minds of people before the time of Newton and Copernicus. The answer was that it rests upon the back of an enormous elephant. But the inquisitiveness of human nature could not be set at rest so easily. Another question was raised: Upon what does the elephant rest? Answer: The elephant stands on top of an immense turtle. Yet this answer even did not give the desired satisfaction. The new question turned up: Upon what does the turtle rest? Instead of answering this time, the scientist of that age grumblingly complained in rather strong language that one fool would be likely to ask more questions than ten wise men could answer, and thus the conundrum was never solved.

Whenever we turn to an historical research, we are in a similar quandary. We lack a basis which could safely carry our argumentation. We brag a great deal about historical knowledge and historical facts; but, whenever we are called upon to bring them to light, we find that our knowledge is very limited,—that there are comparatively very few real historical facts, and that our so-called history, with all our argumentation on top of it, floats like that gigantic turtle—upon nothing.

Ancient history, especially, has mixed up a few grains of truth with such a bulk of fiction that it is now well-nigh impossible to sift the wheat from the chaff. Some few scraps of statements made by some writer as the facts appeared to him individually, mostly not even corroborated by a contemporary, have been handed down to us and palmed off on us as history. But, even if we were ready and willing to accept the statements of a Herodotus, Tacitus, a Livy, or Josephus as plain and absolute truth, with our best intentions we

could not supply another deficiency,—namely, that, by the tardy and fictitious process of copying and recopying the manuscript by hand, in course of time so much of the original must have been changed, so many interpolations and additions must have been added to it, that, if the original writer should be confronted to-day with his works, he would probably deny his authorship. And, after all, how did these writers know? History was never written at the time when the facts occurred. The current of the present is so swift and rapid, the multitude of facts taking place at every moment is so overwhelming, that the quickest camera could not take a correct negative of them. It is furthermore impossible for men to be both actors and spectators: we cannot be at the same time upon the stage and in front of it. History, therefore, has always been written by posterity. Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will acknowledge that it would be a difficult task to-day to write a correct history of—let me say—the life of George Washington, although we are in possession of the archives containing all the official documents written or signed by him, although we have the files of the newspapers published at his time at our disposal, and many other advantages which the historian of former ages never had at his command. Tacitus, for example, had never seen Germany or Judea, still he wrote extensively about these countries. All his information was obtained from soldiers who had been there, and he took their yarns for facts; and we, too, have become accustomed to take them for facts. And this very Tacitus lived and wrote at a time when the Romans stood at the summit of civilization, and poets and writers grew up among them like mushrooms.

In regard to Jewish history and subsequently to that of the origin of Christianity, the entanglement is not less bewildering, although past generations have attempted to solve the difficulty and to find a desirable historical basis by cutting the Gordian knot in a somewhat peculiar way. They picked out a certain number of literary works relating their own history and that of their nearest neighbors, and attributed them to a divine authorship. They claimed that God himself had dictated, word for word, both the Old and the New Testament. From such divine statements there was of course no appeal. God, who knows the past as well as the future, could not err: he stood above all human criticism; and it was a long time before the Bible was submitted to a close historical scrutiny. For centuries, it has been a heresy, almost a crime, to doubt one iota of this sacred literature; to doubt that Moses wrote all the books attributed to him; to doubt that the Psalms were all written by David or the Ecclesiastes by Solomon; to ask in what way and by what means the first correct copy of the orations of the prophets was obtained, or to consider these speeches as pertaining to their time only, or to the immediate future, and so on *ad infinitum*. For the so-called believer there was and is no appeal from the letter of Scripture.

In my research after the origin of the Messianic idea, I shall, therefore, not argue with the believers. Modern Judaism does not believe blindly: it reasons. Although I take a just pride in the grand literature which our nation has brought forth and accumulated; although I maintain that all literature is inspired, that no man can write one single sentence unless he is divinely inspired,—the books of the Bible are to me—as they are to every intelligent man to day—products of human, and not of divine authorship.

All the imperfections which adhere to human productions adhere also to the Bible. The men named as the authors of the different books were

not their authors in reality. The real authors lived and wrote much later than the facts occurred which they describe. They collected their knowledge from tradition and hearsay; but they wrote in good faith, according to their best understanding, without the least desire to impose. Their views, however, were limited. Neither are they responsible for the changes in the text made by copyist and revisers during the hundreds of years which passed between them and the first authentic edition which is in the possession of our time. I shall, therefore, touch them but slightly; and I wish it understood, from the start, that the renowned eleventh chapter of Isaiah is nothing more to me than a beautiful picture—painted in Eastern colors—of that time of peace which the orator hoped humanity would sooner or later reach. If we were to picture that time to-day, we should probably give it a different coloring and a less picturesque perspective; but we should surely omit the fourteenth and fifteenth verses as in contradiction to the letter and the spirit of the whole previous oration, and as unbecoming to a true lover of peace. With no other or better material at hand than Scripture offers, I am, however, compelled to rest some of my arguments upon the turtle, and to let the turtle float wherever it pleases you.

The first traces of a hope in the advent of such a person as a Messiah are to be found not earlier than in the time shortly before, during, and shortly after the Babylonian exile. The calamities which had befallen first the house of Israel, and then the house of Judah, had so discouraged the Israelites that they despaired of their own ability to help themselves; and, therefore, they hoped for a miraculous interference of God in their behalf.

They yearned for the independence of the Davidian time, of which tradition must have brought to them the most glorious reports. A descendant of David was, therefore, to appear and win for them again the respect of their neighbors, and make their voice heard again in the council of the nations.

There is nothing whatever that is unnatural or absurd in such a hope. Up to the last two decades, the Germans, too, were hoping for a restoration of the German Empire to its former mediæval glory. Hundreds of beautiful myths and legends predicted the return of the Kaiser Frederick I., or, as he was popularly nicknamed, Friederich Barbarossa, "der Rothbart," who, as the legend ran, had never died, but was sleeping in the caves of the Kyffhaeuser Mountain. With him, a large army of valiant knights was said to be concealed in the subterranean abode, who would awake and break forth under his leadership to liberate Germany and to restore its union, at the proper season. It was told that, after every lapse of a hundred years, the old emperor, whose beard had grown all around the marble table upon which his head was resting, would call a shepherd to his cave, and would ask him whether the ravens were still flying around the mountain-top, and that, upon his affirming the fact, he would sadly exclaim,—

"Und wenn die schwarzen Raben
Noch fliegen immer dar,
So muss ich nochmals schlafen
Verzaubert hundert Jahr."

One of the first and signal deeds with which Barbarossa was expected to astonish the world was to wage a successful war against France. What should you think of it, if, a thousand years hence, an historian should prove by these myths that the Germans had been expecting a Messiah, and that he actually appeared in the year 1862, but was called, not Barbarossa, but Bismarck?

The scraps of literature which we possess relating to the time before and after the Babylonian exile, and which seem to speak of a Messiah, are of about the same character and the same value as the legends of Barbarossa. They express the hope of a down-trodden nation in a restoration to former glory.

However, after the second Commonwealth had been firmly established, though by far different means than expected, after the second temple had been built, the Jews enjoyed a period of unprecedented prosperity. The yoke of the Persian Empire rested lightly upon them. They paid a small tribute; and, as long as they paid it promptly, they remained unmolested. All Messianic expectations were therefore forgotten.

During this long season of prosperity, the original Mosaic doctrine maintaining the belief in one God came to full bloom, and idolatry, formerly flourishing among them, died away entirely. The laws collected and compiled by Ezra, and firmly planted by Nehemiah, fitted admirably to their condition. They were excellent laws, such as no other nation could boast of. The belief consequently grew up that they were of divine origin, and that, as long as the nation should strictly adhere to them, it would be successful and prosperous, but that the slightest deviation from them would again bring the wrath of God upon them, and that they would be exiled again, as their ancestors had been before.

When the Persian Empire fell a prey to Alexander the Great, the condition of the Jews was not materially changed. It was of little importance to them to whom they paid their taxes, whether to the Persians, Egyptians, or Syrians. The closer intercourse with the Greeks tended in the beginning rather to broaden their own philosophy; and the Greeks, who had been accustomed to call all other nations barbarians, were, in their turn, greatly astonished to find such just laws, such deep philosophy, such high culture in a nation of which they had scarcely heard before.

But, by degrees, some of the Jewish youth became attracted by Greek culture and customs. At that time, the cultured classes of the Greeks were by no means gross idolaters. Socrates had not died in vain, nor had Plato and Aristotle lived in vain. The practices of Greek idolatry were at that period a mere consequence of indolence. Idolatry had become too absurd for the educated classes to attempt to wean the rest of the people from it. Their philosophers claimed that the lower classes were in need of some superstition, and advised to leave well enough alone. When Hellenism and Judaism finally clashed against each other, the forcible introduction of Greek idols into Palestine was more a matter of policy with Antiochus than of sincerity. Though a few young men sided with the Greeks, the mass of the Jewish people were sincere in their attachment to God. By no means would they suffer the least idolatrous rite practised in their country; and the few who had been influenced by the Greeks, and had adopted with their customs also the indolence and indifference of that age toward religion, were decidedly in the minority. While the Hasmonæan wars may appear as a religious warfare, well-informed historians claim that they were a political contest. Antiochus wished to form one large and well-cemented empire of all the small nations which were tributary to him, that he might be able to withstand the power of the Roman Republic, which, since the fall of Carthage and Corinth, had already spread its threatening shadows in an eastern direction. He thought it good policy to tie Judea to his domain by the bonds of the same superstition,

as all religion was called by the philosophers of that age. But his policy was a mistaken one. Just here, the Jews drew the line. He would have found them willing to pay any tribute whatsoever and to render military services, but they would not permit their religious autonomy to be touched. They flew to arms; and, under the leadership of the noble Hasmonæan family, a contest raging for several generations followed, which was carried on with changing luck on both sides. At the close of these wars, they found to their greatest surprise that they had gained more than they had ever expected. They had originally fought for home rule only: now, they found themselves independent, their country enlarged, with a king, a descendant, not of David, but of the Hasmonæan house, at their head. They did not know how to account for their good luck.

The people who had taken up arms for their God and their religion, and who had been called Chasidim, the pious, to distinguish them from the frivolous Hellenistic element, now split into two factions on account of it.

The greater part believed that their success was the result of their obedience to the laws of God; that God had, in fact, interfered in their behalf; and that, therefore, their mission was plain and self-evident. They must enforce the law most rigorously, and refrain from all intercourse with other nations, especially with the Greek. They were called Pharisees, Perushim, interpreters of the law; but they were conscientious, and by no means hypocrites. The other class had seen more of the world. It was composed of all those who not only had been the leaders in previous battles, but who had obtained as statesmen, by shrewd political wire-pulling, more than their sword could ever have won for them. They knew the secret of their success. Their good luck had been the result of Roman influence. That great and insatiable republic had stretched its hand nearer and nearer toward its prey. Divide and rule had been its motto. It had taken up quite disinterestedly, as it then appeared, the Jewish cause as well as that of the other tributaries of which the Syrian kingdom was composed, and had assumed the rôle of a protector over them. Little did these small nations dream at that time that, after the fall of Syria and Egypt, their turn would come to be annexed to the Roman Empire.

The Sadducees, as they were called, who had been prominent in all the political manoeuvrings, knew, therefore, too well that rigor and a blind belief in the help of God would not do, that they must yield to a compromise; or, in other words, that they must not totally ignore the present. This split in the formerly compact party accelerated, though it did not cause, the doom of the Jewish nation.

Indeed, their dream of independence and the lustre of the Hasmonæan dynasty were of a short duration only. Judea became a Roman province before the inhabitants became aware of it; and, while the Roman Senate left to them some shadow of self-government, it had already fastened the shackles to the victim. When the Jews came to themselves, they found themselves tied, hand and foot, in the power of an almighty foe. Their condition, indeed, was then most pitiable. Their independence was crushed, their king a mere puppet in the hands of the Roman Cæsars, their high priest without authority, their laws set at naught by the whims of the Roman proconsul. Roman legions fattened at the public expense, rapacious Roman procurators drained the resources of the land by heavy taxation. Jerusalem had then three separate courts, which rivalled one another in luxury. There was the

high priest and his household, and with him all the temple functionaries, who were supported in grand style by the reverence of the people and from fear that God would withdraw his protection from them, unless every tax which was due to the temple was scrupulously paid. Next came the royal household, the dignity of which was to be upheld at a heavy expense. Finally, there was the Roman governor, who knew perfectly well how to make a public office pay, and who imitated the extravagance of Rome. No wonder that times were hard for the tax-payer, no wonder that the peaceful real-estate owner grew riotous, no wonder that the burden became unbearable, and that the nation despaired of itself. At this period of national calamity, at the time when the days of the Jewish commonwealth were already numbered, the hope broke forth with new vigor that, as human efforts were of no avail, God himself would, must, interfere and set matters aright. The first commonwealth had fallen on account of the sins of their forefathers; but, this time, they were innocent, they had strictly obeyed the law, and God, if he were just, was in honor bound to come to their rescue. Neither was there any cause to doubt the ability of God to save them. Had he not returned the captives to the land of their forefathers? Had he not assisted their very parents and grandparents in their struggle against the power of Syria? There was not the least doubt in their minds that the present time was only a time of trial, and that God would soon rectify matters. During the Hasmonæan era, the prophetic books had become quite popular. They were now read and reread with eagerness, and were naturally interpreted to fit the present needs and hopes. The idea spread that, as the descendants of the Hasmonæan house had not the courage to oppose the greed of rapacious Rome, they had forfeited their right to the throne, and that a scion of the house of David would therefore be sent by God, who should drive the Romans out of the country, and bring back the former independence and glory.

The maltreated, overtaxed farmer, the unemployed artisan, the bankrupt merchant, the demoralized soldier, the aristocrat who had to bend his head before the haughty Roman magistrate,—they all drank eagerly the hope of the advent of a Messiah, and awaited impatiently the favorable moment when, sword in hand, they would shake off the yoke of the oppressor; and they had not the least doubt that, at that auspicious moment, God would send the right man to lead them to success.

But there were also people who were not half so sanguine as their more zealous neighbors. They knew that a revolt against Rome would be useless. Rome could only take of him who owned property, and it was only for the improvement of the condition of the property holder that war was to be undertaken. They sought, therefore, safety in a change of the whole social system. Nihilistic and communistic tendencies began to develop. These classes, too, were expecting the man who should have the power of establishing an ideal society after their heart, and who would—according to the peculiar language which they used—save the world.

The hope in the advent of a king duly anointed for his office, who would improve the state of affairs, grew stronger and mightier every day, the more unbearable the national misery grew. It was again the natural outgrowth of the unhealthy condition of the time; and the sicker the national body grew, the wider spread and the more intense grew the mania.

The Roman authorities on their part wished for

nothing better than that a crisis should be reached as soon as possible; and they rather stimulated a revolt of the people, in order to obtain a pretext for crushing the nation at once. They, too, were wishing that the Messiah, with whose appearance they were threatened day by day, would come. They had nothing to lose, and all to win. And thus day by day added to the fuel, which, if fired by an over-zealous or incautious hand, would spread its conflagration over the land.

In vain did the cautious among the people raise their voice of warning: they could not undo what generations had prepared. Such was the condition of the time shortly before the destruction of the second temple, and the first flash of lightning which appeared and disappeared in the political sky of the second commonwealth, the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth predicted the coming hurricane which swept the Jewish nation forever politically from the face of the earth.

EXPERIMENTAL PATHOLOGY.—ON HYDROPHOBIA.*

BY M. S. PASTEUR,

ASSISTED BY M. M. CHAMBERLAND AND ROUX.

[Translated for *The Index*.]

The great fact of the variable intensity of certain virus, and the preservation from one virulence by another of less intensity, is to-day not only known to science, but has even entered into the domain of practice. In such a direction of study, one understands all the interest which the research into appropriate methods of attenuation of new virus offers.

I have the honor to report to-day to the Academy a progress in this direction relative to hydrophobia.

I. If hydrophobic virus is passed from dog to monkey, and afterward from monkey to monkey, its virulence becomes weaker at each transition. If the virus is then carried back into the dog, the rabbit, or the guinea-pig, after its force has been diminished by these transitions from monkey to monkey, it remains attenuated. In other words, the virulence does not return in the first instance to the intensity of the virus of a mad dog. The attenuation, under these conditions, can be easily produced by a few transitions from monkey to monkey, until hydrophobia can never be given to the dog, even by hypodermic inoculation. Even inoculation by trepanning, a method so infallible for the communication of hydrophobia, can produce no result; creating, nevertheless, for the animal a state refractory to hydrophobia.

II. The virulence of hydrophobic virus is raised to a higher degree when it is passed from rabbit to rabbit, from guinea-pig to guinea-pig. When the virulence is intensified and fixed at the maximum in the rabbit, it passes in the same degree into the dog, and shows itself much more intense than the virulence of the virus from a mad dog. This virulence is such, under these conditions, that the virus which possesses it, inoculated into the blood of the dog, invariably produces a deadly madness.

III. Although the virulence of hydrophobia is intensified in its transition from rabbit to rabbit or from guinea-pig to guinea-pig, several transitions through the bodies of these animals are necessary, in order to recover its condition of maximum virulence after it has been diminished in the body of the monkey.

Likewise, the virulence of hydrophobia, which, as I have just said, is not nearly of the maximum

virulence, requires, when it is carried into the rabbit, several transitions through individuals of this species, before attaining its maximum.

A rational application of the results which I have given easily enables us to render dogs refractory to hydrophobia. The experimentalist should have at his disposal attenuated hydrophobic virus of different degrees. Some, not mortal, preserves the system from the effects of the stronger virus, and the latter from the mortal virus.

For example: The hydrophobic virus of a dead rabbit is extracted by trepanning, after an incubation period, which exceeds by several days the shortest incubation of the rabbit. This is invariably comprised between seven and eight days after inoculation, by trepanning, with the most virulent virus. The virus of the rabbit in a longer incubation is always inoculated, by trepanning, into a second rabbit; the virus of the latter, into a third. Each time, these poisons, which become stronger and stronger, are inoculated into a dog. Finally, the dog is found to be capable of resisting a mortal poison. He becomes wholly refractory to hydrophobia, either by inoculation into the veins or by trepanning from the virus of a mad dog.

By inoculations from the blood of rabid animals, I am enabled to simplify very much the operation of vaccination, and to produce in the dog a most decided refractory condition. I will shortly make known to the Academy the whole result of the experiments on this point.

There should be considerable interest now, and even to the distant period of the extinction of hydrophobia by vaccination, in being able to suppress the development of this affection, resulting from the bites of mad dogs. Upon this point, the first experiments which I have undertaken give me the greatest hopes of success. Thanks to the duration of the incubation of hydrophobia resulting from bites, I have every reason to believe that the refractory condition of subjects can be determined with certainty before the deadly malady, caused by the bite, breaks out.

The first experiments are very favorable to this view, but the proofs must be infinitely multiplied on various species of animals before the therapeutic would have the boldness to try this prophylactic on man.

The Academy will understand that, in spite of the confidence with which my numerous experiments, continued for four years, inspire me, it is not without some apprehension that I publish to-day these facts, which tend to nothing less than a possible preventive of hydrophobia. If I had had sufficient pecuniary means at my disposal, I should have been glad not to make this communication until I had requested some of my colleagues of this Academy, and the Academy of Medicine, to verify the conclusions which I have just made known.

It is in obedience to these scruples and these motives that I have lately taken the liberty to write to M. Fallières, Minister of Public Instruction, requesting him to appoint a commission to which I will submit my dogs refractory to hydrophobia.

The principal experiment, which I would first try, would consist in selecting from my kennels twenty dogs refractory to hydrophobia, which should be placed in comparison with twenty other dogs before being used for the experiment. These forty dogs should be bitten successively by mad dogs. If the facts which I have announced are correct, the twenty dogs considered refractory by me will resist wholly, while the twenty others will become mad.

A second experiment, no less decisive, would

have for its subject forty dogs,—twenty vaccinated before the commission, and twenty not. The forty dogs shall then be trepanned with the virus of a mad dog. The twenty vaccinated dogs will resist. The twenty others will all either die of hydrophobia, become paralytic or rabid.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DID MR. EMERSON SYMPATHIZE WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS?

Editors of The Index:—

Criticisms are made* on Dr. Holmes' estimate of Mr. Emerson as a non-sympathizer with the abolitionists. I think Dr. Holmes is right, and that Mr. Emerson never really sympathized with abolitionists, such as Garrison, Phillips, Parker, and the like. The queer idea of quoting Caleb Cushing to decide this question seems to me as laughter-creating as Holmes' "Height of the Ridiculous," or his "September Gale." It is true that Holmes' undertaking to write a life of Emerson seems in itself almost equally funny. I laughed heartily when I first heard of the fact, because, save in the way of being both of them literary men, I could not conceive of two men more diametrically opposed in their natural traits. But, on this matter of Emerson's abolition position, Dr. Holmes is much more correct than his critics.

To sustain this position, allow me to refer to facts within my own knowledge or obtained from old and "tried-in-the-fire" abolitionists, and to Mr. Emerson's own work. In 1835, when Garrison was pulled through Boston streets and his life saved by his being thrown into the city jail, as a disturber of the public peace, I became an abolitionist. From that time till Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation during the Civil War, I knew well most of the public and not a few of the private acts of abolitionists; and I am sure that Emerson never publicly showed the least interest in our proceedings. He never spoke any ringing words in our behalf until long after the battle was half won; namely, until 1854 (nineteen years after the mob), when, in a lecture on the Fugitive Slave Bill,† he thoroughly scathed Daniel Webster, and denounced the "godlike" as thoroughly immoral and the bill as most infamous. But, even in this grand and manly address, Mr. Emerson defines his position on the anti-slavery platform by these memorable words, unfortunate though they may be to his memory as a "sympathizer with the abolitionists":—

"I have lived all my life without suffering any known inconvenience from American slavery. I never saw it; I never heard the whip; I never felt the check on my free speech and action until the other day, when Mr. Webster by his personal influence brought the Fugitive Slave Law on the country."‡

Again, Mr. Emerson declares: "I have said I had never in my life up to this time [1850] suffered from the slave institution. Slavery in Virginia or Carolina was like slavery in Africa or the Fegées, for me."§

Do these words show that he had "sympathized with the abolitionists"? Before the above words were uttered, Mr. Emerson had proclaimed in 1847, his actual abhorrence of abolition methods, in his "Ode to William H. Channing." I find it in a volume of poems published and copyrighted by Mr. Emerson, in England, in 1847. It is not reprinted in the "Selected Poems," published since his death. That ode, I have reason to believe, connects itself with an event which took place in 1845, and in which I was myself, as an abolitionist, interested. The Rev. Charles T. Torrey died in Baltimore jail, where he had been confined for helping slaves to escape. His body, at my request,—and for the purpose of having a public funeral,—had been embalmed; and it lay open to the public in front of the large platform from which anti-slavery speakers had addressed the excited crowd. Among the speakers was the warm-hearted, sweet-tongued Rev. William Henry Channing. While he was speaking, I saw with astonishment Mr. Emerson standing and look-

* New York *Evening Post*, Jan. 25, 1885; *Index*, Feb. 12, 1885; Aug. 27, 1885.

† At Tabernacle in New York, March 7, 1854.

‡ Emerson's *Complete Works*, vol. XI., pp. 206, 207.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

* A paper read before the Academy of Science in Paris, June, 1884.

ing down, in his calm manner, upon us,—aloof, it was true, from all the excitement prevailing below. As during the previous ten years of anti-slavery battle, I had never seen him among us, I was delighted at the sight of him, even as looker-on. I had learned to love and reverence him for the great thoughts he had given me in his lectures, and by his serene and apparently philosophic life at Concord. I said to myself: "How I would like to know what you think of this most damnable result of Southern slavery, and of this gathering of the anti-slavery enthusiasts with whom you have never been seen before? Is it possible that this vile deed has so drawn you to us, that hereafter we shall have your great name and moral influence on our side?" But he disappeared from the hall, and neither by voice nor subsequently by pen or active sympathy for the escaping slave did he give any reply until two years afterward. Then I read, in the above-named "Ode," the following chilling apostrophe to Channing. I add, also, other quotations from the same ode, which could have been easily adopted by the most violent slave-trader in the South:—

"Funeral eloquence
Rattles the coffin lid."

"What boots thy zeal?
A glowing friend!
That would indignant rend
The Northland from the South?
Wherefore? To what good end?

"'Tis the day of the chattel,
Web to weave, and corn to grind.

"Foolish hands may mix and mar,
Wise and sure the issues are.

"The Over God
Who marries Right to Might,
Who peoples and unpeoples,
He who exterminates
Races by stronger races,
Black by white faces."

This, then, is the answer which the Philosopher of Concord gave to the mute appeal from the martyr's dead body, then lying before him, and to all abolitionists, wherever they might be. This, then, was his "sympathy" for them.

I have lately conversed with some of the old abolitionists, and I find all agree with me that Emerson was never known to be in our ranks, or to show any active sympathy for the slave, or in our work for the bondman. At a later date, when the labors of the earlier fighters were assumed by the politicians, and the martyrdom of John Brown called out an indignant protest from thousands in the North,—when Sumner was felled in the United States Senate and Webster bowed his mighty head under the foot of the Southern slave-master, and told the North that it must ignore the promptings of its own conscience;—while he declared before high Heaven that he "knew no Higher Law than the American Constitution,"—in those dreadful days, Emerson spoke bravely and well. Let us thank him for that, but do not let us claim that the early anti-slavery workers had his sympathy. No! Holmes is right, and his critics are wrong.

HENRY I. BOWDITCH.

UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY.

Editors of The Index:—

It is unfortunate that most Unitarian Conferences sacrifice some measure of their dignity in the presence of the Christian name. While I have no objection to that name of itself, in the right hands, I can never take it from Unitarian lips as representative of a legitimate power. A recent experience at Vineland, N.J., where Unitarians of the Philadelphia district came together for purposes of fellowship, brought back to me with unpleasant force the bounds of a sect with which I have a great deal of inborn or inbred sympathy. The line which takes Unitarianism so near a gracious haven, and yet sharply cuts it off at the last stage, is one which proves peculiarly forbidding, even to friendly critics. I have never attended a conference of its followers without an instinctive wish to make myself at home there; and yet, with each visit, I have been driven off by some reassertion of an illogical and compromising position. This, of course, is always a more or less personal drift, of which one could not justly accuse all participants. But the most approved sentiments are such as have

the sectarian tendency, and no unpledged observer is apt to be placated by them. Nor is it satisfying to see the obviously nervous desire among those who still insist upon the Christian name to prove some fine moral difference between the Christian and all other actual or probable faiths.

Such differences as these investigations discover are always too infinitesimally small to give warrant for clinging to the old word. Now, this Vineland experience only puts renewed emphasis upon my conviction that Christian Unitarians have brought about a hopeless confusion of language. While I am ready to acknowledge Mr. Ames' broad, fundamental principle, as amplified in an attempt to make Christianity represent (in some sense invoked by his imagination) the summit of human excellence, I feel that an acceptance of his terms involves a total surrender of consistency in thought, and robs English speech of its meaning. Moreover, when Mr. May, Mr. Haskell, Mr. Galvin, and others, strain every point in order to put a Christian interpretation upon nature, and by every act betray unnecessary anxiety to hold to the Christian name after all simple Christian formulas have been discarded, they are unjust to themselves, and throw what is essential in Unitarianism to the mercy of a rather unmerciful logic. I have an honest and abounding reverence for Christianity. In its developments through the prevailing sects, I can understand and appreciate its importance. Besides, when I am met by a bold avowal of theological points on the part of orthodox teachers, I can know how and where to direct my antagonism. But, with men who on this point might as well trade on Buddhist as on Christian paper, since neither is theirs primarily, I am at a loss what to do. In the exigency created, I could not offer congratulation, for that would imply an approval of foggerly,—veritable joy in a landscape known merely by promise,—which I avoid wherever possible; nor could I make any show of antagonism, for that, again, would indicate that I knew where to strike, which is not true.

Though Clifford, who took the more generous view at this conference, may resent what he may attribute to my too indulgent affection, it would be unpardonable in me to take my personal love as reason for silence touching his part in the joyous gathering. I must, even if I offend the modesties of the occasion, record here my unbroken pleasure in his beautiful discourse on "The Human Priesthood." In an attempt to bring the religious sense back at last to the single soul, and in his absolute refusal to make Humanity the mere plaything of Christian theology, he displayed the vital faculty which modern discovery finds at the base of its best work. Such thoughts as he disbursts prove that Unitarianism has its strong elements. Mr. Ames, in his own fruitful personality, represents some of its most excellent possibilities. But, if the leaders of its mission turn their backs on its greater for the sake of its lesser forces, there can be no question of its eventual shame. There is something that savors of strength in the common Methodistic insistence upon the Christian arguments. I often enjoy it from the pew, and love Methodism for all its evidence of intense belief. Furthermore, I confess that, when I turn from a magnetic Orthodoxy, false as I consider some of its assumptions, to a frigid Unitarianism that insists more upon property than it has no claim to than upon that which comes fairly to its heritage, I am disappointed and repulsed. I had always understood that Liberals, however thankful for their pedigree or however grieved over its ramifications, were not at all worried when the backward look disclosed a necessary antagonism. Nor is this the criticism of one who sours over oppositions, or is naturally at enmity with the Unitarian Church. Wholly, I disagree with no church. I have yet to see the religious body with which, after all, I do not find the line of union deeper than the line of difference. Particularly is it apparent to me that, with Unitarians, I have had the freest intercourse and the nearest intellectual friendship. But, if character is to be the test of the hour in Unitarian churches, as is so unremittingly stated, why is it that one who can accept the invitation scarcely starts forward ere some protesting hand brings Christianity into view to cool all his ardor, and drive him again beyond the confines? The same lips that thank Spencer for his unmatched presentations of the evolution theory reject him from among those who consider his labors the assurance of their latest faith. What sort of a

dance is this? Mangasarian, most recent among heretics, has been pointing to the evolution platform as an apt illustration of what freedom may do for thought; and Mr. May informed us at Vineland that Unitarianism furnishes an evolution pulpit. If the steps be granted, what becomes of the Christian name which so many who ascend carry with them as warrant to higher realms? In deference to morality, we owe specific tribute to its terms. What is universal to all faiths is not Christian simply, and we have no philosophic right to its exclusive adoption under that name. So far as Mr. Ames is a virtuous man, I claim he is Buddhist, Jew, Confucian, and Christian, after the conditions of the several teachings. And yet the very diversity of possible titles for such a person makes a higher phrase or classification necessary. Therefore, when Clifford spoke for Humanity as the vaster force, he grasped the final truth.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

BOOK NOTICES.

A LARGER HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA to the Close of President Jackson's Administration. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson, author of *Young Folks' History of the United States*. Illustrated by maps, plans, portraits, and other engraving. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

Mr. Higginson tells us in his preface that he has been repeatedly urged by readers, and even by parents and teachers,—why he says "even" we cannot conceive,—to tell the story of the nation over again upon a much larger scale than that of his *Young Folks' History*. He has now done this "after waiting long enough to make sure of a wholly fresh treatment instead of a mere amplification." He further tells us that, if this book is destined to excite any such interest as his other on the same subject, it will be mainly because the theme appears to him, and has always appeared, "more important, more varied, more picturesque, and more absorbingly interesting than any historical subject offered by the world beside." These are brave words, to which we heartily respond, but with a difference. Mr. Higginson does not say that the success of his book depends upon the essential importance, variety, and picturesqueness of his theme, but on his apprehension of these things, which is much nearer to the truth. The essential importance, variety, and picturesqueness of our history have confronted many others who have endeavored to interpret it. But they have not had Mr. Higginson's eyes to see these things, or, if they have been generally convinced of them, they have not had the wit to seize upon those elements which must convince the reader of their reality. The word "mainly," as used by Mr. Higginson in the sentence above quoted, is, however, significant of much. For the success his book will certainly achieve will not be owing altogether to his faith in his theme and his perception of the relative merits of its various parts, but in no small degree to the very exceptional beauty of his style, its perfect clearness and its subtle charm.

There is need of men like Freeman and our second Bancroft, who select a special period and exhaust it so completely that their work is final in its chosen range. But it may be questioned whether "the greatest good of the greatest number" is not more obviously effected by those who take the *memoires pour servir* which these specialists furnish, and condense them into a much smaller shape, and give to it that touch of formal beauty without which no history is literature in the higher sense. Mr. Higginson's work is of this secondary sort. It stands to reason that he has been no such delver as Parkman, for example. But he has no such help as Parkman's for many sections of his history, and in these must frequently have been compelled to undertake the labor of original research. Moreover, he has the keenest possible appreciation of the value of original impressions. The journals of the old discoverers and explorers have, for him, a great attraction; and he enriches his pages with many apt quotations. The same is true of his relation to contemporary political discussion. Nothing that he could write would be so convincing of the bitterness of partisan feeling in 1797 as the passage which he quotes at the end of his thirteenth chapter.

Mr. Higginson's is "a larger history of the United States" in comparison with his earlier volume, but it is still so brief that we should like to be assured that he will some day write a *largest* history. But first,

of course, the promise must be kept of the last sentence of the present work, where, speaking of the anti-slavery conflict, he says, "These pages may well close, for the present, with the dawn of that great revolution." "For the present"! So we may hope for another volume, of which the principal burden will be the anti-slavery conflict, all of which Mr. Higginson saw and a very noble part of which he was. Whether the space allotted to the different sections of the work is relatively well-proportioned is easier to doubt than to decide. The complaint is constant that our peculiarly national history is neglected for its antecedent stages. Whether, in view of this complaint, a fuller treatment of the time from Washington's presidency to Jackson's would not have been better, is at least an open question. But, everywhere, Mr. Higginson has been obliged to practise self-denial. The conspiracy of Pontiac, to which Mr. Parkman has accorded two volumes, which Mr. John Fiske considers the most interesting since Herodotus, Mr. Higginson has disposed of in a single sentence. His reason for this brevity is excellent. The conspiracy of Pontiac was a tremendous after-clap: the storm had really ended with the victory of Wolfe upon the Heights of Abraham.

Mr. Higginson has written not merely a history of wars and politics, but a history of the American people, of their various and complex development. He has not disdained to treat of their dress and manners. Some of his most interesting pages dwell with affection on these lighter themes. While he treats the Federalists fairly, and indignantly denies that Hamilton would have set up a monarchy in America, if he could have done so, his sympathies are more enlisted by their Democratic opponents than those of the majority of the writers who have written for the current series of "American Statesmen." He has Jefferson's faith in the people, not Hamilton's distrust of them; and the phrase "cowardice of culture" is significant from one whose culture is not excelled by that of any living American.

Of the many illustrations in the book, the most valuable are the full-page portraits of the Presidents and of a few distinguished statesmen. The art of wood-engraving is at its best in these portraits. The least successful is that of Henry Clay. In this dull and sodden face there is not a suggestion of the brilliant politician who was for twenty years a candidate for the presidency. Webster is represented in his glorious prime. Many of the other illustrations are calculated to attract younger readers, for whom the text is made inviting by its absolute clearness and the multiplicity of its picturesque details. Take it for all in all, here is a book that we would have in every household of our land. We would have parents read it to their children by the evening lamp, at once correcting the intolerable heresy that ours is not a fascinating history, and presenting an ideal of literary form that cannot fail to purify and exalt the taste of all who come within the circle of its perfect charm.

J. W. C.

POETS OF AMERICA. By Edmund Clarence Stedman. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 516. Price \$2.25.

This is one of the most notable among recent contributions to American literature, and is destined to become a standard work, marking as it does a definite era in the history of American poetry. Some ten years ago, Mr. Stedman gave evidence of his fine critical ability in his volume entitled *Victorian Poets*, which was intended to be a sort of prelude to this elaborate later work. "The earlier treatise," says the author, in his introduction, "was essential to it, and, in fact, the most expedient preliminary task that could be chosen. The modern conditions [of poetry], as far as they relate to both countries, could be observed more directly in England than in America, their stress being there of earlier origin and less diffused. My previous synopsis of them now has only to be condensed and supplemented by discussion of those other conditions that are peculiar to this country alone."

The present volume is a masterly and exhaustive critical review of American poetry from its first crude offerings until the present time, dwelling, however, principally "upon the careers and productions of leading poets whose reputations are long established, and who, on the whole, fairly represent the various tendencies of American song." These "leading poets" he treats of in the following order,—Bryant, Whit-

tier, Emerson, Longfellow, Poe, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman, and Bayard Taylor. In the chapters entitled "Early and Recent Conditions," "Growth of the American School," and "The Outlook," he considers the lesser poets singly or in groups, giving them more or less prominence according as he ranks them as distinguished in their art. The omission, as is partly necessitated by his being the author, of his own name from the list, is a loss to the future reader, since Mr. Stedman has a definite rank in poetry, which, in a work of this kind, should have been acknowledged.

Some may be surprised that among the leading poets the name of Walt Whitman should be included; but Mr. Stedman gives good reasons for including him, and, while he deals relentlessly with the manifold faults and shortcomings of Whitman, he yet says, "As to my conclusion on this point, I may as well say now that both instinct and judgment, with our Greek choruses in mind, and Pindar and the Hebrew bards, long since led me to number him among the foremost lyric and idyllic poets"; and, also, "Of our living poets, I should think him most sure of an intermittent remembrance hereafter, if not of a general reading. Of all, he is the one most sure—waiving the question of his popular fame—to be now and then examined; for, in any event, his verse will be revived from time to time by dilettants on the hunt for curious treasures in the literature of the past, by men who will reprint and elucidate him, to join their names with his, or to do for this singer what their prototypes have done for François Villon, for the author of 'Joseph and his Brethren,' and for William Blake."

While Mr. Stedman has many kind words to say, in a general way, of the women poets of America, he yet evidently has not found any one pre-eminent among them, and a few pages only of this volume are devoted to a consideration of their claims; but he dashes off flattering sketches of quite a number of women poets in those few pages, saying of some of the earlier of these: "The female voices early added softness and, at times, strength to the general song. The names of Maria Lowell, Mrs. Osgood, Mrs. Whitman, the Cary sisters, Mrs. Judson, Mrs. Sewall, Elizabeth Lloyd Howell, Mrs. Oakes Smith, Mrs. E. C. Kinney, and Mrs. Botta, some of whom have passed away, are cherished by not a few." Of Celia Thaxter, he writes thus: "The zest, the enchanting glamour of Northern coast-life, are known to Celia Thaxter, our daughter of the isles. Her 'sprayey stanzas' give us the dip of the sea-bird's wing, the foam and tangle of ocean, varied interpretations of clambering sunrise mists and evening's fiery cloud above the main." In another of these sketches, he describes Elizabeth Stuart Phelps as possessing "a deeply religious nature" which, "warring with its own doubts, leads her on adventurous paths. That she is essentially a poet was evident from her prose long before she made a collection of verse. She is the modern vine from a Puritan stock, subject to inherited tendencies, but yielding blossoms of feminine grace and aspiration." Mr. Stedman believes that the present marks the close of an era in American poetry. He says on page 457: "The belief scarcely can be resisted that there is, if not a decadence, at least a poetic interregnum, as compared with the past, and measuring our advance in sundry fields of activity. As I have said, the first influence is ended: there is a pause before the start and triumph of another." It may be that the fact of "our advance" in other "fields of activity," such, for instance, as those of science and philosophy, may be the cause of this decadence in poetic imagination. No one who knows Mr. Stedman as poet or author needs to be told that this his latest offering is delightful as well as instructive reading. All would-be poets should read this work before essaying any further verse-making, as part of their education in their vocation, and to learn how much it means to be a poet in the best sense of the word.

An ample and careful index adds much to the value of this work, making instant reference easy. It is clearly printed, with wide margins and helpful marginal notes.

S. A. U.

ULYSSES PANHELLEN. Julius Ferrette. Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes. 1886.

Rev. Julius Ferrette, who attracted much attention some years ago as a liberal writer and lecturer, and who has apparently left this country for

Europe, has just sent out, in a handsomely printed pamphlet of ninety-two pages, a Greek poem of 617 hexameters, in which are contained all the roots in the language, to the number of about 3,150. The work was originally written by Girardeau, a French scholar of the last century. The present editor has improved the versification, inserted an interlinear translation, given the gender and nominative case of every noun, and first person, present tense, indicative mood, of every verb, prefixed a table of contents, and added an alphabetical index. Thus, he has furnished what will probably prove a very valuable text-book. Any one familiar with Latin might thus teach himself Greek, with no other aid than that of some simple grammar. The work deserves to be widely known, and will undoubtedly be made so by the influential publisher.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. are early in the field with new calendars for 1886. The popular Emerson Calendar is reissued, with selections from America's leading poet entirely new, with fresh designs on the calendar faces. These consist of a portrait of Emerson, one of the best and strongest we have ever seen. The symbolic pine-tree, combined with lilies and pansies, is among the prominent illustrations. The Whitney Calendar will, we are sure, be very popular among our girls, for whose benefit Mrs. Whitney mainly writes; and extracts from her teachings will be gladly welcomed as a daily reminder of her by many girl-readers. The design is unique, tasteful, and appropriate. These calendars are nine by twelve inches in size. Price \$1.00 each.

THERE is now in press, at the establishment of L. Prang & Co., the enterprising art publishers, a large souvenir tableau of Gen. Grant by Mr. T. de Thulstrup, whose battle pictures in the war articles of the *Century* magazine were so much admired by old veterans for their lifelike truthfulness. The work shows in the centre a portrait of Gen. Grant as he was known to his army in 1865, surrounded by vignettes representing his military career from West Point to Appomattox. Messrs. Prang have also in contemplation the publication of a series of war pictures by the same artist, which will be welcome to all, now that the animosities of the strife are forgotten, and the war has passed into history.

A SERIAL story entitled "Ireland," begun in the last issue of *Liberty*, is translated from the French of the novelist Georges Santon; and the work is now running as a *feuilleton* in Henri Rochefort's daily journal, *L'Intransigeant*. The author's purpose is to give a faithful picture, in a romantic frame, of one phase of Ireland's struggle for independence.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS the *Ottawa Free Press*: "In accordance with the decision arrived at by the courts in Toronto, barbers are allowed to shave on Sunday mornings as a work of necessity, but not to cut hair."

THE Bishop of Peterborough, in defending the establishment, says that there are one hundred and seventy-four different religious sects in London alone, and asks whether "the Church" is to be reduced to a level with them.

THE *Boston Transcript* justly remarks that "to condense all the news bearing on politics, trade, commerce, art, and literature, to make room for elaborate reports of disgusting divorce trials, or for the details of a murder in which only a morbid mind can find satisfaction, is doing an injustice to respectable readers, and a positive harm to those of natures capable of being influenced by such reading."

MR. ANGELL, of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, has delivered several addresses before the Boston public schools, on the treatment of animals; and he will, by the permission of the school committee, given by unanimous vote, continue these addresses on nearly every school day for the next three months, taking one school a day and devoting to each one hour. The work of Mr. Angell and of the Society of which he is President is a most humane one, and deserves encouragement and support.

LAST Sunday, Mr. Horace Seaver, of the *Investigator*, who succeeded Abner Kneeland as editor of that paper nearly half a century ago, gave a lecture at the Paine Memorial Hall on "Fifty Years' Experience in Liberalism," which abounded in reminiscences of a very interesting character.

The lecture was before the Ingersoll Secular Society, the name of which, in honor of the long and unrewarded services of the veteran editor of the *Investigator*, ought to be called the Seaver Secular Society. That would be both alliterative and appropriate.

THE Irish leaders have issued a manifesto to the Irish voters of Great Britain, advising them to support the Conservative candidates in all districts where Nationalist sympathizers are not represented in the nominations. It is believed that they foresee Gladstone will have a majority and take this method of reducing it to as low a figure as possible, so as to enable them to hold the balance of power in the next House.

If we can rely on the abstracts which have been given the public of the papal decrees soon to be sent to the Catholic clergy, the sale and use of intoxicating liquor will be forbidden at all entertainments held under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, and refusal at all times to deal in intoxicating liquors will be made obligatory on the part of Catholics. If the Catholic Church takes this decided ground on the temperance question, its moral influence will be greatly augmented.

AT the National Rabbinical Convention of the Reformed Hebrew Church, lately held at Allegheny City, Pa., Dr. Kohler, of New York, said that their movement contemplated the doing away with some of the traditional features of Judaism, such as the belief in a return to Palestine, and the elimination of all that gives Judaism an Oriental or a merely national character. He recommended that those parts of the Pentateuch referring to certain subjects which make them unfit to be read in public or placed in the hands of children be expunged, and the rite of circumcision be denounced as a relic of barbarism which had come down from savage Africa. The platform adopted was in most respects fully abreast of the most advanced Hebrew thought; but the question of the admission of proselytes without the rite of circumcision was gravely taken up, and a committee of five, consisting of Rabbis Wise, Hirsch, Sale, and Sonneschein, were appointed, with instructions to report at the next meeting. Dr. Kohler's remarks on this subject have aroused a good deal of bitter feeling among the orthodox, and even among some of the reformed Hebrews.

THE Bowdoin Square Baptist Society, having found their pastor guilty of "grossly immoral conduct," voted last week to dismiss him "from the office of minister and from the employ of the society." On the same evening, the adherents of the minister gave him a surprise party at his home. There were about a hundred present, many of them women, and not a few of them young girls. The exercises were opened with singing, which was followed by prayer, after which a purse containing \$70 was presented to the pastor, who made a speech, in which he said: "There is only one thing I would do differently, and that is to go armed. That is all I would do

differently; and, with the knowledge I have now, those who should attack me would get the consequence in the honor of God." The announcement that he would preach in Music Hall was sufficient to secure him an audience last Sunday of some three thousand people, evidently attracted by the unsavory reputation of the preacher, whose witty and suggestive allusions to the circumstances of his recent arrest and the offence with which he is charged have proved quite effective in drawing a crowd whenever he has of late been announced to speak. One of the reports states that "several people seemed to obtain much quiet satisfaction from contemplating the parson through opera-glasses, and trying to decide which among the crowd of bonnet-wearers seated on the stage was Mrs. Taber,"—the woman whose husband recently obtained a divorce from her on account of her relations with Mr. Downs. The sermon was in the usual style of this preacher, but less offensive to decency than some that have been reported of late.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, widely known as an early abolitionist, as a radical free thinker, an insurance actuary,—the most notable in the country,—and as a philanthropic and public-spirited citizen, died suddenly last Saturday of paralysis at his home in Medford, Mass., aged eighty-one years and nine months. We were in conversation with Mr. Wright but a few days before his death, when he seemed to be in excellent health and spirits, and, considering his years, remarkably vigorous in mind and body. He was, we are informed, active up to the day of his death. Mr. Wright was born in South Canaan, Conn., was graduated at Yale College, was four years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio, five years secretary of the American Anti-slavery Society, and subsequently editor of anti-slavery papers, among which was the *Chronotype*,—an outcome of the difference between him and Mr. Garrison as to the best method of opposing slavery. From 1858 to 1866, he was insurance commissioner of Massachusetts. Mr. Wright was interested in literature, and in 1841 published a translation, in two volumes, of La Fontaine's *Fables*, and a few years later edited a London edition of Whittier's "Poems and Ballads," and wrote several pamphlets which attracted attention at the time. For some years, he was a contributor to *The Index*, whose position in the controversy in regard to postal laws and indecent literature he opposed. On that issue, he was elected president of the National Liberal League in 1878, in place of Mr. Abbot. Mr. Wright had profound respect for the rights of his fellow-men, but the judicial spirit he did not possess in a large degree; and he was not always wise in his defence of measures or of men. His sincerity and the purity of his motives were beyond question. He was an atheist, and had the courage of his convictions. His independent spirit, philanthropic disposition, and upright and honorable life commanded the respect of all who knew him.

THE CHURCH QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

In the election campaign now progressing in Great Britain, the question of disestablishing the English Church has come suddenly to the front, and appears to excite more interest and to call forth more popular feeling than any other issue. This question, at first sight, seems to have been projected into the campaign by accident. It was not in debate during the last Parliament; it formed no part of the matters which so sorely troubled the last administration of Gladstone, and on account of which the Gladstone ministry finally gave way to Lord Salisbury's. But Lord Salisbury's administration adhered so closely to the practical policy of the Liberal ministry which it had displaced that no very distinct issue was left on which the battle of the new elections was to be fought. In this confused state of affairs, the party leaders, in their first speeches of the campaign, appear to have thrown out their individual ideas almost at random, leaving them to crystallize by some law of natural selection into a platform. Thus, Mr. Chamberlain, along with other things equally prominent, mentioned the disestablishment of the English Church as a work to which the Liberal party might set its hand; and Mr. Gladstone, in his more formal enunciation of the principles of his party, spoke of disestablishment as one of the political necessities of the future which the nation must prepare for, though it would come after his time and could hardly be considered a present issue.

But, to the surprise, probably, of these leaders themselves, this point was the one most immediately seized upon for an issue in the pending contest. The Tories immediately took advantage of it, because it gave them just the opportunity they coveted for rousing the entire conservative spirit of the country against the revolutionary tendencies of the Liberal party; and, on the other hand, no statement in the Liberal manifesto called forth so much approving enthusiasm from the heart of the people as this. Here was something which the large class of voters, whom the extended franchise will take to the polls this year for the first time, could readily understand,—something which immediately touched their daily interests and affairs, as did not the English policy in Egypt or Afghanistan. The consequence is that the campaign is being actually fought on this issue of "the dim and distant future," as Mr. Gladstone called it. As many as four hundred Liberal candidates for Parliament are said to have pledged themselves to the principle of disestablishment of the English Church. Whatever may be the result of the contest, so far as the next Parliament is concerned,—and it looks now as if English conservatism, which is greatly roused, would prevail,—it would not be strange if the question of disestablishment should be forced directly into prominence for marking the line of separation between the Liberal and Tory parties in the immediate future,—perhaps, to a considerable extent, reorganizing the parties for this special conflict.

Yet, though this question has come so unexpectedly into the arena of English politics, it comes really by no accident. It is there because of the logical march of history. Its appearance only marks the advance of liberty and justice to claim their own. That, at so slight a summons from party leaders, so strong a feeling for ecclesiastical disestablishment should manifest itself, only shows what a force had been spontaneously gathering in the popular heart. It required but a touch to open the sluice-way, behind which the pent-up flood of popular dissatisfaction with the Church was ready to burst into utterance. If

it be true, as stated, that the response to what the leaders threw out, as if tentatively, about disestablishment, has come especially from the new voters,—the farmers and others of the laboring class, who are now first admitted to the polls,—this fact is a condemnation of the English Church, which tells volumes in respect to its attitude and methods toward this large class of population. Mr. Miall, the writer of a strong article in the *London Times*, setting forth the reasons for putting all churches on a level so far as the State is concerned, says that it ought not to excite surprise that the agricultural population on receiving the franchise should not only vote for the Liberal party, but should make disestablishment "the first article of their creed." These laborers, he says, have always seen the clergy, for the most part, strenuously opposing "every measure for civil and religious freedom which is now inscribed on the statute-book." Twelve thousand of the clergy vehemently protested only seven years ago against permitting nonconformist services in parochial burying-grounds. These clergy are generally charitable and kind. They have sent coal and blankets to the poor, soup to the hungry, castor-oil as well as tracts to the sick. But what, Mr. Miall asks,—quoting both question and answer from one of their own number,—"What has been the net result?" "You clergy of the Established Church," says Joseph Arch, "have had the agricultural laborers in hand at any rate for three hundred years, to do pretty much what you liked with; and what have you made of them?" Until quite lately, could the answer be anything but this,—a class of men the stolid helplessness of whose ignorance has become proverbial?"

The *New York Nation*, from whose columns we have taken these extracts from Mr. Miall's article, adds: "The worst of this terrible indictment is that it is every word true. The connection of the Church with the State in England has produced a body of clergy who have never been equalled in any country, taken as a whole, for culture, learning, and social gifts and graces. But, as the agents for the diffusion of religion and morality among the poor, or for the reconciliation of religion with social and political progress, they have succeeded no better than, if so well as, the Catholic clergy of the continent." In other words, while the clergy have been kindly and cultivated, they have been distinguished as a class by themselves, with little effective sympathy for the elevation and general enlightenment of those below them, and with no appreciation whatever of the doctrine of equal political privilege. They have become a caste separated from the body of their parishioners, and allied to the aristocracy. Let them rise high enough in the regular line of promotion, and they become *ex-officio* members of the House of Lords. They have come to be regarded, therefore, as worldly and self-indulgent; as representing a religion of luxury and wealth and fine houses, but offering to the poor, if remembering them at all, charity instead of justice.

Not all liberal and rationalistic thinkers, however, take the side of disestablishment of the English Church. It is understood that our friend and contributor, Mr. Conway, does not. If we have interpreted aright the occasional intimations of his views on this topic, he takes the ground that the English Church is so rapidly becoming liberalized, and, under the leadership of the broad-minded and true-hearted men who are already getting recognition as foremost in its affairs, will be in a position, through its wealth, culture, and prestige, to do such an immense work for truth and humanity that the opportunity for such a ser-

vice should not be lost by now robbing the Church of that power which it derives from alliance with the State. The prospect may be tempting; but how can Liberalism yield to the temptation without denying one of its most fundamental principles,—namely, that the State should treat the religious beliefs of all its citizens with impartiality? Perhaps Mr. Conway will take occasion to give the readers of *The Index* his real views on the question. A statement from him will be most welcome.

WM. J. POTTER.

VICTOR HUGO AND THE UNKNOWN.

An interesting volume of Victor Hugo's *Table Talk*, collected by M. Richard Lesclide, has just been published here.* M. Lesclide was for many years the poet's friend, secretary, and guest; and every night he noted with the fidelity of a Boswell the acts and sayings of "the master." The last chapter of the collection is entitled "Religion," and throws much new light on the mysticism of Victor Hugo. I propose to limit my notice of the book to this single chapter.

In his youth, Victor Hugo was a devout Catholic, and frequently confessed. But, when he had attained his full mental powers, doubts began to take possession of him; and he confided his troubles to his spiritual director. "Wait a year before you come to any decision," was the request made by the latter; and the young man agreed to do so. At the expiration of the term, Victor Hugo called on the priest; but it was not now the latter who asked, "Well, my son?" but the former, who, taking in his own the two hands of the ecclesiastic, exclaimed ardently, "Well, my father?" For this spiritual director was named Lamennais, and he had just broken with the Church!

Spiritualists have often claimed Victor Hugo as one of their own. Such a letter as the following gives them some ground for the assertion. It was written to a mother heart-broken at the death of her child. "Be comforted," wrote the poet: "it is only a separation,—a separation for us. The dead are not even absent: they are simply invisible. Every time you think of your baby-boy, he will be near you." M. Lesclide confesses, in his comments on this letter, that Victor Hugo had a leaning toward Spiritualism; but he adds, "This is certain, that he found fault with the exaggeration of the doctrine, and considered it very dangerous for weak-minded people." It will be remembered that Horace Greeley held exactly these same views concerning modern Spiritualism.

Washington Irving has said that we are all more or less superstitious, and Victor Hugo offers another proof of the correctness of the assertion. On this point, M. Lesclide writes: "The only superstition that Victor Hugo would admit himself guilty of was that of sitting down thirteen, himself included, at the table. He would not discuss the question, but would simply relate a multitude of cases and circumstances in which the number thirteen had proved fatal to himself and his sons. At his dinner parties, therefore, you never saw thirteen covers. If by any chance the contrary happened, the children were put at a side-table, which, by the way, did not always please them. We were twelve yesterday (January, 1879), when a gentleman from Russia came expressly to see Victor Hugo. I took my hat, and gave him my place. But this did not avert the evil. Little Jeanne, going too near the grate, set her dress on fire, which created a consternation in the house. The accident was hidden from the grandfather, who supposed that the little girl was kept in bed

* *Propos de Table de Victor Hugo*. Paris: E. Dentu, Palais-Royal.

by a cold. He went to see her several times a day. 'But you don't cough,' he remarked. 'Oh, no,' answered very cleverly the child, who was in the secret, 'because you are there; but, when you go away, I will begin.'

While Victor Hugo admired the Bible as a literary and historical work, he saw nothing sacred in it, and was always ready to poke fun at its absurdities. M. Lesclide, for instance, was telling one evening how his learned friend, M. Félix de Sauley, in his voyage around the Dead Sea, had discovered the stone on which Joshua stood when he commanded the sun to stand still. "What is the importance attached to this stone, that the text should mention it with such precision?" asked somebody who was present. "Why," replied Victor Hugo, laughing, "it enabled the Hebrew general to get nearer the sun when he spoke to it!"

Although Victor Hugo was a pronounced free thinker, he was not a bigot. M. Lesclide gives us a pretty scene where the poet is sitting on a sofa, of an evening, teaching Jeanne, kneeling in her night-dress at his side, to say her prayers. "In this supplication," writes M. Lesclide, "which differed from all known liturgies, Jeanne asked God for wisdom and the virtue of obedience; she commended to his care her dead father, her uncle François Hugo, who was then ill, and all those with whom she lived, and who loved her. I begged her not to forget me; and she forthwith gave me a place in her prayer, which was often interrupted by naïve reflections. She did not want to say a good word for her brother, who had struck her during the day; but her better nature finally got the upper hand, and Georges was forgiven."

One day, when he was up for election, a delegate from one of the revolutionary societies of Paris called, and in the name of his fellow-members complained rather rudely of Victor Hugo's theistical ideas. "I would like to know," said the delegate, "whether you stand by us or the priests." "I stand by my conscience," answered the poet. "Is that your final answer?" began again the exasperated visitor: "if so, it is very probable that you will not be elected." "That will not be my fault," said the candidate, calmly. "Come, now," continued his self-appointed catechiser, "there is no middle course: you must choose between us and God." "Well," was the response, "I'll take God!"

Victor Hugo always treated the clergy with respect, and consequently had more than one friend among them. An admirer happened to send him two magnificent large sea-shells on the very day that his daughter Adèle, who is now, by the way, an inmate of a private insane asylum near Paris, partook of her first communion. The beautiful presents were placed in the dining-room of his house in the Place Royale, where the poet then lived. The Abbé Levée, who sometimes sat down at the family table, was charmed with these shells. "What beautiful holy-water basins they would make!" he exclaimed one day. "Do me the honor, Monsieur le Curé, to accept them for your parish church," said the host. The prelate returned many thanks; and a short time afterward the shells might have been seen fastened to one of the pillars of St. Paul's, in the Rue St. Antoine, with this inscription on a brass tablet under them: "Presented by the Viscount Hugo, peer of France, on the occasion of the first communion of his daughter Adèle." The tablet was removed in 1851, because the Empire saw in it a commendation of "the Exile of Guernsey."

I shall close this series of extracts from this interesting volume, which affords so many fresh glimpses into the home-life and inner man of the noble poet, with this description of the priesthood: "The priests are my enemies, simply because they

know that my belief is juster and sincerer than theirs. Some of them are honest in their opinions, and I only pity them. For I understand the struggle they have with doubt, *à propos* of a dogma which imposes on them ridiculous tenets. They are forced, in consequence, to debase their reason before what they call mysteries, and to justify their conduct by this terrible confession: I believe because it is absurd! They imagine that they are pleasing God by sacrificing to him their noblest faculties and the right of examination, which is inseparable from the human conscience."

THEODORE STANTON.

CHANCE OR DESIGN.

Neither alternative need be accepted by the agnostic. Both theories may be rejected together as not sufficiently proved. I am no worshipper of Chance, but I must say that the objections to admitting its agency have been overstated. Dr. Peabody told the Concord School of Philosophy, last summer, that there are millions of millions of chances to one against the probability of the requisite number of letters having been so arranged by chance as to form *Paradise Lost*, and that the burden of improbability is far greater—in fact, inconceivably great—against the supposition that the elements of the universe could have come without some guiding plan into their present form. This is perfectly true, and it is also true that the probabilities are greatly against my throwing double-six three times in succession at backgammon. But I have done just this, and it was as easy as making any other three throws. Double-six was just as probable each time as anything else. There is exactly as great a probability of the requisite number of letters coming into the form of *Paradise Lost* by chance as there is of their falling into any other arrangement. There is one chance out of millions of millions in favor of any conceivable disposition; and thus Milton's is just as probable as any other, according to the doctrine of chances. That the elements of our universe should have assumed their present form is, at least, as likely to be the result of chance as their taking any other form would have been. According to the probabilities, any one form was just as likely as any other; and it is conceivable that the present form may have proved more capable of continuance than did other forms which preceded it. Suppose again that, in playing a series of games of backgammon, I always put down the double-sixes, but no other throw. In time, I make out a long list of these lucky hits. Now, if this memorandum were picked up by a stranger, he might say: "Here's a man who has thrown nothing but double-sixes. He has used loaded dice." It is only such ignorance that has led to the saying that the dice of Nature are always loaded. If a wild cat has among her kittens one peculiarly fit and another peculiarly unfit to take care of itself, it is easy to see which will probably survive long enough to leave a large progeny like itself. Thus, the lucky hits of the law of spontaneous variation are recorded under the law of the survival of the fittest. It looks as if Nature threw only double-sixes; but the fact is that these throws make an enduring impression, and others do not. It should also be remembered that mere fitness for survival does not necessarily imply moral excellence. I plant flowers where Nature plants weeds. If both are left to themselves, only the weeds survive. Is the superior fitness of weeds for survival the result of their intrinsic excellence? Is it any more a part of the divine plan than my throwing double-six instead of deuce-ace?

And there are much more serious objections to

the argument from design. Our character is largely moulded by the pressure of natural rewards and punishments. These encourage us to be prudent and cautious. They do not tell us to be generous. Their great commandment is, "Look out for number one." They punish us far more severely for losing our footing than for losing our temper. They make it much more unsafe to fill the mouth with malaria than with falsehood. They threaten us for exposing our own lives, with however high a motive, but not for taking the life of our neighbor. They do put a heavy penalty on seduction; but it falls on the victim, not the seducer. In many cases of unchastity, the natural penalty is slight compared with that of dwelling in marshy locations or drinking impure water. No wonder that men and women grow selfish as they grow old. These natural rewards and punishments are not, of course, designed to teach selfishness. It is for the believer in design to say what is their intention. He owes it to himself, also, to explain why it is that so much immorality is caused by insanity, which, in most cases, comes by inheritance or from accidents or mistakes, involving no deficiency of virtue. "The primary symptom in all insanities is perversion of the moral sense," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Kleptomania, dipsomania, erotomania, and insane tendencies to commit suicide and homicide are so often inflicted on innocent victims that it is very hard to see how such a spontaneous growth of vice can be designed or even permitted by God. A righteous will must, as such, work against all natural forces tending to make virtuous men, women, and children vicious. Who would say that Mary Lamb's killing her mother was a mark of design? Might not its absence be supposed with greater reverence? And why pass over another fact which Emerson admits, in spite of his optimism? We all know that the passion on which depends the perpetuation of our race has much longer duration and greater strength than is needed for this purpose. Who can measure the amount of vice and suffering thus inflicted on mankind? Who dares say that it is all designed and intended? There is much more irreligion in supposing so than in believing this evil—like those produced by insanity and by the working of natural rewards and punishments—to be simply the inevitable results of the fixed properties of mind and matter. We shrink from admitting design, when it would be less like Ormuzd than Ahriman. But, after all, we know so little about the character and the purposes of an Infinite and Incomprehensible God that we have no right to say, "This is worthy of him, and must be a mark of design; but that is unworthy of his special purposes, and must be merely an incidental result of general providence." It is a poor rule that will not work both ways. If any natural phenomenon shows marks of design, all phenomena do, without exception; and all their indications must be accepted, however inconsistent with received theology. The earthquake is as divine as the sunrise. There is as much revelation in the cancer as in the rose. The workings of insanity are guided by the same hand as those of true religion or free institutions. If we find we cannot extend the theory of design to all natural occurrences, we should not take its activity for granted anywhere. We have no right to say: "God is not here, but only there. His will reaches so far as to cause this, but not so far as to bring about that." Wiser far to admit that a design framed by infinite wisdom would necessarily be too vast for us to be able to detect any of its marks.

F. M. HOLLAND.

REJOINDER TO ORTHODOX CRITICISM.

I have lately re-read, with intense interest, the early reports of the Free Religious Association. Occasionally, at that time, some representative of the popular religion would use the freedom offered by the Association to criticise its ideas and movements. As one of the objections thus made accurately expresses the feeling still existing in many members of the orthodox church, a reply to it, even now, may not be untimely.

In the afternoon session of the second annual meeting of the Free Religious Association, 1869, Mr. Gustave Watson rose in the audience, and made some comments by way of criticism upon the Association and its speakers. Among other things, he said:—

"Show us your fruits, when you come round again next year. You do not allude, in your annual report, to a single one whom you have turned from the error of his ways,—from a careless life of indulgence to a life of purpose and consecration. I do not know how many minds you have brought round, but you have not shown us one; while many a minister of Christ will show you a long roll of those whom he has turned from darkness to light."

The test which our friend proposed is a just one. We hold, not less than he does, to the doctrine that "by their fruits ye shall know them." We ought, certainly, to accomplish something in the way of turning men from error, and leading them from darkness to light; and we see some evidence of such accomplishment. True, we do not advertise a list of converts; and, if we did, it would be small, as such lists were in the early years of every foreign mission sent out by the American board with the long name. For, it must be remembered, our work in New England encounters from the clergy and churches of the popular religion an opposition as intense and inveterate and unscrupulous as any foreign missionary meets in any heathen country. Moreover, our success in proselytism could never be expressed in lists of names, because, our object being to lead men to accept and put in practice all truth, however, whenever, and wherever it may be made known, we cannot, as the churches do, make an exhaustive list of the things essential for belief and practice, and require of our members perpetual fidelity to that, without addition, diminution, or change of any sort. Our work must necessarily be a slowly progressive one; and its beginnings in any mind must often be unconscious of the subject of it, since much of the truth we publish is part of the progress of civilization, and may be absorbed unawares from the environment. Witness Mr. Gustave Watson, who, while demanding evidence of our "fruits," was blissfully unconscious that he himself was one of them. It was from our influence that he had gained freedom enough to attend our meeting, listen to what was said there, and speak his mind there in reply, contrary to the systematic habit of his church and clergy. Moreover, he told us in the beginning of his speech, "I am not opposed to the woman's rights movement."

Not to be opposed to one of the greatest reformatory movements of our age is no great merit; but, even of this small measure of improvement, it must be said that Mr. Watson did not get it from his church, which was then, as it always had been, bitterly opposed to that movement. The orthodox clergy of Boston published a "Pastoral Letter" expressly against it, and a "Clerical Appeal" assailed it as one of the great evils and dangers of the time. Mr. Watson must have imbibed the amount of liberality in question from

the influence of Lucretia Mott, or Lucy Stone, or some others of our members who taught so much of the doctrine of the Free Religious Association long before that Association was formed, and who, by the force of truth, have now so compelled public attention to that subject as to attract and enlighten a small proportion even of the members and ministers of orthodox churches.

The inveterate and unscrupulous opposition of the orthodox ministry to the ideas of the Free Religious Association, and their calumnies against the founders of it, both before and after its beginning, are of themselves sufficient to account for the slow diffusion of those ideas. The churches and congregations of those men, comprising much of the "respectability" of the community, having for years been told by the pulpit and the "religious" press that Emerson, Weiss, Frothingham, and their associates, were dangerous men, corrupters of the community, "infidels," etc., naturally echoed those calumnies, avoided the persons so characterized, and looked with suspicion and disapproval upon the Association afterward founded by them. Under such contumely and obstruction, the progress of a new society, small in numbers and poor in purse, was necessarily slow.

It is true, as Mr. Gustave Watson boasts, that many orthodox ministers can show long rolls of members led out of (what they call) darkness into (what they call) light. But the advantage of that transformation must depend on the genuineness of that "light" and the reality of that "darkness." Let us look at a few specimens of each.

Here are some of the things which the orthodox minister calls "darkness":—

1. Natural religion: such true ideas, high aspirations, good purposes, and conscientious action as may appear in any man or woman, irrespective of Biblical precepts or of church doctrines or customs.

2. The doctrines taught by Frothingham, Emerson, Higginson, and Weiss, of which the following are specimens, uttered in the very meeting which Mr. Watson characterized as one of denial, and not of affirmation.

The president of the Free Religious Association, Octavius B. Frothingham, declared the following to be one of its purposes: "The study of God's word and nature and operations and spirit in the whole world of organized fact,—fact brought to us by history, by science, by physics and metaphysics,—knowledge obtained with the whole apparatus and the whole power of reason."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, in the same meeting, described the foundations of his belief as follows: "That the Author of Nature has not left himself without a witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the universe was made; that we find parity, identity of design, through nature, and benefit, to be the uniform aim; that there is a force always at work to make the best better and the worst good."

T. W. Higginson in the same meeting stated his belief that "natural religion recognizes every voice of God that ever spoke through the soul of man." And "it is the personal communion of every soul with God that sustains spiritual life."

In the same meeting, John Weiss affirmed that "this is life eternal: to be so trained in soul and body that, wherever the spot may be, we shall find ourselves capable of doing God some service."

Mr. Watson's minister calls these teachers "infidels"; and Mr. Watson describes the meeting in which they uttered these sentiments as consisting chiefly of denial and wanting in affirmation.

Natural religion and the defence of it by the four men above named being stigmatized as "darkness" by the orthodox pulpit and press, let us look at some of the things which they claim as "light."

One of the specimens of light which the convert must assent to before the Church will receive him is the belief that, while there is but one God, at the same time the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.

Another specimen of light is the doctrine that two books, containing the precepts of two religions so different that the devotee of the former has to be converted before he can accept the latter, are the one authoritative and sufficient rule of faith and practice.

Another specimen of light is the doctrine that Sunday must be kept holy by public worship, in obedience to a command that Saturday shall be kept holy by rest; and this in spite of repeated declarations in book No. 2, which appoints no Sabbath of its own, that the Sabbatical law in book No. 1 is abrogated.

Another specimen of light is the theory and practice of the orthodox that God must be worshipped by weekly public prayer, in spite of the fact that their "Lord and Master" not only denounced public prayer, but expressly enjoined that prayer should be private.

These are but a few specimens of the false doctrines taught by the Orthodox Church, which Mr. Watson extols in contrast with the Free Religious Association. While that Church and its clergy so manifestly "put darkness for light and light for darkness," while they supply us with so many things of which truth and honesty require the denial, we cannot gratify them by abstaining from denial. We must needs remove the obstructions raised by their false doctrine, to make room for the affirmations of natural religion, which we teach.

C. K. WHIPPLE.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"A GLOWING friend," in the lines quoted from Emerson by Dr. Bowditch last week, should have been printed, "Ah! glowing friend."

A SERIES of sermons "in the interest of a religion of this world" on theoretical or practical questions of the day, including some of the great social problems, will be an important feature of Rev. M. J. Savage's winter's work.

THE three lectures by Rabbi Schindler, printed in *The Index* of November 12, 19, and 26, are being put in pamphlet form, and will be for sale at this office in a few days. Price 10 cents each; for the three, 25 cents; fifteen for \$1.00.

MR. GEORGE SCHUMM, whose present address is Watertown, Wis., informs us that he will enter the lecture field about the beginning of next year, and speak on some of the great issues of the day. Mr. Schumm is favorably known to the liberal public as the editor of the late *Radical Review*.

JAPAN has made education compulsory on all children between the ages of six and fourteen, "unless there be unavoidable circumstances preventing them from attending school." There must be thirty-two weeks of tuition, and the hours of instruction must be neither more nor less than six daily. The expenses are to be defrayed from the local taxes.

It is to be hoped that the series of discourses relating to the Jewish faith which are being delivered by the Rev. Solomon Schindler may ulti-

mately be published in permanent form. Their ability, clearness of thought, and their intimate relation to the present state of religious ideas combine to render them well worth preservation.—*Boston Sunday Courier.*

DR. PAUL CARUS, the German scholar, whose paper on "The Principles of Art," read before the Boston Metaphysical Club last week, elicited much praise from those who heard it, proposes to give Ten Readings, in German, of Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, with explanation and conversation in English, twice each week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, at 11 A.M., at his residence, No. 4 Boylston Place, beginning Tuesday, December 1.

THE *American Railroader* is the name of a new semi-monthly journal, edited by B. F. Henley, and published at 12 Vesey Street, New York. Although devoted especially to the interests of railroad employes, it is a journal of general value, dealing as it does very intelligently and in an independent spirit with the industrial and social questions of the day. Its low price, \$1.00 per year, brings it within the reach of thousands who would be instructed and greatly benefited by reading such a paper.

It would be difficult to compress into the same space more mean distortion of the truth and cowardly defamation of the dead than is contained in the following, clipped from the *New York Mail and Express*, in regard to one to whom every American owes a debt of gratitude: "For three-quarters of a century there has stood on the highway leading into New Rochelle a conspicuous monument inscribed to 'Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*.' It is an offence to every decent man that passes it. It is an attempt to honor a thoroughly dishonorable man, who was repeatedly dismissed from positions of confidence for breaches of trust, who uttered a most scandalous and virulent assault on George Washington, and who was one of the most blasphemous infidels that ever lived in trouble and died in dishonor."

SIXTY-EIGHT of the students of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, have been suspended for attending a Shakspearean play. This leads the *Cincinnati Graphic* to say: "It may be against the rules of the Methodist Church for a member to attend theatres; but the students are from all denominations, and many of them make no profession of religion at all, and why should these be subjected to the Methodist discipline? . . . It is well enough to have rules against hazing, gambling, drunkenness, profanity, and such practices as are recognized by all laws as cruel or immoral; but, further than that, an institution of learning cannot well go. Character and studiousness should determine the fitness of a pupil, not his opinion or practice in the matter of religion or worldly amusements."

COMMENTING on the edict of the *Presbyterian Church* denouncing the Sunday paper, the *Banner of Light* observes: "In olden time, but a very few of the human race could read, and old theology consequently ruled them with an iron sceptre. Time has changed all this. The people, or a very large majority of them, are now educated; and they feel that they have just as much right to read a newspaper on Sunday as on any other day, notwithstanding the seventh is called holy. This 'bull' is an exceedingly pathetic appeal to 'our Christian households,' but it won't avail. The people of the world are wide awake to-day,—they have been slumbering long enough!—and they are bound to know what is going on in it. This they can do by reading the daily papers, including those published on Sundays."

THIS paragraph is from the *Boston Herald* :—

In Greece, when philosophical and scientific speculation was at its highest point, and when education was conducted in its own vernacular, and not through dead languages, science, industry, and commerce were actively prosperous. Corinth carried on the manufactures of Birmingham and Sheffield, while Athens combined those of Leeds, Staffordshire, and London; for it had woollen manufactures, potteries, gold and silver work, as well as ship-building. Their philosophers were the sons of burghers, and sometimes carried on the trades of their fathers. Thales was a travelling oil merchant, who brought back science as well as oil from Egypt. Solon and his great descendant Plato, as well as Zeno, were men of commerce. Socrates was a stone mason, Thucydides a gold miner, Aristotle kept a druggist's shop until Alexander endowed him with the wealth of Asia. All but Socrates had a superfluity of wealth, and he was supported by that of others. Now, if our universities and schools created that love of science which a broad education would surely inspire, our men of riches and leisure who advance the boundaries of scientific knowledge could not be counted on the fingers as they now are, when we think of Boyle, Cavendish, Napier, Lyell, Murchison, and Darwin, but would be as numerous as our statesmen and orators.

MONROE'S *Ironclad Age*, after pointing out that one of the declared objects of the American Secular Union (National Liberal League) is "the distribution of free-thought literature," says: "The *Index* people, the original movers of the effort to 'secularize the State,' had the temerity to send a few copies of *The Index* to this Congress [at Cleveland], whose object was to unite all shades of sceptics, under the fascinating British title of the American Secular Union, in one grand, harmonious whole. But *The Index*, not being a free-thought paper, according to the new interpretation, was regarded as an intruder, and severely rebuked." The *Age* quotes what we said on the subject in *The Index* of November 12, and adds: "We were better posted than *The Index* people, and knew what kind of papers would be regarded as cheeky intruders by the worthy managers of the Congress. So 'nary' *Ironclad* was sent, for free or other distribution, there." We were sufficiently "posted" in the matter, but were less regardless than our esteemed Western friend of the wishes of the "leaders" to whom he refers; and we took care to send the paper to a gentleman whose sound judgment as to what constitutes free-thought literature obviated the necessity of his waiting for an "interpretation" by the leaders before proceeding to distribute copies of *The Index*, which, we have been pleased to learn, were thankfully received and read with evident interest and appreciation by many, including some whose names have since been added to our subscription list. The illiberality and littleness of a few individuals should not deter us from supplying liberal gatherings as far as possible, with good free-thought literature, especially when one of the declared objects is "the distribution of free-thought literature."

THE Chicago Society for Ethical Culture numbers at present about one hundred active members. Lectures are given at Haverly's Minstrel Theatre (formerly Hershey Music Hall), Sundays, at eleven A.M. The Ethical School has two divisions, meeting on alternate Tuesday afternoons at Judge Booth's, 505 West Lake Street, on the west side, and at Mr. Salter's place of residence, 323 Wells Street, on the north side. Each division includes two classes, one of children between the ages of twelve to fifteen, the other of older members. The Relief Work, inaugurated by the society, is yet separately organized, so that those who may not otherwise agree with the society may join in helping the sick and poor, to whom two nurses, gradu-

ates of the Illinois Training School for Nurses, devote their entire time. Auxiliary to the Relief Work is The Ladies' Union, which aims to furnish clothing, bedding, and other articles required by the nurses for their patients. The Young People's Union, to membership in which any one who belongs to the Ethical Society or the Relief Work is eligible, meets monthly for social and intellectual improvement. The publication of the society may be had by applying to C. J. Errant, 586 Wells Street. The officers of the society are Judge Henry Booth, president; Ernst Prussing, vice-president; Dr. A. B. Hosmer, secretary; and H. W. Palmer, treasurer. The lecturer, Mr. W. M. Salter, may be found at 6 Wabash Avenue, Mondays, from twelve to one; and at his place of residence, 323 Wells Street, Tuesday evenings. The officers of the society, in a printed circular, say: "It is felt that the society deserves a larger following, and should become an important factor in the religious life of the community. While the present members are willing to carry on the society alone, they feel they ought to have the assistance of other liberal-minded and earnest people here in Chicago. An appeal is made to all who believe in the religion of the deed rather than that of the creed to join its rank. No creed subscription is required; and, in case of pecuniary inability, the annual fee is willingly remitted. Those wishing to join may find application blanks at the Sunday lectures, or receive them by addressing the secretary, Dr. A. B. Hosmer, 70 Monroe Street."

TEDIUM VITAE. For The Index.

"The thing that has been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun."—*Ecclesiastes.*

On earth's surface, Mother Nature,
We have dwelt for many a year.
Weary of thy repetitions,
Yearn we for another sphere,
Travelling same unvarying circuit,
Blooming only to decay,
Constantly thyself renewing,
Tir'st thou guests too long who stay.

Come and go thy wonted seasons
In a swift-revolving round.
Death and birth and light and darkness
Alternating still are found.
Leafage of the jocund springtime
Autumn quickly turneth sere,
Fruitage of the tawny summer
Tides us over winter drear.

What is all this iteration
But a tale told o'er and o'er?
Still it ends in dull renewal
Of the same things evermore.
Blue sky, stars, and far-off mountains
Grand emotions in us stir;
But, to humble us, low instincts
And low daily wants recur.

What if after many aeons
Reachest thou a higher plane?
We shall, then, unsightly fossils
In some dark crypt long have lain.
Say, beyond the grave's dim portal
Us does higher life await?
To a changeless, grand hereafter,
Art thou vestibule and gate?

Useless 'tis for us, mute Mother,
Thee to question or arraign:
Busy with thy countless function,
Thou wilt answer never deign.
Inn for fleeting generations,
Rolleth earth about the sun:
Never-ending, still-beginning,
'Tis a race that ne'er is run.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 26, 1885.

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

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

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For The Index.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS.

LECTURE III.

"THE CARPENTER'S SON."

Delivered at the Temple Adath Israel, Boston, Oct. 16, 1885, by Rabbi Solomon Schindler.

It is not without some hesitation nor without some embarrassment that I step before you to-night to discuss the life and mission of a man who, though he sprang from Jewish parentage, and is said to have lived the life of a conscientious Jew, has been placed between our race and the rest of civilized humanity as a barrier to exclude us from a more intimate intercourse with our fellow-men; whose very name still alienates from us to-day the affection of our fellow-citizens, though nineteen centuries have almost passed since its bearer walked the ground of Palestine. Neither must I lose sight of the veneration in which he is held by our Christian friends, many of whom love in him the ideal of a magnanimous, high-minded, and noble man; while millions of others still confide in him in life and in death, and adore and worship him as a God. It is, therefore, not more than simple courtesy on our part, if we respect their feelings, as we wish our own respected, and if we discuss our subject with as much careful delicacy and tenderness as we can possibly grant to an historical research, which is intended not to obtain notoriety, but to instruct, to weed out existing prejudices, and to establish a better understanding between us. I beg you, therefore, to distinguish well between the ideal Jesus, who has been a creation of Christianity, and the historical Jesus of Nazareth as he lived and died.

You can imagine at any time, if you so choose, a human body in such giantlike proportions that its head should reach the zenith while its feet should touch the nadir. In the very same way, you may imagine all the qualities of the human soul raised to their highest degree of perfection. We Israelites are accustomed to attribute these qualities of the spirit in their highest perfection to an invisible

God,—to the One God who has created the universe, and supports and governs it in wisdom and kindness; while our Christian friends have become accustomed to affix these very same attributes to a human form, to that of Jesus of Nazareth. Herein we differ; and, therefore, I shall have nothing to say concerning the ideal structure which has been built up during the last nineteen centuries, which is in the process of building yet, and which will not be finished before humanity has reached the highest round on the ladder of civilization.

I beg also to differ historically in two other points with our Christian friends, and I hope that they will not consider my utterances as disrespectful. I maintain that Jesus was not the founder of Christianity, that he never planned it nor laid its foundation, but that his personality has been brought into the Church, and used as its cornerstone. I claim, furthermore, that there are no historical sources whatsoever from which we could derive authentic information concerning his life, his deeds, and his death. This point is of such grave importance that I must dwell on it, with your permission, a minute or two before I proceed one step further.

There are only three sources from which it has become customary to quote in regard to Jesus of Nazareth. The first and foremost of them is the New Testament. Again, I must caution my hearers that I do not believe in a divine authorship of any book whatsoever, be it called the Old or the New Testament, and that I shall always refrain from arguing an historical point with a so-called believer. If one wishes to believe that Homer was divinely inspired, and that the Iliad and Odyssey were dictated to him by God himself, and that, therefore, these books must be true, word for word, I shall not object. Let him believe, then, that Cyclops Polyphemus had but one eye in his forehead, and that Ulysses blinded him; let him believe that the hero visited hades, and conversed with his former friends; let him believe whatever he pleases. But, when we come to discuss historical facts, we must be unhampered by belief. Now, ladies and gentlemen, bibliographers have long since proved that the Four Gospels, which, after all, contradict one another in principal points, were written more than a century later than the death of Jesus,—not by eye-witnesses, but by people who collected their material from tradition, and who had already a principle, a tendency, to affirm by their story. I do not question at all their veracity or sincerity; but they lacked for their narrative the authentic material, and could not help being biassed in their judgment. These literary products lose still more in the eye of the critic by the fact that the original text has been tampered with afterward. Only of late, a scrap of parchment has been discovered, which contains a passage from one of the Gospels. Scientists place its age as far back as the third and fourth century. In it, an important passage, relating to the promised return of Jesus, is entirely omitted, which would prove, if it proves anything, that still later than the fourth century interpolations, if we shall not call them falsifications, of the original text, must have taken place. A jury which finds the testimony of a witness unreliable in one point generally throws out his testimony entirely, and so does the historian. To him, the Gospels are only of little historical value.

The second source is the historian Josephus, who lived at the time of Jesus, and, consequently, must have known of him, if the latter had, indeed, been a distinguished person or of any prominence. Though he gave considerable space to the narrative of minor events, Josephus originally never

mentioned him. The celebrated and frequently quoted passage in his *Antiquities*, chapter eighteen, has been condemned even by church authorities, such as Bishop Lardner, as an interpolation; and Origen, the great Christian writer of the third century, shows by his writings *contra Celsum* that he did not know of that passage, which, consequently, must have been inserted much later and for a certain purpose. Another historian, Justus of Tiberias, lived at the same time; but not a word did he mention about the man, who, according to the Gospels, must have created quite a stir.

The third source is the Talmud; but here, again, we find an ominous silence concerning him. Not before the time that our ancestors were called upon to contest the religious structure which began to grow up upon him as its corner-stone, and to defend themselves against calumnious charges, is he mentioned, and then only slightly.

Besides these three sources, another argument is frequently brought into use, in order to prove not only his existence, but his greatness. Behold, say our Christian friends, the marvellous growth of Christianity! See how it revolutionized the world, how it civilized the most barbarous nations! Could such a success have been achieved, if its founder had not been a man of great prominence, if he had not been able to impress his contemporaries with his mission to such an extent as was needed for the future success? Granted, they say, that there are no authentic literary evidences to be found concerning his life and deeds, is the mere existence of the Church not evidence enough for his greatness? Do not facts prove more than words?

This argument, however rational and reasonable it may appear, stands upon weak and tender feet. Indeed, if the plans for the Christian Church had emanated from him, if its doctrines had been promulgated by him, if its system had been suggested by him, then we could conclude from the work about its creator. But, even according to Christian sources, nobody dreamed less of such a structure than its supposed originator. Christianity was not his work: it was the product of peculiar circumstances, which all worked together in such a marvellous manner that we cannot fail to see the finger of God in its origin and development. The downfall of Hellenistic idolatry, which had been prepared by Greek philosophy long before; the extinction of the Roman Republic and the decline of the Roman Empire; the great migration of nations, which, issuing from the north, took a southward course, and changed the geography of the world; the death of antique civilization in the waves of barbarism, which, like a second flood, burst upon it, and covered the whole world for a considerable length of time,—all these circumstances together produced what to-day is called Christianity. Nothing can live in this sublunary world unless it is marked for life by God Almighty. Nothing succeeds, unless God has destined it for success; and thus has Christianity a place on this earth and a mission to fulfil as well as Judaism. And, in the course of my lectures, I shall, with pleasure, give due acknowledgment to the great work which Christianity has indeed performed.

Taking it all in all, what do we really know about Jesus of Nazareth, the so called Messiah? Although volumes have been written concerning his life and deeds, his whole history could be inscribed almost upon the nail of a thumb.

Jeshu, an abbreviation of Joshua, and Latinized into Jesus, was born of humble parentage. He was the son of Joseph, a poor carpenter, and Miriam, his wife, who both were also the parents of several other children. It matters little to the historian that millions of people still ascribe to

him a divine origin, and believe him the offspring of an immaculate conception. There are many more millions of people who believe to-day the very same story, but apply it to another man, to Buddha. Not only are such statements unhistorical, but I dare say that the passages in the Gospels relating to them were never written by a Jewish author: they were the products of a Grecian pen. The Greeks believed in the intercourse of their gods with mortal women, and saw no disgrace in such an adultery. All their heroes were demi-gods. Even Alexander the Great attempted to insinuate that Philip was not his real father, and that he was the son of a god. Greek vanity cared little that the chastity of their women was questioned, whenever the customary compliment was rendered to a man by calling him the son of a god. The Greek and Roman populace would have never believed in Jesus the man, the reformer, the martyr, or the Messiah; but it was easy for them to accept him as the son of the Jewish God, Jehova. The Jews, on the contrary, held the chastity of their women in so high a respect that they would not permit even a god to violate it.

About his childhood and early education, nothing is known. He is said to have learned the trade of his father, that of a carpenter. Grown up to the age of manhood, he joined the sect of the Essenes, which was mostly composed of artisans, and represented the socialistic and nihilistic element of which I have spoken in my last lecture. They despised all earthly possessions, would not hold property, lived together in small bands, sharing everything in common. They would not marry; and they believed that a change for the better could be effected only by an ascetic life, and that the Messiah—whom every Jew was expecting at that time—would transform the whole world into one large communistic brotherhood, in which there should be neither rich nor poor, and from which all the passions adhering to mankind should be removed. He soon grew into prominence in the rural districts where he sojourned. He must have spoken of the change which he expected to come over the world with such a sincerity that, as it is quite natural, his friends expected him to produce it, and may have looked at him as the Messiah. Let me state right here that the name Messiah, or, as it is in Hebrew, Mashiach, is a misnomer, if applied to him; for he never was anointed for his mission by any authority whatsoever, real or fictitious. How can, therefore, a man be called Mashiach, the Anointed, if he never was anointed? Even Christian sources do not claim that the act of anointment was ever performed on him.

Finally, perhaps he learned to believe in himself. A great many people do believe in themselves without being conceited. There would be no heroism, if the hero did not believe in his own ability to perform the heroic deed. Young men, especially, are apt to carry such a belief to an extreme; and he was a young man. At the time of his death, he was not older than thirty-three years,—the most dangerous period of life, in which the young man attempts to transform his airy ideals into tangible facts.

The most critical season of the year was, at that time, the Passover Festival,—a festival celebrated in remembrance of the liberation of Israel from Egyptian bondage. Every male person was bound to be present in Jerusalem during the seven days of this festival, and the spirit of liberty ran higher than usual. The Roman procurator found it, therefore, always necessary to be present in person in the city, in order to quell any disturbance which was likely to arise, and to nip every revolt in the bud. You will perhaps understand the danger much better which the return

of every Passover Festival brought to the front, if you place yourselves for one moment in the condition of that time.

Supposing our cherished Republic should have been changed into a despotic government; supposing some other nation stronger than we should defeat us in battle, and should keep us in a state of servitude; supposing that the indignation of the American people should watch for an opportune moment to break the chains of such a slavery,—would not the Fourth of July then become the most critical and the most dangerous of all the days of the year? The remembrance of the glorious day when the heroic fathers of the country declared their independence would invite emulation. Any orator of mediocrity even could on that day stir up the people to riot and bloodshed.

The representative of the government then in power would, as a matter of course, be watchful of every movement, and have his soldiers in readiness to quell any disturbance. He would be at his post of duty on that day from morning till night, and feel relieved only when the last hour of that dangerous day had passed and the last firecracker had been set off.

In a similar plight was the Roman governor during the feast of Passover. His troops were stationed with great skill at the most important posts, the garrison of Jerusalem re-enforced, police in uniform and detectives in disguise probably patrolled the streets, and reported promptly at headquarters. It may easily have happened when Jesus entered Jerusalem a few days before the festival that he was recognized and cheered by his rural friends; it is probable that the rumor spread among the people, which was ready for a revolt, that a Messiah had appeared, and would give the signal at the opportune moment; it is more than probable that this rumor reached the Roman authorities, after it had been magnified to a large extent. The natural consequence was that Jesus was watched with suspicion, that every one of his steps was carefully guarded, and that just before the festival he was taken captive. Pontius Pilatus risked a *coup de main*. If Jesus was the Messiah indeed, his prompt imprisonment and execution would either intimidate the people and suppress the outbreak of a riot for years or it would make the people rise in arms at once, and hasten the crisis. Either way pleased the haughty Roman much better than the suspense in which he now was kept all the time.

His calculation was as correct as it was shrewd; but he was mistaken, nevertheless. The people would have risen in revolt, if the great mass had considered the Galilean the right man to liberate them. But they expected a warrior, not a man of peaceful disposition; they expected a man of arms, and not a theorist. Neither was he an offspring of the house of David. The masses remained cold and indifferent when they heard of his arrest, and even the few friends of the unhappy Messiah deserted him in the hour of trial.

There is no evidence that he ever was tried before a Jewish tribunal, for the right of capital punishment had been usurped by the Romans long before; and, even if there had been such a trial, he must have been acquitted, because the sympathies of his fellow-citizens must have been with him. But he was not tried nor convicted by a regular Jewish court, as, on account of the holy day, there was no session. He was simply judged and convicted by the Roman authorities on the charge of conspiring against the Roman government; and he was executed in great haste the very next day, at a time when the assembled people witnessed the grand passover ceremonial in the temple. The mode of crucifixion was a

Roman mode of execution; and the inscription *Jesus Nazaraeus, Rex Judeorum*, Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, which is said to have been affixed to his cross, was to show the charge which had been made against him.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is a point upon which I must dwell a few moments longer. The malicious charge that the Jewish people, nineteen hundred years ago, tried, convicted, and executed an innocent man, has brought upon us indescribable misery, and bears even to-day its bitter fruit. This charge has been the cause of wholesale murder, and for nineteen centuries have our nation been persecuted for no other offence than that their ancestors had crucified Jesus. We were, and are still, called deicides, or, as vulgar language expresses it, Christ-killers. Absurd as it is to hold us responsible for an act committed by our ancestors nineteen hundred years ago, as ridiculous would it be for us to try to find an excuse for it. Granted that our ancestors were, in fact, the cause of his premature death, there is no excuse needed; for, as long as capital punishment is not abolished and circumstantial evidence is used to convict a criminal, or as long as political offences are punished with death, so long will cases of judicial murder never be avoided.

But the charge is as false as it is malicious. If you scan the Jewish law from its beginning to its end, you will find that no such trial as related in the Gospels could ever have taken place. The whole form of the proceeding as told in the Gospels is illegal according to the forms minutely described by the Jewish law. It shows, again, that the writers of the Gospels were not Jews, but must have been Greeks or Romans, who were ignorant of the Jewish law. And so it was; and, with this fact, the whole charge collapses. The whole charge was a fabrication of the early Church. At the time when the Gospels were written, most of the members of the Church were Gentiles; and it was at that time already evident that the Gentile world, and not the limited Jewish circle, was to be the future field for the missionary efforts of the Church.

How could a missionary approach a Roman, and tell him that his people had put to death the Son of God, their Saviour? Such a statement would have alienated the whole world from them; for the Roman Empire comprised almost the whole of the known world, and every individual took a certain pride in being a Roman citizen. The Jews, on the other hand, were only a small nation. They were then living in small communities scattered over all the provinces of the Roman Empire. They were furthermore disliked on account of their rigorous laws, which would not allow their amalgamation with their neighbors. They were hated at the imperial court on account of their obstinacy and the riotous character which they showed in frequent revolts. The charge was, therefore, laid before their door; and the Roman was told that the Jews had killed his Saviour, that the Roman authorities even had endeavored to save him from the violence of the populace, but had been unsuccessful. Such a story was pleasing to the Gentile world, and to a Roman seemed both probable and plausible. The masses, which gained by it a pretext for venting their anger on a class which they hated, did not investigate the matter any further; and thus the unfounded and malicious charge was handed down from generation to generation to this very day. Is it not high time that our advanced age and our enlightened fellow-citizens should finally drop that malicious charge which, even if it were not a fabrication, could not reflect upon us? Is it not high time that bigotry and fanaticism should be

silenced, and that the rising generations should be instructed to take those legends for what they are worth? It is not the Jew who is disgraced when the epithet of deicide, or Christ-killer, is hurled at him: it is the one who uses it, because this very expression gives unmistakable evidence, not only of his bigotry, his intolerance, and of his bad breeding, but of his ignorance; and, not for our own sake, but for his sake, I stand here and appeal to you to spread enlightenment wherever you can in regard to such an important matter.

My topic of to-day has been too unwieldy to be pressed into the mould of a lecture of thirty minutes' duration. I shall therefore continue the same subject on Friday next, when I shall compare the relative position of both Judaism and Christianity in regard to Messianic expectations.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE APPENDIX TO MARK.

Editors of The Index:—

The last twelve verses in the last chapter in the Gospel "after Mark" is attached in the new version as an appendix, with a foot-note, thus: "The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse nine to the end." Of this fact, students of the New Testament have been very familiar, as Jerome, 410 A.D., and other Fathers declared that Mark ended abruptly with the words, "for they were afraid." And Edwin A. Abbott, D.D., of Cambridge, in a most remarkable little book, entitled *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, calls attention to the fact that that codex L, ascribed by scholars to the eighth century, has another appendix which he gives in his book. The appendix, as it now stands, came in first in Latin versions of the New Testament, and was unquestionably placed there for controversial reasons. It was not used, says Prof. Abbott, before the fourth century: "Neither Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 350), in his exhaustive quotations of passages concerning the sitting at the right hand of God, nor Tertullian (A.D. 200), nor Cyprian (A.D. 250), in their controversies concerning the necessity of baptism, makes any reference to any passage in the longer appendix."

One author speaks of this being done by those who were styled "the holy luminaries and masters of the Church," and speaks of a Father of the Church who "frankly sets forth another criterion of truth, by no means uncommon even in these days; viz., it is 'necessary.'" I would commend Prof. Abbott's book to the attention of the readers of *The Index*. He is a fair-minded man as well as an eminent scholar of the Church of England, and is in favor of telling instead of the suppression of the truth in regard to the history of the New Testament.

It is beyond all doubt that verse sixteen in the appendix—namely, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned"—was placed there as a saying of Jesus, some time from the fourth to the fifth century, for the purpose of having authority to put down by force such heretics as the Manichæans and the Paulicians.* The latter sect agreed with the former in many respects. They each

* In Mosheim's *Church History*, vol. II., p. 582, it is demonstrated most clearly that the various sects of "Mystics," which had an open or clandestine existence either before or after the ninth century, resembled, in some particulars, the ancient Manichæans, in that they, as Mosheim says, "rejected all rites and ceremonies, and even the Christian sacraments, as destitute of any, even the least, spiritual efficacy or virtue, placing the whole of religion in the internal contemplation of God and the elevation of the soul to divine and celestial things." They all rejected baptism, and more especially the baptism of infants.

They were called by many names, says Mosheim, in different countries. The title of Palerini was given to them in Italy. In France, that of Albigenes. Our historian cites the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ* to prove the distinctions between the sect last mentioned and the Waldenses, though afterward the title Albigenes gradually extended to all heretics. The appellation of *Boni Homines*, or *Los bos Homes*, as the Southern French spoke at the time, was a title which the Paulicians attributed to themselves. Various were the devices they used to escape from the terrible eye and zeal of the Inquisition. If they refused to listen to the voice of "Reason," but one fate was meted out to them, says our historian, summarily, they were "condemned to be burnt alive."

Imagination sickens in the consideration of the details of the persecutions to which these different sects were subjected. Suffice it to say that the hardships and penalties to which the Church was subjected pale away into utter insignificance in comparison therewith, as Gibbon has abundantly shown.

had no temples, neither did they baptize with water, and did not recognize a visible head to their Church. Worship consisted, with them, in a dedication of the heart to God; and faith without works was dead. Both Photius and Gibbon, as does the writer of the article "Paulicians," in the *American Cyclopædia*, also, favor the theory that the latter sect derived the name from the Apostle Paul.

Mosheim says they obstinately rejected the institution of baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the divine authority of the Old Testament. Photius, in his first book against the Manichæans, p. 29, expressly asserts that the Paulicians treated baptism as a mere allegorical ceremony. They seem to have been rationalists, and treated the ceremonies of the Church with, says Mosheim, "contempt and reproach." They denied that Christ was really nailed to the cross, or that he expired, in effect, upon that ignominious tree; and hence naturally arose that treatment of the cross of which the Greeks accused them. They were evidently not Manichæans, though they held many views in common with them.

Like George Fox, they looked upon the use of church bells as an intolerable superstition, as likewise did they the use of incense and consecrated oil in religious services, and condemned the use of instrumental music in religious worship. They refused all acts of adoration to the images of Christ and of the saints, and were shocked at the subordination and distinctions established among the clergy. All these things, and especially their rejection of baptism, and more especially the baptism of infants, were enough to cause the most violent persecution against them and their successors; and in one crusade, in the reign of the Empress Theodora alone, one hundred thousand of them were destroyed.

That there were violent controversies on the subject of baptism in the second century is beyond all doubt. It was denied that Jesus ever submitted to the baptism of John, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews was adduced to support this view. It was written in that Gospel, according to Jerome: "Behold the mother of the Lord, and his brethren said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins: let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, What have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized by him?"

We know that Paul rejoiced in the fact that he had baptized so few, and expressly says that he was sent, not to baptize, but to preach the gospel, and speaks of being "baptized into Christ," as the saving baptism. There is no doubt that the authorities which I have adduced are right; that the Paulicians derived their name from the apostle Paul; and that the text in the appendix, Mark xvi., 16, was devised and inserted by the Church, for the wicked purpose of persecuting those who rejected the rite of baptism. Thus, in the New Testament is to be found one of the most disgraceful and impious pieces of deception in the whole history of mankind. And, in view of this fact, what shall we say of those who were parties in the late revision of the New Testament, who, knowing all these facts, have allowed the record to remain with simply a blank space between the 15th and 16th verses? But is not this on a par with the explanation given in the preface, page xx, note (e), in respect to "titles"? They state that "the titles found in the most ancient manuscripts are of too short a form to be convenient for use," thus falsifying the record. The titles in ancient manuscripts being "after," and not "according to," Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; that is, after the apostolic time and era is all these books profess to be. It is in relation to such things that Prof. Abbott well says, "Another criterion of truth is set forth, by no means uncommon even in these days; viz., that it is 'necessary,'—i.e., it is convenient to deceive the people; and, sorrowful is the fact, many of them still love to have it so!

DAVID NEWFORT.

ABINGTON, PENN.

THE NEW EDUCATION.*

Editors of The Index:—

The two first editions of this work went out with the title of *Moral Education*; but this third edition has a more comprehensive title, giving better idea of its scope. It has more chapters than the preceding

* *The New Education*. Moral, Industrial, Hygienic, Intellectual. By Joseph Rhodes Buchanan, M.D. No. 29 Fort Avenue, Boston. 416 pp. Price \$1.50.

issues, the last being an essay on the management of children by that wise woman and kindly philanthropist, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of New York, who has bought many of these books for her friends. He does not accept the idea of a university, as defined by President Eliot of Harvard, as "a place for the most extensive acquisition of knowledge," but would displace that fragmentary conception of education in school or college by the better definition given by Rev. Horatio Stebbins, at the Exeter Academy Centennial,—"the discipline of man, putting him in the widest relations with humanity, as a general preparation for life in whatever sphere he may act."

Moral education, ethical culture, recognition of man's spiritual faculties, and industrial and scientific training must go on with the intellectual education, which now ignores all the rest, and so fails to fit scholars for manly and womanly work and for large and harmonious life. In his clear and vigorous way, the antiquated collegiate methods are keenly criticised, and the faults of our schools pointed out. He says: "The whole system is wrong from top to bottom; for it is not education, but schooling. Intellectual training, however perfect, is not liberal education, but only a fragment of it, as an arm is part of a man."

Better bodily health, moral and ethical development, and practical training in art and scientific industry, must be inspiring guides and aims, as well as gaining intellectual knowledge in schools. Addresses by the author before the National Educational Association at Minneapolis, the University Convocation of New York, and at Louisville and Boston, on like occasions, are quoted and enlarged on. Evolution of genius, ethical culture and its relations to religious and intellectual life, the sphere and education of woman, ventilation and hygiene and kindred topics, are embraced in a wide range of fruitful suggestion and valuable research, making the volume practical and full of interest. The chapter on "Woman's Sphere and Education" is especially good. The pessimism of Dr. Clarke's *Sex in Education* is keenly criticised; and Dr. Buchanan gives, as "one of the most pleasing recollections" of his life, the fact that he asked and gained the opening of a medical college in Cincinnati to the first woman in the world, so far as he knows, that ever had such a privilege granted to her.

G. B. S.

A LETTER FROM A CHRISTIAN.

UNIVERSITY S. CALA., NOV. 3, 1885.

Editors of The Index:—

I have been receiving copies of your paper gratis. I thank you for your solicitous kindness, but wish here to disclaim all part, lot, or sympathy with its blasphemous and deceiving teachings. May the Lord have mercy on your erring souls, and lead you from the highway of everlasting death into the way that leads to God. Please do not send me any more indexes to hell. The way is plain enough already.

FRANK BARTON.

[*The Index* has been sent to Mr. Barton by the request of a gentleman, who thought he might profit by reading it.

B. F. U.]

WHEN we think of man's origin and note the wonderful progress he has made, we are full of hope for the future. We do not believe in the failure of the race. The old story of Adam and Eve we have discarded for the doctrine of evolution. We no longer believe that man was created a perfect being, and that he fell in disgrace from this divine condition. We believe that man has steadily risen from an inferior condition; that his cradle was not an Eden, but a jungle; that his primitive state was not wisdom, but ignorance; that his heart was not at the first pure, but full of evil desires and savage passions; that he was not made upright, but has become so through centuries of growth. Primitive man found no tree of knowledge offering him its fruit. He learned by long experience, and the grain of wisdom was slowly gleaned from among the tares of ignorance. With painful and stumbling steps, he climbed the mount of knowledge; and to-day we stand above the clouds. Believing as we do that the path of humanity has been upward from the start, we have no tears to shed over the failure of the race. We find imperfections to deplore, traits of character that evince the savage origin of the race, but we know that in the great school of time these will be left behind. Man is not

totally depraved. He still retains traces of his lowly origin, but he is growing toward perfection.—From discourse on "The Duty of the Hour," by Solon Lauer.

BOOK NOTICES.

MIND CURE ON A MATERIAL BASIS. By Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1885. pp. 288. Price \$1.50.

Miss Titcomb, who will be remembered by some of our readers as the author of *Early New England People*, has, in the present work, undertaken an elaborate exposition of what she considers to be the facts in regard to the so-called "mind cure," and begins by stating in the opening paragraph that "the writer, having acquired the method of curing disease which is practised by the 'Christian Scientists' or 'Metaphysicians,' commonly called mind-curers, came to the conclusion that the success attending that method is due to concentration of thought, and not to the theology underlying the method." We give the titles of the chapters into which the work is divided, as an indication of the trend of her argument: "The Cure of Disease by the Concentration of Thought," "The Theology of the Christian Scientists," "The Single Substance Theory," "Mind in Animals and the Lower Races of Men," "The Origin of the Doctrine of the Immortal Soul," "Bible Proof of the Single Substance Theory." Miss Titcomb's theory, which is opposed to that of the Christian scientists, who believe that there is but one substance, and that is mind, is that of a Christian materialist; and the purpose of her book is "to make it evident that the Bible and modern science coincide perfectly in demonstrating that mind and body are one instead of two separate entities, and, consequently, that there is no possibility of a future life save by the resurrection of the dead, as taught in the New Testament." "Facts," she declares, "demonstrate that mind, or spirit, is simply the product of a combination of particles of matter." Therefore, the position taken by the Christian scientists, that there is no substance to matter or the material part of man, and, consequently, that pain and disease are not realities, but simply beliefs of mortal man, cannot be true. In support of her theory of the cure of disease in one's self and others by the concentration of thought and thought-transference, she quotes copiously from such writers as Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Maudsley, Sir William Hamilton, Sir Henry Holland, Dr. Hack Tuke, Sergeant Cox, Dr. Haygurt, etc. She also brings forward her own experience in mind-curing. She has evidently made her theory the subject of much research, and quotes pertinently in other portions of her work, not only from the writers mentioned, but also from Berkeley, Priestley, Spurzheim, Max Müller, Mivart, Spinoza, D'Holbach, Lewes, Darwin, Tyndall, Spencer, Huxley, Bain, Bastian, Tylor, Mill, Lubbock, Laycock, Rawlinson, Büchner, O. W. Holmes, W. D. Gunning, Dr. Morton Prince, and many others; and, in the chapter on "Bible Proof of the Single Substance Theory," she brings forward an exhaustive array of Scripture texts in proof of her position that the Bible does not teach immortality. S. A. U.

ITALIAN POPULAR TALES. By Thomas Frederick Crane, A.M. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 389. Price \$2.50.

Here is a new book of stories, fairy tales, etc.—the "folk-lore" of Italy,—translated from recent Italian collections, "exactly as they were taken down from the mouths of the people, which, combining instruction for students with amusement for younger people, will make an admirable contribution to the gifts of the coming holidays. Max Müller, in an essay on "Folk Lore," in his second volume of *Chips from a German Workshop*, arguing for a common origin of language, says: "Not only have the radical and formal elements of language been proved to be the same in India, Greece, Italy, but among the Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic nations, not only have the names of many of their gods, the forms of their worship, and the mainspring of their religious sentiment been traced back to one common Aryan source, but a further advance has been made. A myth, it was argued, dwindles down to a legend, a legend to the tale; and, if the myths were originally identical in India, Greece, Italy, and Germany, why should not the tales also of these countries show some similarity? . . . Jacob Grimm, as Mr. Kelly tells us in his work on *Indo-European Tradition and Folk*

Lore, was the first scholar who pointed out the importance of collecting all that could be saved of popular stories, customs, sayings, superstitions, and beliefs. His *German Mythology* is a storehouse of such curiosities; and, together with his collection of *Märchen*, it shows how much there is still floating about of the most ancient language, thought, fancy, and belief, that might be, and ought to be, collected in every part of the world. . . . Sufficient material has been collected to enable scholars to see that these tales and translations are not arbitrary inventions or modern fictions, but that their fibres cling, in many instances, to the very germs of ancient language and ancient thought." Prof. Crane, who is one of the senior instructors of Cornell University, where he teaches Italian and other languages, has been for many years engaged in the compilation and translation of these tales, and is especially fitted for such work as is here given. In his preface, he modestly says: "My object has been simply to present to the reader and student, unacquainted with the Italian dialects, a tolerably complete collection of Italian popular tales. With theories as to the origin and diffusion of popular tales in general, I have nothing to do at present, either in the text or notes. It is for others to draw such inferences as this collection seems to warrant." Sixty-seven pages of "Notes" to these tales are given, very instructive to students in philology. Old nursery friends, like "Blue Beard," "Dick Whittington and his Cat," "Beauty and the Beast," "Cinderella," and others, reappear here in Italianized form. S. A. U.

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Simon Newcomb, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Mathematics, U.S. Navy; Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

This is precisely such a work upon political economy as we should expect a man to write whose dominant genius is for the mathematics. It is blocked out with mathematical severity. It is a profoundly able work, but it is not engaging in its method. "The author takes a more hopeful view of the future development of economics than that commonly found in current discussion. He holds that nothing is needed to give the subject a recognized place among the sciences, except to treat and develop it as a science. . . . If the same amount and kind of research which have been applied to the development of the laws of electricity were applied to this subject, there is every reason to suppose that it would either settle many questions now in dispute or would at least show how they were to be settled." The practical bearings of the subject are reserved for the concluding chapter. While it is not without apology that Prof. Newcomb introduces these, it is probable that the average reader will be more attracted to this portion of the book than to the preceding. The matters discussed in this book, which is made up of seven chapters, are "The Let Alone Principle," "The Policy of a Protective Tariff," "On Taxation," "Monometallism and Bimetallism," "Refutation of the Currency," "Of Socialistic Ideas," "Of Charitable Effort." The method of these chapters is anything but dogmatic. It is extremely tentative, and better calculated to make the reader think for himself than to furnish him with ready-made opinions. The concluding chapter—on Charitable Effort—is plain enough, however, in its repudiation of conventional methods.

A WOMAN'S INHERITANCE. By Amanda M. Douglas. Boston: Lee & Shepard. pp. 345. Price \$1.50.

This is a story with a purpose, and containing a moral. It is also charmingly written, and fulfils all the standard requirements of the orthodox novel, having plenty of love scenes, passionate and otherwise, a dignified hero, a handsome and fascinating villain, a delightful little flirt, a scheming mother, with various other interesting characters, in addition to the individualized young woman, who figures as the heroine under the unique name of Christmas Ormiston. Her "inheritance" was the manufacturing business, which her father, during his life, had owned, and which was left, at his death, in a very precarious condition, but through the loyalty of the hero was kept afloat until she came of age and able to gratify her long-cherished desire to become a "business woman," and take charge, understandingly, of her own affairs. To show that a woman can be capable of taking a genuine interest in a

business which has, by common public sentiment, been considered essentially masculine in its requirements, and may achieve success therein, without detriment to her true womanliness, is the evident purpose of the novel; and that such a life, with its incentive to endeavor, its broadening, stimulating, and strengthening influences, is far preferable to the demoralizing tendencies engendered by yielding to the demands of a merely fashionable and conventional womanhood, is the apparent and timely moral. The contrast between the pretty, selfish, unprincipled, yet kind-hearted doll baby of fashion, Dolly Allaire, and the proud-spirited, pure-hearted, high-principled, generous "woman of business" is very finely conceived and well drawn.

NOTES OF TRAVEL IN NORTHERN EUROPE. By Charles A. Sumner. pp. 385, 12mo. New York: Andrew J. Graham, 744 Broadway.

This is an interesting volume, because the author, trained as a reporter, and standing at the head of the list, travels with quickened senses, and describes at large events, customs, etc., which most tourists pass over in silence. The dedication is to the author's wife and daughter, and their portraits adorn the page. It is a pleasing tribute to them as companions of his voyage. The numerous engravings are of real value in illustrating the text. He takes the reader from London through the heart of Sweden, thence through Denmark to Berlin, Dresden, and Paris. The interest never flags, whether the conversation is with the titled nobility or the most abject peasant. In every case, something is added to the store of knowledge of the customs, habits, and thoughts of the people. One may read many other books of travel in Scandinavia, and yet find this volume fresh; for it treats especially of things overlooked by those who have preceded. The wages of wage-workers, the condition of the laborer, the sphere allotted to woman, the political and religious status of the people, are all forcibly presented. One thing strikes the reader forcibly, and that is the power of educational prejudice in respect to church-going among a people as liberal-minded as the Swedes. The churches are very commodious, and are always filled with worshippers. There seems to be no complaint of vacant pews. Perhaps one circumstance contributes to this result. The ample salaries give the pulpit a fair order of talent; while in this country, as a rule, the pulpit is a last resort of professional aspiration.

FIVE-MINUTE DECLAMATIONS. Selected and adapted by Walter K. Forbes, Elocutionist and Public Reader. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price 50 cents.

Says the author in his preface, "As five minutes is the allotted time nowadays in the schools and colleges and at the prize declamations, . . . this book should meet with favor from the declaimers of America. . . . Each selection in this book has been subjected to the test of reading aloud, and is a declamation in the proper sense of that term." Some of the sources of this excellent collection are the speeches of Webster, Story, Everett, Phillips, Choate, G. W. Curtis, Robert Winthrop, Gough, Seward, Charles Francis Adams, Schurz, Beecher, and like orators.

SEED THOUGHTS FOR THE GROWING LIFE. From Robert Browning and Others. Selected for the Use of Teachers and the Help of Children and Parents. By Mary E. Burt. Chicago: The College Book Co., 135 Wabash Ave. 1885. Price 20 cents.

These selections on different topics, such as "Truth and Purity," "Seeing Broadly," "Growth," "Work," "Beauty," "Simplicity," "Hope," and kindred subjects, are made with good taste and judgment, although the compiler states that many of the selections were made by her young pupils at her suggestion.

Among the new calendars for 1886 is that compiled by Mrs. H. R. Olin, in aid of the cause of temperance. Each day has its leaflet with clear strong words, taken sometimes from the writings of Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, Farrar, Carlyle, Horace Mann, George Eliot, Florence Nightingale, Youmans, Liebig, Milton, Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius, and sometimes from the reports of prison officials and the resolutions of legislative committees or ecclesiastical conventions. The daily supply of information and encouragement must be very welcome to every worker against the terrible curse of drunkenness.

Most readers of *The Index* would find too much in favor of Sabbatarianism, and the favor shown to prohibition is too marked for some. Many passages, however, show a thoroughly liberal spirit. That for Sunday, February 28, appeals in behalf of the weaker members of the Church against the use of alcohol in the communion. This Calendar is published by Charles G. S. Fielden, 161 La Salle Street, Chicago, and may be obtained for \$1.00 at the sale-rooms of the Women's Temperance Union and kindred organizations.

PROF. PALMER, of Harvard, opens the November number of the *Andover Review* with a forcible statement of the principles which have commended to the Harvard authorities the new system of education which they have adopted. Prof. Torrey continues his analysis of Leibnitz's *Theodicee*. Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie contributes, under the title "A Typical Novel," a thorough critique of *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. Prof. Hunt, of Princeton College, reviews some of the leading methods of literary study as applied to English literature. Rev. D. L. Leonard, of Salt Lake City, presents the results of six months' personal investigation, on the ground of the legal and political situation in Utah. The leading editorial, continuing the series on "Progressive Orthodoxy," discusses "The Scriptures." The recent meeting of the American Board is noticed in a second editorial. Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., American Consul at Jerusalem, has a paper upon "The Site of Calvary." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE breezy account of "The Hare and Hounds Club," by W. J. Ballard, in the November *Treasure-Trove and Pupils' Companion*, gives a refreshing idea on the subject of physical exercise. All who would be glad of a suggestion for "A New Thanksgiving" can find it in the bright story under that caption by Mrs. Elizabeth P. Allan. There is a charming short story by Sally Campbell; and among articles curious, timely, and to the point are "The Story of Some Favorite Poems"; "Some Traits of Lincoln"; and "Mind your own Business," by Wolstan Dixey. *Treasure-Trove* is especially useful to teachers in their school work. They will be particularly grateful for "Stories from History"; "Lives of Great Men"; "The Doctor's Letter"; "The Capital of Egypt"; "The Living World"; "The Man who caught Gold and Silver Fish," by Prof. John Monteith; and "Something to Speak." Price \$1.00 a Year. E. L. Kellogg & Co., 25 Clinton Place, New York.

THE December *Atlantic* contains very interesting instalments of Mrs. Oliphant's serial, "A Country Gentleman," and Henry James' new story, "The Princess Casamassima." Dr. Holmes concludes "The New Portfolio," which has been so very acceptable to the readers of the *Atlantic*, with some "After Glances." Horace E. Scudder completes an excellent series of papers with one on "Childhood in Modern Literature and Art." Prof. Charles F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, contributes an important article on "Southern Colleges and Schools." John Fiske concludes his very significant essay on "The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge." Edmund Noble, author of "The Russian Revolt," writes of "Life in St. Petersburg." There are poems by William H. Hayne, Edith M. Thomas, Charlotte Fiske Bates, and others. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THE *Freidenker Almanach* for 1886 is fully worthy of its motto: "Freedom, Culture, and Prosperity for all,"—*Freiheit, Bildung, und Wohlstand für Alle*. The calendar of remarkable historical events is singularly full and interesting. The reading matter is bright and bold throughout. The extracts from Heinzen are especially valuable for their deep wisdom and originality. The articles on "The New Pharisees," "Causality and Superstition," "The Twilight of the Gods," and "England's Baneful Influence over Republicanism," are also especially worthy of attention. Any one who wishes to know more about advanced thought, or improve his knowledge of German, will find this almanac amply worth the twenty-five cents for which it is published by the Freidenker Company, 470 East Water Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

In the December *Century* will appear opinions on the subject of "What shall be done with our ex-

Presidents?"—commenting on the Open Letter in the August number of the same magazine, written, at the request of the editor, by Senator Edmunds, Judge Cooley, and the Hon. Francis Wharton. Mr. Wharton favors the pension plan. Senator Edmunds thinks it worthy of some consideration. Judge Cooley and Mr. Wharton consider the senatorship suggestion as related to former Presidents, and show its disadvantages with interesting detail.

THE NEW YORK MONTHLY FASHION BAZAR, issued by Munro's Publishing House, 17 to 27 Vandewater Street, New York City, gives illustrations of latest styles in ladies' and children's dress, hints in making and buying goods, colored fashion plates, embroidery patterns, and household miscellany, in addition to numerous short and continued stories, and literary chit-chat. \$2.50 per year, or 25 cents for single number.

THE October number of the *Revue de Belgique* opens with an account of communal ownership of land, as once practised in Scotland and Nantucket. Count Goblet d'Alviella begins a series of articles showing how prominent a part has been played by fire-worship in the development of all religions. Other writers speak of modern architecture and Egyptian Thebes.

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The author of this book has chosen a magnificent subject; and, although it is formidable in extent and much of it involved in obscurity, and all of it complicated with great questions of history and human progress, he has yet been able to throw much new light upon that liberalization of thought which went very unsteadily forward during twenty-two hundred years, before the great modern movement of the development for intellectual liberty. The work is a delineation of tendencies, a series of sketches of the great minds who at different times and under varied circumstances, and with unequal effect, have struck for independence of thought, a presentation of the counterforces that have antagonized intellectual liberty, and an account of the working of all those larger agencies which have in different degrees hindered or promoted freedom and independence of thought. Without having subjected the work to critical scrutiny, we are much impressed by the evidence it shows of extensive and conscientious labor, the freshness and interest of its chief subject-matter, the untrammeled treatment of the subject, and the vigor of the portrayal of that long and agonizing conflict with bigotry and intolerance, religious and political, public and private, which is the price of our modern liberty of thinking.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript*.

For sale at THE INDEX office, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

Although this work has been eulogized by the secular press, it has been bitterly attacked by the greater part of the religious press, because the author, from the highest intellectual and moral grounds, denounces some of the superstitions which have crept into Christianity as essentially irreligious, and the men who, knowing better, teach those superstitions, as essentially dishonest.

The Religion of Philosophy; OR, THE UNIFICATION OF KNOWLEDGE:

A comparison of the chief philosophical and religious systems of the world, made with a view to reducing the categories of thought, or the most general terms of existence, to a single principle, thereby establishing a true conception of God. By RAYMOND S. PERRIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

"A work which aims to teach a true conception of God, of life, and of morality."

"Mr. Perrin's able work offers a deep interest. . . . It is a remarkable book."—*Morning Post, London, Eng.*
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"The author makes a masterly analysis of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, and subjects his theory of the *Unknown* to a most close and searching criticism. It is an extraordinary work, one of the most important contributions from the press of recent times."—*F. S., in The Index, Boston*.

"Mr. Perrin writes with habitual good taste and unvarying decorum of the beliefs which he holds false in basis and spurious in sentiment. . . . His sympathy is so frank and so thorough with the true sentiments of Christianity, his aim so high and his argument so modest and earnest, that even those who will repudiate his conclusions will find satisfaction and enjoyment in reading his pages."—*Sunday Herald, Chicago*.

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

FREDERICK W. FARRAR's lectures in this country have been marked by manly, generous sentiments and a catholic spirit; and his visit to us, like that of Dean Stanley, has contributed somewhat to strengthen the friendship between his country and our own.

DR. PAUL CARUS read a very instructive paper before the Parker Memorial Science Class last Sunday on "German Universities." The essayist appeared to great advantage in the discussion which followed,—not only as a scholar and thinker, but as a ready debater in a language not his vernacular.

MR. HENDRICKS was not a great statesman, nor was he a man of progressive views; but he was an adroit and successful politician and a man of an amiable, generous disposition, a patriotic spirit, and of a clean personal character, in which there was much to cause him to be held in kindly remembrance, not only by his own party, but by men who differed from him and opposed him politically.

THE Boston *Herald* says that in New York there are all sorts of opportunities to spend Sundays in evil ways; "but a narrow religious sentiment, so called, keeps the art museums and libraries closed. It seems strange that such a relic of barbarism should survive in cosmopolitan New York, though we have done away with it in the city built by the Puritans. The Sabbath was made for man was the teaching of Him in whose name this bigotry is maintained."

PREACHER DOWNS had an immense audience to hear his vulgar and vituperative harangue in this city last Sunday evening. He said that "Almighty God saw fit to fill that church with the net called scandal." After the sermon, two or three women and one man were baptized. Says the Boston *Herald*, "A more shocking travesty of religion has not been seen in this city than the baptism of candidates for sainthood after the blackguard address in the guise of a sermon that preceded it."

A "SOCIETY of Mechanics and Tradesmen" in New York City celebrated its one hundredth anniversary with a banquet at Delmonico's one even-

ing last week. An exchange says it was "a queer place for such a society." But the society seems in no way to have dishonored "the place." The report mentions Gen. Hawley, Robert Collyer, Ex-Gov. Hoffman, Charles A. Dana, Whitelaw Reid, and Gen. Horace Porter as among those present. "There were, moreover," says the report, "women at the table, and there was no smoking."

It would be ungenerous and unjust not to recognize the good which the churches in certain directions are doing; but the *Pittsburg Despatch* is correct in declaring that "a large share of the churches do not attack the iniquities that are powerful among their membership. If a man has made a great fortune by speculations which impoverished thousands, or by monopolistic combinations which oppress consumers and producers, or by political manipulations which debauch the virtue of our republican institutions, or any other of a dozen demoralizing and dangerous ways, the church to which he gives a small percentage of his wealth is very likely to look the other way as far as his questionable practice is concerned."

THE Tories have made large gains in the recent elections in England, and it looks now as though they would continue in power for a while; but the logic and spirit of the age are against them, and it is probable that the Liberals will soon resume control. Mr. Parnell by his influence has contributed largely to the success of the Tories, with the full knowledge that they have opposed every measure that has been carried for the relief and benefit of the Irish people, but evidently with the expectation of holding the balance of power in the Commons, and of making combinations which will enable him to secure additional measures of justice to Ireland. Although the first part of the game of the Irish party has been well played, the part which will begin when Parliament assembles may be less satisfactory to Mr. Parnell and his supporters.

KING ALFONSO was accepted as Executive by the Spanish nation in 1874, as a sort of compromise between Monarchists and Republicans; and, since his accession, the country has enjoyed comparative tranquillity. The young king acted as a peace-maker between the factions. He was the subject of the ministry, against whose opinion he but rarely set up his own. What changes will be made during the regency of Queen Christina of Austria, or how long this regency will last, it is not easy to foresee. When we remember that in 1873, on the abdication of Amadeo, the son of Victor Emanuel, the republic was declared, and would probably have been maintained but for the attitude of other European nations, and consider the strength of the Republicans under Castelar and other leaders, we may well doubt the stability of the present government.

At a meeting held in Worcester, Mass., recently, under the auspices of the Worcester Indian Association, Senator Dawes said that the extension of civilization is gradually hemming the Indians in, and the cattle kings are depriving

them of their heritage, and that in a few years, unless they can be self-supporting, they will become a band of paupers and vagabonds, three hundred thousand strong, as costly for the government to support as an army of that size. The Indian, he said, should be made a man, given land in severalty, and made self-supporting, and to this end must be supplied with money, seed, houses, and cattle. The efforts of Miss Alice Fletcher were referred to in terms of praise. The work of civilizing the Indian, the speaker said, should enlist the sympathy and co-operation of good people all over the country, which might atone in part for the great wrong done the race.

Four hundred hungry newsboys were on hand to eat turkey on Thanksgiving day, in the basement of Tremont Temple, with the directors of the Newsboys' Reading-room. The dinner was half an hour later than the time set. Three times the boys charged on the officer stationed at the door, and the third time this hungry brigade carried the officer off his feet, and came very near taking the stairs with them. The ladies managed to keep the eager urchins standing behind the chairs until they were all supplied with places, when the President of the institution gave them signal to be seated. This was received with a cheer. "That's their method of saying grace," said Phillips Brooks. Hundreds of people were present to see the little fellows enjoy their dinner. Every Thanksgiving day, the newsboys are treated to a dinner at this place. The owner of Tremont Temple gives the use of the hall, proprietors of the large hotels contribute the viands, and young ladies act as waitresses.

THE papers state that every Roman Catholic physician in New York City recently received a circular containing a declaration by the pope that the killing of an unborn infant is never right, even when the life of the mother can be saved in no other way. Bishop Carrigan, in reply to inquiries, stated that the letter to the doctors is not official, and did not emanate from his office. It was probably sent out, it is said, by some person who was deeply interested in the subject. The bishop said that the statement of the pope's ruling, however, was correct. But the paragraph from which we take the above facts fails to state that it has long been the teaching of the Catholic Church that the child born and dying without baptism cannot be saved, and that Catholic theologians have long taught that it is the duty of the mother, when either she or the unborn child must die, to receive the sacraments and submit to the Cæsarian operation, in order that the offspring may be baptized alive. This is a serious subject for women who may have the misfortune to be at the mercy of zealous Catholic priests, doctors, and midwives. Nothing but theological superstition could so distort the judgment and outrage all the highest sentiments of the heart as Catholicism does in requiring that a wife and mother shall give up her life, in order that the offspring may be baptized alive, to save it from future torment.

EMERSON AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

In *The Index* of November 19, our good friend Dr. Bowditch came to the defence of Oliver Wendell Holmes against the criticism that has been made, in *The Index* and elsewhere, of the representation given by Dr. Holmes in his biography of Emerson, concerning the relations of the latter to the abolitionists. Dr. Bowditch, we are satisfied, wants to be entirely faithful to history. His sole motive is the desire that the truth of history should be preserved. Gladly would he reckon Emerson as one of the earliest group of New England anti-slavery men, if he thought that the facts would let him. But the facts, he thinks, are against such a conclusion; and, in his zeal to be true, his article appears even to go beyond Dr. Holmes' statements in denying to Emerson the right to be called a sympathizer with the abolitionists. Dr. Bowditch, too, writes as a witness from the old abolition ranks, as Dr. Holmes could not; and, therefore, his testimony deserves special consideration, and might be considered by some persons as even authoritatively settling the question. Hence, it is very important to note, first, just what it is that Dr. Bowditch says,—for some of his assertions might be quoted apart from their context, so as to make him say much more than he means; and, secondly, whether he has himself considered all the historical facts that come into the question.

As to the first point: When Dr. Bowditch says that he thinks "Mr. Emerson never really sympathized with abolitionists, such as Garrison, Phillips, Parker, and the like"; that he manifested "actual abhorrence of abolition methods"; that old abolitionists (with whom Dr. Bowditch has conversed) "agree that Emerson was never known to be in our ranks, or to show any active sympathy for the slave, or with our work for the bondman,"—absolute and sweeping as these sentences seem, they are to be interpreted as referring to the earlier years of the anti-slavery struggle. Dr. Bowditch admits that, after the contest had got into politics, and the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, and Sumner was assaulted in the Senate, and John Brown was hung, "in those dreadful days, Emerson spoke bravely and well." He certainly did; and long would be the record of his services, public and private, to the abolition cause, could they be counted during this period. Dr. Bowditch adds, "Let us thank him for that, but do not let us claim that the early anti-slavery workers had his sympathy."

Now, as to this second point,—whether the actual facts must compel a denial of the claim that the early anti-slavery workers had Emerson's sympathy,—Dr. Bowditch says that he himself became an abolitionist in 1835, when Garrison was dragged by a mob through the streets of Boston, and that from that time he was well acquainted with the doings of the abolition party and with the proceedings on its platform. But he avers that until 1854 Emerson "never spoke any ringing words in our behalf," and "never publicly showed the least interest in our proceedings." The great address which Emerson gave in New York, on the 7th of March, 1854, on the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law, "long after the battle was half won," Dr. Bowditch appears to regard as the first manifesto of Emerson's sympathy with the abolitionists. Surely, the good doctor's memory must be at fault. We remember ourselves to have seen Mr. Emerson facing a mobocratic audience two years before this date, when we were left in no doubt as to his anti-slavery position; and, before that, we had heard him several times in lyceum lectures, when

he seldom failed to put in some "ringing words" in behalf of the slave. But, more to the purpose as evidence, there is a noble lecture in Emerson's published works, which was given at Concord, Aug. 1, 1844, the anniversary of Emancipation in the British West Indies. The meeting at which it was delivered was held under the auspices of the Garrisonian abolitionists. Frederick Douglass and Samuel J. May were also speakers. No church in Concord would open its doors to the meeting, and it was consequently held in the Town Hall. Emerson's address is an eloquent portrayal of the history of the British Emancipation Act, and of its results. It gives no sign of his being a recent convert to the doctrine of immediate abolition, for this doctrine is the underlying moral principle that runs through it. And in it is a passage of wonderful power against certain outrages which had been recently committed by Southern slaveholders in our own country, whereby free colored seamen from the North had been kidnapped from their vessels and imprisoned, and in some instances sold into slavery. No more "ringing words" than these, we venture to say, were ever uttered on the anti-slavery platform. They were full to bursting with the sentiment of moral indignation against an institution that could commit such crimes and against a government that could timidly acquiesce in them. The abolitionists were delighted with this address. Garrison eulogized it in the next *Liberator* as "most satisfactory." In the *Herald of Freedom* (N. P. Rogers' paper), it was described in the most enthusiastic terms of approbation. The Anti-slavery Society published it in pamphlet form, and Wendell Phillips especially was wont for years to keep it on hand for distribution. And this was ten years before the time when Dr. Bowditch thinks that Mr. Emerson first appeared on the anti-slavery platform.

It is likely that this address of 1844 was the first special speech that he made for the abolition cause. But in various lectures and addresses previous to this there is ample evidence that he had taken a keen interest in the proceedings of the anti-slavery body, and that with their main object he was in close sympathy. In a lecture on "Heroism," soon after the murder of Lovejoy, he interjected a passage which plainly showed on which side he stood in that crisis; and it was with Dr. Channing and Phillips. But not even did it require that outrage to convert him. Already, in 1835, he had invited Harriet Martineau to his house, when Boston respectability had almost mobbed her and few persons dared to show her hospitality, because of her abolition sentiments; and, as far back as 1831 and 1832, while still a preacher in Boston and abolition was yet in its cradle, he had invited abolitionists to lecture on slavery in his pulpit. These acts, surely, which were tests of moral bravery for the time, must be regarded, at least, as showing in him an "interest" in the abolitionists, if nothing more. But, in our view, they also show the natural "sympathy" of his heart. Such acts and his public speeches, which naturally increased in frequency as the conflict developed and the crises came which summoned him from his regular pursuits, furnish adequate proof that he was a sympathizer with the abolitionists from an early date, and that the popular judgment which "identified" him with their cause was correct.

Yet this is not to say that Emerson was a frequenter of abolition conventions or a practical worker in abolition societies. It was not his wont to join any reformatory organizations. His connection with the Free Religious Association was perhaps the one exception in this respect after his retirement from the pastorate of the

Boston church. Still, he was a reformer. There was no reform of this reforming century which did not interest him; none on which he has not touched, more or less, in his writings. He was, however, a reformer on so large a scale, a reformer so profound and thorough, that he accepted it as his vocation to proclaim the general principles of all reform rather than ally himself, officially and closely, to the specific objects of any one. His work was that of a scholar and philosopher. To speak to and influence the thinking and scholarly class was his aim; and from this work, to which his genius adapted him, he did not turn wholly aside, to give all his time and strength to the abolition cause or to any other reform platform. But, when the great occasions called him, he was ready: his sympathies were always alert to such calls. It is true, also, that he sometimes criticised the special reforms and their advocates. He was himself so many-sided, and his temperament and philosophy were of so serene a cast, that he might not always throw himself easily into the mood of the special reformer, but was compelled to see the larger movement of education and social development which would carry the special reform, and was requisite to hold it. It was these characteristics of Emerson which must have thrown doubt upon his right to be classed with the abolitionists. But he manifested precisely the same traits toward the Transcendentalists. He did not join their organizations, except a conversational club; and he criticised with keen satire their foibles. Yet it is not on this account questioned that he was "identified" with them, for he was their head.

Dr. Bowditch quotes two passages from Emerson as proof of his lack of sympathy with the abolitionists,—the first from his speech on the Fugitive Slave Law, wherein he says that, until that law was enacted, he had himself "never suffered from the slave institution," etc. Dr. Bowditch thinks no one who had been an abolitionist could have said this. But the context shows that the passage was a rhetorical argument to exhibit the undeniable fact that that law did bring slavery close home, in a way not felt before, to every Northern door and hearth. The other quotation consists of fragmentary lines from the ode to W. H. Channing. This mystical poem must be read together to give its full meaning. We cannot see in it such "abhorrence of abolition methods" as our friend Dr. Bowditch does. It is no Union-saver that sings in it. It rebukes the war on Mexico in the interest of slavery, yet blames the North for it as much as the South. "The jackals of the negro-holder" are to be found in New Hampshire, and even the virtue of "Boston Bay and Bunker Hill" is not to be trusted. What boots it, then, to rend "the northland from the South"? It is the era of material prosperity, of wealth worship. Cotton is king. "Things are in the saddle, and ride mankind," so that the very ideas of humanity and brotherhood are obliterated. The poem, as it seems to us, is thus a severe indictment of the sins of the time, and by no means an approval of the condition of things. The sins are so deep that the poet despairs, indeed, of a remedy until as philosopher he catches a glimpse of the law of evolution in its social aspects, and sees a power which finally "marries Right to Might," and contrives "to bring honey out of the lion," and civilizes "pirate and Turk." Is not this the meaning of this "singular ode," as Dr. Holmes calls it? It must always be remembered that, whatever else Mr. Emerson was, he was a philosopher and poet; and, hence, his expressions of sentiment are not always to be judged by the conventional standard of the resolutions

adopted at reform meetings, though his sympathies may be wholly with the objects of them.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION OF WOMAN.

The humiliating position of women to-day, under a government republican in form, is only what we might expect, when we reflect upon the tenacity of the theological superstitions. For it can hardly be doubted that the social condition of woman was fixed thousands of years ago by religious beliefs, which, though greatly modified by later civilization, are yet operative in their effects upon modern habits of thought. When we add to the power of custom, which is an iron hand to the unthinking, the force inherent in unconscious selfishness of the governing class, we cannot wonder that the social development of women has not advanced at a greater rate of speed. In fact, the slower may perhaps be the safer way, since it admits of better preparation on the part of the restricted class; and the slow progress of social conditions challenges all the energy and capacity of the proscribed.

It took more than ten centuries of churchly contest to make communicants feel that they were bound by moral obligations to their slaves. How much longer will it be before women are acknowledged as having equal opportunities and rights before the laws of Christendom?

We must go back to the East for that religion which fixed the status of woman. Max Müller says: "We know now that in language, and all that language implies, India and Europe are one. . . Two worlds, separated by thousands of years, have been reunited as by a magic spell. We say no longer 'Ex Oriente Lux'; but we know that, in all the most vital elements of our knowledge and civilization, our language, our alphabets, our arts and figures, our weights and measures, our religions, our traditions, our very nursery stories, come to us from the East."

It seems to me that research proves this to be the case in regard to our condition. Many of the laws daily enforced in our courts of justice had their origin in the laws of Manu, which were adopted in India a thousand years before the Christian era. "Westward the course of empire takes its way"; and the Aryans, in following the sun around the globe, carried in their journeyings the seeds of that curious tree of civilization whose shadow is thrown over all the land.

Max Müller illustrates this tenacity of thought, in his *Migration of the Fables*, by the tale of the milkmaid who carried her pail upon her head, and counted her chickens before she owned the hens that were to lay the eggs. This apt tale, originating in Sanskrit, has been translated into Greek, Latin, German, Italian, French, Spanish, and English. The philologist gives us the passport of these stories "visited at every place through which they have journeyed." When children's fables, however wise, attain a longevity of near three thousand years, shall we not believe in the survival of far more important influences?

Something more interior than man's superior strength alone, must have caused the positive masculine nature to maintain its supremacy, certainly after some degree of refinement had been established in the community. If the institutions of law and religion grew out of the diverse necessities of man's needs and ambitions, they were rendered adamant and unchangeable by unenlightened religious beliefs.

In Maine's *Ancient Law*, it is asserted that "the family, as held together by Paternal authority, is the source out of which the entire law of

Persons has germinated." The author continues, "Of all the chapters of that law, the most important is that concerned about the status of woman." Now, if we go back to the first systems of worship, originating in the mysteries of generation and of death, we find a belief in a continuous existence. The soul was still associated with the body it formerly inhabited; but it could not be confined to the underworld, unless that body had received proper rites of sepulture. Without that, the soul remained a wandering, restless shade, "malevolent and tormenting."

Accordingly, a sacred fire burned upon each household altar, dedicated to its ancestral divinity, who was worshipped by special forms and ceremonies. This family religion, devoted to ancestors' worship, jealously guarded those rites in which the stranger and alien had no part. That which ministered to the peace of the departed, and served to shield the ministrants themselves from calamity, could not be left to any uninterested person.

Nor could it be left to a female. The wife and the daughter were totally effaced in the sanctuary of the home. Believing that the father alone possessed the reproductive power, their religious rites were transmitted only from male to male. The eldest son handed down his sacred office, in turn, to his male offspring, thus establishing an unbroken chain between his "ghostly predecessors" and his successors. If a link was wanting, it was supplied by adoption or by divorce and a second marriage. This acceptance of the father over the mother in parentage was found not only among the Aryans, but also among the Chinese, the Scythians, and tribes of Africa, Mexico, and Peru. The laws of Manu call the eldest son "one who is begotten for the accomplishment of a duty." In a later period, an Athenian orator exclaimed, regarding one who had left no descendants, "There is no one to render him that worship that is due to the dead."

Nor was this all. The daughter, by marriage, was cut off from participating in the family rites. Du Coulanges explains her condition at length and with great clearness. Handed over like an "infant or idiot" to the Lares and Penates of another fireside, she was alienated from her own family, and forever disqualified from engaging in its worship. The transplanted maiden, when she became a mother, could not be regarded as an ancestor. Placed in the tomb, she could not herself receive special worship, like her husband. In death as in life, she counted only as an unimportant portion of her lord and master.

In consequence of this belief and its practices, the laws of India, Greece, and Rome, which are the foundations of our own, agree in considering the wife in the light of a minor. In Rome, she lost even her title of *materfamilias* upon the death of her husband. She was never mistress of herself; or, if she broke away from ordinary restraints of custom, she was called "courtesan," like that splendid Aspasia who threw a charm over the most brilliant period of Grecian history.

The laws of Manu say, "Woman, during infancy, depends upon her father; during youth, upon her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; when she has no son, upon the nearest male relative of her husband, for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her own will."

The laws of Greece and Rome were to the same effect. So complete was masculine authority dominant that the husband could designate a guardian for his wife, should she survive him, or even choose for her a second husband. Plutarch tells us that at Rome women could not even

appear in a court of justice: the father alone could represent the family before the tribunal. "The family was a little municipality, of which the father was the governor, protector, priest, and lawgiver." When we regard the all-compelling power of religions, we cannot wonder at the origin of the caste systems of India and Egypt, at the laws of primogeniture, and, in all countries, at the subservience of woman.

What we may marvel at is, considering woman's hereditary influences and her environments from the beginnings of history, that any person should feel like criticising woman's shortcomings or her follies. Do we expect wisdom from children not yet trained to walk alone? Do we cast aside as worthless the plant that, kept secluded in a dim twilight, without sufficient nutriment or warmth, fails to give perfect blossoms? Rather let us be thankful that it has dared to put forth a single bud amid such uncongenial environments. Let us, instead, reverence that divine indwelling power, which, unhindered, shall be able, in due time, under better conditions, to fashion its own petals, and transmute its own life into fragrance and beauty.

But to return a moment to ancestor worship. Relics of it are found among the Chinese and Turks at the East, and among those western Turks, the Mormons at the West. In one of Mr. Higginson's admirable papers in *Harper's Bazar* on Woman, that writer expresses his wonder that woman has contributed anything to science, art, and literature, "for the plain reason that the shadow of repression, which is the bequest of the Oriental religion, still hangs over her." He regards the real disadvantage of women "has lain in being systematically taught from childhood up that it is their highest duty to efface themselves, or, at least, to keep out of sight." We have all seen many of our sisters whose every act seems to beg pardon for existing at all. "We would not, if we could help it, you know," they appear to say; "but we really cannot. Pray forgive us." There are a few extremists on the other hand, as in everything else, who take the opposite position; but they poorly represent the class about whom they prate.

In Miss Fielde's book, *Pagoda Shadows*, that returned missionary states that one cause for the prevalence of girl infanticide in China is the continuance of ancestor worship by male descendants. Extreme poverty, of course, is the other cause; but it is difficult to say just how far the latter motive prevails to destroy the sense of obligation toward the unfortunate female child.

It would take volumes to trace the evolution of woman's social position from remote ages to our own, and would be a delicate task to undertake. It is one continuous ascent, sometimes sharp and steep, always slow and painful. It takes many a wild winter storm to prepare the atmosphere for the smiling skies of May. It seems to be according to law that the feminine or religious temperament shall be a later development than the materialistic, virile, or masculine, and with evident reason. The one deals with rude physical conditions in the domain of force: the other enters into the spiritual realm, where all real power inheres. The highly developed man may possess that temperament to a great degree: such are the true poets, artists, and, above all, teachers of ethics.

For the distinguishing traits of the best and latest development in womanhood must surely be in the realm of morals. All her intuitions point in that direction. Her great and tender heart broods over the miserable and unfortunate with more than a maternal love. With opportu-

nities will come lives devoted to earnest and helpful activities; and "the world shall be the better for it," when her ethical sense is left free to guide her into right methods, as the compass guides the mariner.

It seems to me that the chief aids to such an unfoldment are: the evolution of science, the growing recognition of the rights of the individual, and the decay of theological superstitions. These closing lines of Bayard Taylor in *Faust* have significance in the direction of woman's influence: "Love is the all-uplifting and all-redeeming power on earth and in heaven, and is revealed in its most pure and perfect form through woman,—as Margaret drew Faust in the great poem."

HESTER M. POOLE.

THE EVOLUTIONIST AND THE AGNOSTIC.

I.

It is unhappily true that there are men of a wide range of reading, and men also of a good deal of intelligence, who still labor under the grossest misapprehensions as to the attitude toward the world of the evolutionist and the agnostic. The all-embracing philosophy of evolution is often confounded with the one branch of it so carefully worked out by Darwin, and not rarely with the still more special and restricted theory of the descent of man—from a monkey—as it is usually stated. And, even among the most scholarly,—and this is especially true of the theologians,—a common criticism of the evolutionist is that he is so arrogant as to think that he can explain everything, and by the introduction of natural laws can dispense with a God, and even with a first cause, in his explanations.

As for the evolutionist who also avows himself an agnostic, the mildest thing commonly said of him is that he is, by his own confession, an *ignoramus*. Even the theologians,—referring to them again as among intelligent men the most often at fault in such matters,—even the theologians, while they declare triumphantly that the most patient investigations of the wisest scientists always leave the investigators, at the last, face to face with insoluble mysteries, do not hesitate to proclaim the scientist an arrogant dogmatist when he frankly, yet humbly, admits his ignorance, and confesses that beyond a certain point, in whatever line of investigation, the human mind cannot go. And that an agnostic is an atheist, that in saying he knows not God he means to declare, also, that there is no God,—this is a charge which one who ventures to confess a leaning toward agnosticism may surely count upon.

To remove these and like misapprehensions will require much time. The new theory, with the entire change of the point of view which it involves, filters but slowly into the whole mass of society, through the strata of the educated, the half-educated, and the ignorant. The following illustration and statement, slight and inadequate as they are, may give to some a better understanding of the extent to which the evolutionist hopes to "explain" the universe, and of the humble manner in which the agnostic regards its mysteries.

II.

When the botanist describes to us the growth of a plant, he tells us of the nature and structure of the seed, of the effect upon it of darkness, warmth, and moisture, of the gradual changes which it undergoes in accordance with certain laws which he has formulated from many observations, and of its growth and development in further accordance with those laws, through leaf, stalk, and bud, to flower and seed again. Now, as the power behind the constant succession of changes which consti-

tute this growth is unknown to him, and as each of those changes is, to his scientific eye, as anomalous and as beautiful as is the final bursting into flower, it does not enter into his thoughts to tell us, in the course of his explanation, of a power outside of the seed and its natural surroundings, giving the right direction to its root and stalk, shaping its first leaf, or coloring its petals. He does not say, he would think it quite foolish to say, that up to this certain point the development has been uninterrupted; but, here, God interferes with the regular uniform course of nature, and introduces a new force or a new element. He does not ask, and would not think of asking, how from the seemingly lifeless seed can come the wondrously complex living organism, the plant, and its beauteous culmination, the flower, without the interposition of some power outside of it and above it. Being able to see, and in a certain sense to comprehend, the sequences of its development, and finding nowhere any suspension of those sequences, he naturally considers every process in its growth to be equally natural with every other, and thinks no one step in it more than another calls for outside help to produce it.

And thus the evolutionist would regard the life of our solar system from star-mist to the human mind. He thinks each step most wonderful, but not one more wonderful than another. He finds in the continuity of the process of development no break which he does not hope and believe new knowledge will fill. He explains or hopes to explain every phenomenon in terms of the known; and he discovers, or hopes to discover, the conditions of every change, and so the process by which every form of life has come to be what it is.

Of the ultimate reality behind all things and of the "why" of its manifestations, he knows only what the botanist knows of the guiding principle of the developing plant. But, as that ignorance in the botanist does not forbid his studying the manifestations of that principle,—which manifestations he can know,—so the ignorance of the evolutionist as to the nature of the somewhat which underlies all phenomena does not forbid his studying those phenomena, nor hinder his formulating the laws of their changes. And, as the botanist is not charged with atheism or even with irreverence in not invoking a power without nature to account for one more than another of the changes in the life of a plant, so the evolutionist should not be open to those charges in failing to invoke any power above nature to account for any of her phenomena. For guidance in what he has not seen, he trusts that which he has seen. Without arrogance and without atheism, he proclaims the perfect continuity of the life of the world, as the botanist frankly assumes the unbroken chain of sequences in the life of the plant.

III.

To the uneducated, to the dull and to the savage mind, there is little of mystery in the universe. By such minds, the most startling phenomenon is looked at, not as matter for inquiry, but simply as the act of some being like himself. All the evidence tends to show that primitive man could hardly have begun to think at all before he began to people nature, either with the spiritual doubles of his dead ancestors or with spirits like his own, but independent of those of men. His view of nature was deep-dyed with animism, with the belief that every strange object and every striking phenomenon had behind them a power and a consciousness like his own. This made all nature simple to him. Gods or demi-gods, imps or gnomes, spirits either good or evil, or of high or low degree,—these brought the thunder and the rain, the earthquake and the eclipse, the famine

and the pestilence, disease and death, as well as the good and ill of daily life. The terror shown by the savage at the more striking of nature's phenomena is not because of their mystery, but because of the wrathful being whom he believes to be behind them and to be the cause of them. With advancing knowledge, the feeling of mystery appears and grows. The daily sunshine and the noisome pestilence, instead of being considered as the results of the love or anger of some spirit, are found to be parts of an enduring and continuous nature. They are found to be explicable back to a certain point, but there to baffle all inquiry. At that point are found, in the cases cited of sunshine and pestilence, the mysteries of star-mist and of the vital principles of disease germs.

Further knowledge widens this circle of mystery. At length, the thoughtful mind no longer says God has here or there introduced a new element or a new force into this world, or has brought about this or that event for his own pleasure, at the dictate of his arbitrary will, to confound the wise, to exalt the righteous, or to bring down the wicked from their high places. The thoughtful mind, brought face to face with the world of phenomena, would speak thus: There is much which I can and do know of the movements of nature; and, from what I do know, I can formulate certain statements as to how nature acts. I see that, within the experience of all mankind, under the same circumstances, events follow one another with no variation. Trusting in the continuance of this experience of the uniformity of nature's sequences about these sequences or succession of phenomena themselves, I hope some time to be able to answer all reasonable questions. But, of the reality which underlies them, I find that both the nature of the phenomena and of my own mind tell me I can know nothing. Whichever way I turn, I am confronted at last by a mystery, before which the only proper attitude is wonder and awe. Every attempt at an explanation of the primal cause of the universe, of its final purpose, or of the aim and end of life on this planet, but involves me in contradictions and meaningless statements, and compels me to confess my inability to comprehend more than the phenomena themselves. Thus, then, the agnostic—for this confession is the fundamental principle in agnosticism—is content with ignorance; but he is content with ignorance only when it is of the kind which man's nature, or the nature of the universe as he knows it, forces upon him. Nor is it a contented ignorance: rather, it is of a kind which inspires to the noblest activity. Laying aside those questions whose solution he sees is impossible, the agnostic addresses himself all the more eagerly to those problems which promise rich results to the patient inquirer. Calmly accepting the fact that the nature of the ultimate reality and the existence or the character of another life are matters beyond the ken of the human mind, he turns to the investigation of the affairs of this life. Trusting in Nature never to deceive him by any departure from her uniformity, he enters boldly on new fields of observation and inquiry. He hopes, not to wrest the final secret from the universe, but to gain such an insight into its nature and its tendency that he can live a life in harmony with it, and can teach others so to do. Bowing reverently before the ultimate mystery, he is religious. Striving to find for himself and the fallen the true path, and striving to point it out to others, he is moral. Founding his religion and his morality on all the observations and all the thoughts of all men,—on the facts of nature,—he believes his religion and his morality rest on things unshakable.

JOHN COTTON DANA.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak for the East Dennis, Mass., Lecture Association next Sunday afternoon and evening.

"JUDAISM the Mother and Christianity the Daughter," by Rabbi Schindler, will be printed in *The Index* next week.

DR. CARUS' first reading from *Faust* in this city was a delightful entertainment, highly appreciated by the many present.

THE English translation of Count. Goblet d'Alviella's work, *The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, is for sale at *The Index* office, at \$3 per copy.

MR. W. G. BABCOCK, whose society holds its meetings in the Parker Fraternity Rooms, solicits contributions to enable him, with his "staff of workers" experienced in his methods of teaching, to make the society as successful in its third year as it has been the past two years.

MR. HOLYOAKE, in his paper, the *Present Day*, in referring to the article on "Hotel-keeping: Present and Future," in the *August Century*, says of its author, Mr. George Iles, of Montreal, "He has personal knowledge of the best hotels in Europe and America, and is the only hotel-keeper we know with literary genius."

Nor a few of our subscribers are in arrears. The small sums due make, in the aggregate, quite a large amount; and it is needed to enable us to meet current expenses. A glance at the mail-tag will show every subscriber how he stands with this office. If he is delinquent, he will do justice both to himself and to *The Index*, which visits him weekly, by sending a remittance without further delay.

CANADA has a new sect, "whose doctrine is that women have no souls, because the Bible nowhere mentions women as angels." The leader of this sect is said to be a Frenchman, who, without the imagination and spirit of gallantry characteristic of his countrymen, fails to see what the *Boston Herald* regards as a fair supposition, "that the Lord did not send women angels because of the difficulty that would have been experienced in distinguishing them from their lovely sisters who were still in the flesh. No live man would ever be taken for an angel."

THE *Iron-clad Age* (Indianapolis), of November 28, reprints our open letter to Col. Ingersoll, with the following characteristic reference to it: "Brother Benjamin, of Boston, has written an open letter to Brother Robert, of New York. We give the document elsewhere. Brother Robert being a good lawyer, having an active mind, and being skilful in the use of his native language, will be able to frame an appropriate answer to this open letter, if he deems it answerable. But Brother Benjamin is always handy in the handling of facts, and these be stubborn things."

PRESIDENT BARTLETT, of Dartmouth College, says that the petitions which the students are constantly presenting that the reading-room of that institution may be opened on Sundays will not be granted while he is president: to which the only answer ought to be: "If you are so bigoted an old fossil as that, the sooner you resign the better." "Open the reading-room," he says, "and an open library will be wanted, and next an open gymnasium." The prospect is appalling! It is incredible that in this age a man so mediæval should be still in a position of influence.—*Boston Sunday Courier*.

PROCTOR, who has freely criticised some of the positions taken by Herbert Spencer, expresses this estimate of his philosophy, which is as high as that of Fiske or of any of Spencer's disciples: "As a philosophy, I hold it worthier of the dignity of reasoning man,—at once clearer and profounder, kinder and more considerate, braver in upholding right and resisting injustice, and better calculated, if steadily followed, to make men happier and better than any which hitherto has been propounded to the world." He speaks of Herbert Spencer as "the philosopher whose doctrine has been worth more to me and to many others than that of any teacher who has drawn the breath of life."

AFTER quoting from the *Observer* and the *Independent*, from Dr. James Freeman Clarke and Prof. Seeley, author of *Ecce Homo*, as to what Christianity is, Mr. James H. West, in *Unity*, says:—

If Christianity, which now does not seem at all to know exactly what it is itself, shall indeed survive the shock of modern research and progress, and of modern ethical demand, it will survive after the manner of Dr. Clarke and Prof. Seeley,—that is positive. If it survive, it will survive not as a scheme of doctrine, or any approach to the same, but as a mutual, world-wide, uplifting power, embracing the good forces of all times and all lands. But, then, it will be no longer "Christianity"! It will be the federation of the world,—toward which, through all past ages, thought and love and hope and beauty and good will, in all the nations of the earth, have been tending. It will be the commonwealth of man.

REV. HOWARD CROSBY has addressed a letter to his flock, exhorting them not to read Sunday newspapers. In commenting on the letter of the reverend gentleman, the *New York Sun* says: "During the hours of service, a line of carriages stands in front of Dr. Crosby's Fourth Avenue Church; and the coachmen amuse each other as best they can while the doctor is preaching his sermon. They are the carriages and servants of elders and other members of the church who are inside listening to the pulpit eloquence; and work is required of them on Sunday, when, in reality, there is no occasion for it. Yet this letter attacks the Sunday newspaper, because it necessitates Sunday labor,—because it 'employs a large number of persons for its sale upon God's holy day!'"

THE *London Inquirer*, while admitting that Mr. Stead made deplorable mistakes in exposing London vice, says that it cannot "help respecting the evident sincerity and earnestness of the man," and characterizes the tone of the greater part of the London press in regard to his trial and conviction for a technical violation of the law against abduction as "simply detestable." The *Inquirer* adds: "The movement for social purity which Mr. Stead initiated with unquestionable earnestness, but with more than doubtful wisdom, will probably receive a new impulse from his imprisonment, and, we hope, will be continued with a calm, serious, and resolute purpose to stamp out the worst crimes against humanity. The writers for the London press, who affect to believe that Mr. Stead's revelations are now disproved, are living in a fools' paradise. There is, we fear, not the slightest doubt that every word of his fearful impeachment of the sin of great cities is more than justified by the terrible facts of the case."

A CORRESPONDENT of *London Light*, a journal of "psychical occult and mystical research," in describing a birthday greeting which he and his wife received from spirit friends, states that one of the spirits—a child—wrote: "We love you very dearly, and should like to give you kisses so you could feel them; but, as we may not do that yet, we will give you a nice cup of tea." "And," the

correspondent says, "when Mary and my daughter came downstairs this morning, they found the kitchen fire *alight*, although it had not even been laid over night, also the gas stove *alight*, with kettles which were left empty over night, now filled, and sweetly singing. Shortly after, the tea was made by this child spirit, and the cup of tea promised to mamma was ready. Very human characteristics! and very acceptable help, for which we have been grateful *daily* now for over two years." Help like this under many circumstances would be invaluable, especially if the fuel, water, and tea could be brought from a distance or could be "materialized" by the spirits.

THEODORE STANTON, in a recent letter to an American paper, says: "But it was not only for his own little ones that Victor Hugo had a tender heart. When he was busy on his famous novel, *Notre Dame de Paris*, he used to spend hours every day writing on the top of the towers of the old cathedral. Some children of the quarter had fastened a swing to a beam in the belfry, and their joyous voices were a continual source of delight to the busy author. The priests, however, thought this innocent amusement a sacrilege, and had the rope cut down. About this time, the name of the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affre, came up for election in the French Academy. Victor Hugo was asked by a friend to vote for the archbishop. 'Say to monseigneur,' was the poet's answer, 'that I will support him, if he give orders to have the swing put back on the tower of Notre Dame.' We are not informed whether the children ever saw their rope again, but the list of the members of the Academy reveals the fact that Archbishop Affre was never made an 'Immortal.'"

THE malicious charge that the Jewish people, nineteen hundred years ago, had tried, convicted, and executed an innocent man, has brought upon them indescribable misery, and bears every day its bitter fruit. This charge has been the cause of wholesale murder, and for nineteen centuries has our nation been persecuted for no other offence than that their ancestors had crucified Jesus. We were, and are still called, Daicides, or, as vulgar language expresses it, Christ-killers. But the charge is as false as it is malicious. If you scan the Jewish law from its beginning to its end, you will find that no such trial as related in the Gospels could ever have taken place. The whole form of the proceeding, as told in the Gospels, is illegal, according to the form minutely described by the Jewish law. It shows again that the writers of the Gospels have not been Jews, but must have been Greeks or Romans, who were ignorant of the Jewish law. And so it was; and, with this fact, the whole charge explodes. The whole charge was a fabrication of the early Church.—*Rabbi Schindler*.

For *The Index*.

SEEK AND FIND.

No poison flower but beareth
Some honey in its cup,
And to the love that dareth
Will yield its sweetness up.

No bitter fruit that groweth
But changeth into sweet,
When all about it gloweth
The summer's gentle heat.

No life all evil bringeth;
Good hath its secret place;
Still, truth's soft echo ringeth;
Love findeth heart of grace.

The giver aye receiveth;
The seeker findeth due;
Love getteth all it giveth;
To truth, all things are true.

C. APLIN.

The Index.

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

The Dual Aspect of our Nature.

BY EDWARD MONTGOMERY.

The Essential Identity of all Conscious Realization.

It is of the essence of the conception of the conservation of energy and the correlation of its modes to assume that antecedent modes cause or produce consequent modes by being altogether converted into them. Mayer distinctly says: "Since c becomes e , and e becomes f , etc., we must consider these magnitudes as different phenomenal forms of one and the same object. The first property of causes being indestructibility, the second property is convertibility, or capability of assuming various forms."

We have seen that Mr. Herbert Spencer, giving full play to the comprehensive sweep of his mind, applied this property of convertibility of the various modes of the one cause, force, or unknowable, to mental as well as to physical phenomena. And thus, on the strength of the newest and most approved scientific generalization, was unexpectedly revived the ancient, all-identifying, all-mystifying religion of the absolute: the world and our lives therein nothing but a phenomenal emanation from an inscrutable reality; nothing but a flowing metamorphosis of appearances having their origin in one and the same absolute, all-efficient, incomprehensible cause.

What bootless, phantasmagorical strife, what wholly unprofitable flurry of life and religious zeal, would be this surmised subsistence of ours as mere shadowy semblances, whose real actuating power was dwelling in sublime security, beyond the tumult and passion of the phantasmal play of which our being and its doings were forming part! No: assuredly not of such dream-like stuff are we and the other things truly made; not in the least phenomenal this our present existence and its fervid doings, but utmost reality of life brought to bear with enduring efficiency on veritable reality of being.

This deepest truth, relied and acted upon in the glow and press of human exertion, is the genuine foundation of all other truths. Let us not dissipate it into vacuous impotency. The indiscerptible substantiality of our actual existence, let us not volatilize it through thought or belief into a mere transient confluence of foreign motions, passing away into new modes of unsubstantial mutability. On an irrefragable groundwork of science and philosophy let us establish the essential and lasting worth of our personality. We, here in existence, are truly persistent powers, cosmically and significantly wrought, widely and subtly responsive, modifiable still for better or worse by surrounding influences, and transcendently moved to shape with self-devotion the random course of events in strict harmony with the unitary ideal of living purpose.

This notion of equivalence in nature, meaning the indestructibility of energy through complete transformation into new modes, is the expression of an entirely mistaken interpretation of sense phenomena; and we cannot hope to make any decided headway in the understanding of our nature without thoroughly penetrating the fallacy.

The persistence of force, or conservation of energy, is now almost universally adopted as the foundation of all science. Natural phenomena of all kinds being thus, at last, only the varying manifestation of an ever identically abiding power, this leading principle of modern science inevitably lands us into the idealistic pantheism of the identity philosophy. In the first instance, however, it aims to oppose to the material constant "mass" a complementary constant of force, to be looked upon as the only effect-producing cause in nature; a cause wholly indestructible, on account of its ever converting itself without diminution into its own effects. Thus, a force is only apparently consumed in the act of metamorphosis. It really reappears unscathed in its new mode of being. The effect is itself the cause metamorphosed. Mayer calls this conception, reminding one very much of some antique speculations, "the heliocentric stand-point, constituting a natural basis for physics, chemistry, physiology, and philosophy."

Because of the vast import and the noxious consequences of this eccentric view of nature, the war declared against it in the *Popular Science Monthly*, 1878, is here continued in the name of consistent observation and sober thought.

Mayer unambiguously asserts that not the pull or push exerted by masses, as formerly believed, but "the *vis viva* of motion, must be called a force." In fact, this kind of moving activity in the form of kinetic energy is the very type of a force, in the sense of the modern dynamics. It is obvious—so it maintains—that the "falling force," or potential energy of position, becomes wholly transformed into kinetic energy, or force of motion. Consequently, "force is a transformable, indestructible, imponderable object"; matter, or mass, on the contrary, an indestructible, ponderable object. Energy, or moving force, the one active, efficacious agent in the world; matter, or inert mass, a mere passive, ineffective *caput mortuum*.

But we may be allowed at once to ask whether it is true or not that *vis viva*, the acknowledged type of force, is itself a product into which "mass" enters as an essential factor. If this is undeniable, —and who will have the courage to deny it?—how, then, can energy be imponderable, masses being measured by weight? How transformable, masses being by no means changed into each other during interaction? How indestructible, the motion of *vis viva* being liable to cease altogether during interaction in the very mass which constitutes it? If energy, kinetic energy, were constituted only by

motion,—and how happy would Sir William Thomson, Prof. Helmholtz, and other great physicists, be, if they could impart, not only motion, but with it, also, genuine energy to their vortex atoms!—if kinetic energy were only velocity made up of nothing but time and space, we might possibly be tempted to give way to the fanciful conceit that a definite quantity of such spectral activity was flitting about the world, diving indestructibly in and out of masses, and assuming all manner of modes. But what energy could mere velocity possess without its moving mass? And how, then, could energy, the product of mass and motion, leave its best part behind on taking possession of a new body, and nevertheless remain identical and equal in its new habitation, the very same entity, only metamorphosed? Schelling, in his wildest conceptual dreams, never conceived anything so fantastic and anti-axiomatic as this notion of convertibility and indestructibility of energy underlying our present interpretation of nature. Surely there is a good deal more "mysticism and *Naturphilosophie*" involved in the new conception than in the old assumption of an inherent capability of producing effects indicated in the terms "gravity," "cohesion," "elasticity," "chemical affinity," etc.

To escape the very obvious difficulties involved in the supposition of an actual metamorphosis of one force manifestation into another, the clever device of "falling force," "tension," "static or potential energy," was resorted to. Thus, whenever any amount of actual energy seems to disappear, it is said to be potentially subsistent in the changed state of things. And whenever, under changing conditions, some new amount of actual energy seems to come into existence, it is declared to have been potentially subsistent in what constituted the antecedent state of things. So, of course, the total amount of energy in nature can never be diminished nor augmented. For we set out with the assumption that what is not actual is potential, and *vice versa*. Therefore, the sum total of actual energy, potential energy, both kinds of energy being convertible into each other, must, under all changing conditions, ever remain the same.

Accordingly, when material particles or masses begin to move, they are said to do so, not only—as one would kinetically suppose—by dint of energy just imparted to them, but, likewise, by dint of energy mysteriously pent up in their own colloocations or in their peculiar spatial relation to other matter. And, when such particles or masses cease to move, they need not necessarily—as one would kinetically suppose—have imparted their motion to other particles or masses, but may, it is asserted, retain within their own colloocations, or through the spatial position to which their motion has carried them, the energy apparently lost through cessation of motion.

Faraday, whose keen-sighted penetration and divination of physical interaction were truly prodigious, could not bring himself, like Mayer, to look upon falling distance as the measure of gravitative force. Mayer says, "Falling or gravitative force is a distance in space between two ponderable bodies." Now, as by merely changing the distance, gravitative force may either be augmented to a maximum or diminished to a minimum, it is clear that this amounts to a creation or annihilation of force, by merely altering the position of the attracting bodies. Besides, one particle attracting another particle with a certain force at a certain distance will attract a million such particles at the same distance, each with the same force. Whence this million-fold increase of force? Faraday held that, if the principle of conservation is paramount truth, there must

exist a source of power drawn upon, when gravitative force thus increases, and some recipient of power taking up the force, when gravitative attraction diminishes with mere increase of distance or mere removal of attracted particles. He believed that some mode of equivalent exchange would ultimately be discovered, and the principle of conservation thus vindicated.

He did not realize that a change in the mutual relation of masses or power-complexes is capable of annihilating energy manifest under the former conditions, and of creating other energy through the newly established relations; and that it is only natural that, on re-entering into the old relations, on returning to the former state, the old quantity and mode of energy come again into existence.

A favorite illustration of this mutual and quantitative convertibility of both kinds of energy, actual and potential, is afforded by the pendulum. It is maintained that, when in its oscillation the pendulum has gained the point most remote from the earth, it has therewith accumulated its fill of potential energy, all its moving energy having then been converted into energy of position, which energy of position is ready to be again reconverted into its exact equivalent of energy of motion, and so on *ad infinitum*, provided there were no obstacles in the way. Now, this alleged transformation of one kind of energy into another is evidently a scientific fiction. The steady powers here at work are the two masses: the pendulum and the earth seem to change their relative positions toward each other. The actuating forces are the moving energy of the pendulum and its attraction by the earth. The pendulum starts with a so-called advantage of position, given to it by some external force. Then it begins to fall toward the earth, and in so doing is attracted with accelerated motion. It thus *gains* the moving energy, with which it reaches the nearest point of approach to the earth. The physicists tell us that it is the potential energy of position which has here been converted into the actual energy of motion, and that the energy gained on the one side has been lost on the other. The obvious truth, however, is that the accumulating energy is due to no loss of any kind, but, on the contrary, to a growing gain, to an actual *generation* of mass motion, imparted to the pendulum by its gravitative relation to the earth. The moving energy thus acquired by the pendulum, elevates it again to the same height from which it had fallen. Physicists tell us that the actual energy of the moving mass has been here reconverted into the potential energy of position. The truth, however, is that the force of gravitation has counteracted the moving energy, till it has completely *annihilated* it, and this without spending itself in the least degree. In contradiction to the fundamental assumption of modern science, nature gives us here a very transparent example of the alternate creation and annihilation of moving energy.

We may generalize, and assert that, whenever any kind of moving energy is said to have become potential, it has, in verity, been annihilated; and, when any kind of moving energy issues from potential latency, it has been newly created. For instance, when it is said that coal contains stored-up sunbeams, that the energy locked up in coal is derived from the energy of the sun's rays, this is really nothing but a figure of speech. For the energy irradiating from the sun was spent and annihilated in disoxidizing carbonic acid, and was in no way left latent or potential, either in the carbon or the oxygen. The energy of combustion, potentially subsistent in the carbon, is alto-

gether due to its own specific and original chemical affinity to oxygen, and starts quite *de novo* into actuality or existence under appropriate conditions.

The kinetic energy spent in overcoming the effective power of such permanent forces as gravitation, cohesion, chemical affinity, elasticity, etc., may serve as a measure for the amount of power by which it is opposed from within the substances upon which it is acting. But, in accomplishing its task of separation, this kinetic energy does not become in any way potential in the substances. It is simply annihilated.

The theory of the Conservation of Energy has, of course, to maintain the contrary. The kinetic energy employed in the work of physical separation, called "disgregation," and in the work of chemical separation, called "disassociation," is evidently consumed in counteracting the permanent, persistent forces of cohesion, or chemical affinity. But the present leading theory of science, when consistent, has the audacity to assert that the kinetic energy spent in performing such work has been actually metamorphosed into the potential energy of the now disengaged original forces; that the now unsatisfied tendency of cohesion or chemical affinity is itself, in all reality, that same kinetic energy potentially metamorphosed. Thus, the energy spent in separating the particles of a material system, held together by forces inherent in that system, is said to be by no means exhausted in antagonizing the energy of the forces against which it is pitted, but to slip over into the resisting substance, and become there the very force by which, from the first, it was opposed, and *against* which all its energy was spent. You ask, Where is now the kinetic energy which accomplished the physical or chemical separation? and you are told that it exists as an equivalent amount of potential energy in the disgregated or disassociated particles. And when, at some future time, such particles come to reassert their cohesive power or chemical affinity, it is said that the old kinetic energy which effected the separation and had been potentially locked up in the severed particles is now being remetamorphosed into its former actual state. Now, if the kinetic energy which has effected the separation has really, through metamorphosis, become in some manner potential in the separated particles, then *withdrawal* of this potential energy, through retransformation into motions of the medium, would be the veritable cause of the molecular combination. Cohesion and chemical affinity would be binding material particles together,—not by dint of any energy or power, but, on the contrary, through deprivation or loss of energy or power. One has, indeed, to be a fanatical kinematist to believe in such an absurd state of things.

But take the least extreme view that can here be adopted by the mechanical interpretation, and the incompetency of the great doctrine of the conservation of energy remains still obvious enough. Assume, in analogy to gravitation, that through the work of disgregation or disassociation the consumed kinetic energy has placed the particles in a position of advantage, from which the cohesive force or chemical affinity inherent in them is enabled to exert its influence. Now, the question is, Do the particles gain the actual energy with which, on clashing together, they agitate the medium, simply by reversion, into actual energy, of the potential energy of their position? Or do they not rather gain such actual energy through being attracted by the cohesive or chemical forces in coming within range of their permanent efficiency? If we admit cohesion and chemical affin-

ity to be at all forces inherent in the particles,—and we have seen in another section that we are compelled to do so,—then there can be no doubt which is the correct answer. In carrying the particles out of the range of mutual attraction, the applied kinetic energy was really consumed,—not only rendered latent to our senses for the time being, but truly annihilated. Whenever the original forces inherent in the particles get a chance of reasserting their influence, then the particles, being thus made to fall together, gain thereby quite *de novo* the kinetic energy with which they agitate the medium. This kinetic energy of approach, created by the attracting forces, is naturally equal to the kinetic energy required for again separating the particles beyond the effective range of such cohesive or chemical attraction. And there it is where the principle of numerical equivalence finds its justified application in nature.

Another kind of attempt is sometimes made to balance the two sides of the kinetic account where gravitation is involved. It is assumed that the tensile force of gravitation, opposing the energy which carries a moving mass away from the earth, becomes somehow accumulated in its position of advantage as potential energy. As if an invisible elastic band were stretched more and more tightly between the earth and the ascending body, the motion of the latter is thought to be gradually consumed in the pull, and then its mass forcibly fetched back with accelerated velocity by the accumulated tension. The fallacy of this subterfuge is obvious. First of all, the tension of gravity, unlike that of tensile elasticity, *diminishes* with the distance of the attracting bodies. The farther apart, the less the tension. Weight is the measure of gravitative tension, and a body weighs less and less in proportion as it is removed from the earth. It is of the essence of gravitation that its influence decreases with the distance. How, then, dare anyone maintain that a body demonstrably losing tension by being distanced from the earth owes, nevertheless, its position of advantage or potential energy to a gain of tension accruing to it through separation from the same?

But, even if there were really something like tensile elasticity at work between the earth and a body removed from it, it would certainly not be the pulling force of gravitation, still immutably active as tension,—it would not be this wholly unspent energy which had become in some unknown way converted into the potential energy of position. When I raise a weight from the ground, my muscular energy is playing the part of the moving energy of the pendulum or other ascending body; and it is surely not the tension of gravitation, which has been converted into the position of advantage, which the weight is thus made to occupy. My pull, being stronger than the counter-pull of gravitation, has succeeded in overcoming it. As soon as my pulling exertion ceases, the unremitting force of gravitation regains at once the ascendancy; and the weight, in falling, spends not only no previously accumulated energy, but, on the contrary, gains quite *de novo* all the energy with which it reaches the ground.

The assertion that the actual energy of an ascending body has, in all reality, been converted into potential energy of position, can be disproved in various ways. For instance, let us consider a moment what has become of the same amount of moving energy when a body, instead of being thrown up vertically into the air, is thrown out horizontally. In both cases, the motion will be antagonized by the same forces, chiefly by gravitative attraction. But, in the former instance, the body is said to have gained in energy of position what it has lost in energy of motion; while, in the

latter instance, the entire actual energy has disappeared without being converted into any kind of potential energy. The same forces are at work in both cases: yet, in the one case, the body will reach the ground with the same energy with which it left it; in the other, it will reach the ground with hardly any energy at all. The difference is here merely due to the accidental direction of the moving mass, giving it in the one case, *without any additional application of force*, an advantage of position, from which the gravitative influence is able to act through double the space and double the time, the last half being exerted, not in opposition, but in aid of the moving energy of the attracted mass.

The *modus operandi* by which distance produces its effects on the efficiency of forces is, as yet, wholly inscrutable. Gravitation as well as the molecular efficiencies manifested by ponderable and imponderable vehicles of kinetic energy, such efficiencies as cohesion, elasticity, chemical affinity, magnetism, radiant emanation, etc., are, in most varying proportions, essentially influenced by distance. Yet our scientific imagination fails to realize any possible manner by which mere forceless expanse could at all condition activity. Action at a distance is mechanically unintelligible. But so, on the other side, just as unintelligible is the interaction of parts of a *plenum*. Here, again, we find the mechanical interpretation driven to an extremity in which it is compelled to confess its utter inability to explain the mode of action by which forces exert their efficiency; in fact, the mode of action by which any kind of physical change is wrought in nature. That this general difficulty is most apparent with regard to space-influences lies in the circumstance that, while the so-called physical forces correspond to actual compulsory sensations in us, there corresponds to our consciousness of unoccupied or empty space no such compelling influence. The objective correlate of mere conscious expanse, unoccupied by forces, we are at a loss to figure, because we can objectify nothing that does not sensibly affect us. Some extra-mental state of existence necessarily corresponds to our bare space-consciousness. But what in the world can that be besides and in addition to the sense-compelling forces occupying it? Nevertheless, objective influences constituting the compelled space relations of perceptual objects must be somehow existent: otherwise there could have resulted no corresponding organization in us, and therewith no correspondence of the mental with the extra-mental order of co-existence.

There is no occasion here to refute in detail the assumption of the convertibility into various phenomenal forms of a definite amount of force underlying natural appearances. It suffices to have pointed out its complete inability to account for some very common examples of interaction, to which its most eminent advocates have sought to apply it.

Nature does not consist in the Protean metamorphosis of one and the same existent, itself ever hidden under a continual flux of unsubstantial appearances. This way of looking at force manifestations is a "dynamical fiction," as fantastic as that of Heraclitus. Here, also, it is heat—as a mode of motion—which transforms itself into the other force phenomena of our ever-changing world. The nature we all know consists obviously in the manifestation of complexes of permanent powers, definitely constituted and endowed with definite efficiencies, which complexes, by dint of strictly conditioned interaction with each other, are undergoing mostly very gradual changes in their own constitution, and by no means sudden transmutations into something else, with entire loss of their

own being. These substantial power-complexes act physically upon each other,—not by anything passing out of one complex into another, but by calling forth within each other reactions, which tends to restore the balance of forces that actually constitutes them the substances they are,—a balance being now disturbed by the introduction of a foreign presence into their sphere of action.

If the introduction of a power-complex into the sphere of action of another power-complex possesses potency enough to overthrow its intrinsic balance instead of merely agitating it, then breaking up into parts is the consequence, or entire dissolution into more elementary powers. If, furthermore, the foreign complex possesses the capacity under existing conditions to combine or to coalesce with the other complex on which it is acting and by which it is acted upon, then the formation of a larger or of a higher complex results.

How a power-complex can be set in motion by another power-complex, and how through degrees of velocity—that is, through mere quicker translation through space—it can become the vehicle of proportionately increasing kinetic energy, is an occurrence as unintelligible as any other space-influence, with the additional just as insurmountable unintelligibility of time-influence. Indeed, it might be argued with great cogency that, of all force-manifestations, kinetic energy, generally believed to be the most intelligible, is actually the most incomprehensible.

How it happens that there are at all such interacting powers in existence, and how it comes that they possess peculiar efficiencies by which they are enabled to act upon each other in definite ways, forming through synthetical processes of elaboration and organization ever higher complexes, with more and more specific modes of action and reaction,—how all this comes about is a mystery as yet far beyond our ken.

But, if philosophy is able to correct our present kinetic and aggregational science by pointing to the substances themselves as the veritable source of the incalculable amount and variety of energy manifesting itself in the progressive elaboration of nature, the all-important lesson taught by science and commonly overlooked by philosophy is that, so far back as we can reach in the history of the world, the objective substratum reveals itself as having been gradually elaborated from most definite constituents, disclosing more and more primitive elements of composition, as we proceed with our investigation. Spectral analysis leaves no doubt that, whatever kind of existents are indicated by the elementary vibrations, each of these existents—far more primitive than our so-called chemical elements—maintains with marvellous tenacity its peculiarity and identity of nature. Surveying the results of exact science, we can come to no other conclusion than that, long before we ourselves and any of the complex modes of being came into existence, there was a substratum consisting of exceedingly primitive, but nevertheless quite definite and discrete elements,—elements having, whatever primordial nature, an objective existent, as such may extra-mentally possess. It is, therefore, altogether unscientific to conceive the objective substratum as forming, to start with, an all-powerful, all-containing, undifferentiated unity, of which the things of our present nature are special particularizations or even mere modes of phenomenal appearance. It is, however, not difficult to account for this philosophical misconception so persistently adhered to, not only in transcendental dreams, but also in serious speculations on a

scientific basis. The all-identifying unity of consciousness mirrors itself with delusive continuity on the ever-whirling spray which underlies objective existence.

In the above discussion, we have spoken of an "objective substratum" and of "power-complexes," instead of using the terms "matter" and "things," because every thoughtful reader is nowadays aware that we realize the objective world only in so far as it makes itself perceptually known to us. It is with the understanding of this truth that our mind receives its initiation into philosophical insight. Each of us is in possession of individual consciousness which constitutes, all in all, our mentality. We can realize nothing whatever which does not become conscious to us: therefore, everything we realize is necessarily, as such, a fact of our own individual mind. When, for instance, I speak of "mass," I am objectifying—projecting into space as something distinct from myself—a definite complex of my individual feelings. This is readily intelligible. "Mass" is something which has power to resist attempts at intrusion with a definite amount of counteraction. How do I know this? Simply by feeling this effect upon myself, by experiencing a definite sensation of resistance whenever I endeavor to occupy through any exertion of mine the space filled by that which, chiefly in virtue of this resisting power, is called "mass." Such mass is found to have also gravitating power or weight in its present relation to the earth. This I know—provided it be movable—by certain feelings of pressure or tension. The movableness I discern by means of another set of feelings. And the extent of the space-occupancy of the mass I make out again only by peculiar feelings of mine. In short, no property or quality of such mass, whether tangible, visible, audible, tastable, or scented, can be realized by me save as feeling of my own.

As a general truth, this mental consistency of realized facts is usually admitted by scientists and philosophers. But some of its most momentous bearings are not yet fully recognized. Chiefly through the study of the physiology of the senses, scientists were led to discern that a sensation aroused by an external stimulus applied to the organ of sense must necessarily be a subjective state of consciousness, which intrinsic mental state cannot possibly bear any resemblance to the external non-mental stimulus. Thus, it is generally pointed out that a sound, for example, differs *toto genere* from the air-vibrations which arouse it, the former being a sensation, the latter its objective cause. Now, this very statement, plausible as it may seem to many, is fundamentally erroneous. The air-vibrations are not really the awakening stimulus, much less the cause of the sound. We need only inquire what is meant by "air-vibrations" to discover that it is, in truth, a group of visual feelings which we thus denominate. This once distinctly recognized, it becomes evident that it cannot have been these, my visual feelings, which have caused or aroused my auditory feelings. It is certain, then, once forever, that air-vibrations, which as such are my visual feelings, have not been the real stimulus of my auditory organ. If there is here anything at all active outside myself, then it must be something extra-mentally subsistent, something which has power to arouse in me visual as well as auditory sensations.

In order firmly to grasp the most important of all philosophical distinctions, the distinction obtaining between mental and extra-mental reality, we have to recognize that perceptions of all kind belong to one and the same purely mental order,

and that one kind of perception cannot possibly be an efficient or awakening cause of another kind,—cannot, as perception or mental existent, be the real operating power in sense-manifestation. Air-vibrations are realized through sight, by means, it is said, of ether-vibrations and the sensory organ. But ether-vibrations, as such, are not the real cause or stimulus of visual sensations; nor is the sensory organ, as such, a cause of them. Ether-vibrations are, like air-vibrations, perceptions of mine, imagined on sufficient scientific grounds. My sensory organ is, also, only a perception of mine, though actually and vigorously compelled. This, my organ of sight, now present to me as actual or imagined perception,—and this is the only manner in which I can at all realize it,—will any one doubt that, as such a conscious existent, it is utterly powerless to produce any effect whatever in me or any one else? Is it not true that you yourself can realize this same organ of mine much more readily than I can? And will any one maintain that this realization of yours, this percept of my organ of sight in your consciousness, however vivid and actual it may be, is in any way efficient to help me in the least in my own sight-perception? And, if the mental existent in you, which so distinctly represents my visual organ, is impotent to influence my sight in the least degree, why should the same kind of mental existent, representing in me the same thing under the same conditions, be at all more efficient? If there is anything at all vitally and organically effective in bringing about my sight-realizations and in arousing in you the percept of a sensory organ belonging to me, it must surely be something extra-mentally subsistent. But if my sensory organs, as they are realized in your mind as well as in my own, are nothing but mental states, solely existent as special groups of feelings in the individual consciousness of whoever may be just having the perception, then it is clear that, in the same way, my whole body, in all its parts, as known to myself and others, through sensory channels,—and this is the only manner in which it is known,—is likewise only a perceptive realization, a special group of feelings, in whoever is just perceiving it. And, being thus constituted, it cannot possibly be the actual agent causing the system of mental realizations, of which, when itself perceived or imagined, it forms only a part. What we sensibly know as our body is, in all verity, a definite configuration of compulsory percepts. Thus, its thorough mental consistency has to be clearly comprehended before any progress can be made in the solution of the problem of body and mind. For it teaches us, on the one hand, that mind cannot in any manner be the function of this mere perceptual body; and, on the other hand, it renders evident that mind—your mind, for instance—is not actually bringing into existence my body, when you happen to perceive it.

The difficulty of fully recognizing the purely mental consistency of what one knows as one's own body lies in the fact that each of us realizes the existence and sundry specifications of his own organism through channels additional to those by which it is also realized by other perceivers. We have, namely, an immediate and very constant feeling of most parts of our sensory surface, without being obliged to call in the aid of outside stimulation. This immediate self-feeling furnishes us with an accurately shaped realization of the spatial disposition of our corporeal belongings, carrying along with it a specific discrimination of its sundry parts. We know, without having recourse to the so-called objective senses by mere immediate

self-feeling, that it is this or that part of our body which at present is occupying this or that part of space. And you, who may be perceiving my body at the same time, will corroborate through objective inspection the strangely congruent correctness of this purely subjective realization of mine. The import of these specific feelings to philosophy has been hitherto almost completely overlooked. Yet inalienable and aroused within us independently of outside interference, it is they which give us more especially the sense of a body personally our own, and the ever ready sense also of its varying postures; a plastic sense moulded each instant to fit our body and its movements.*

Now, one need only consider that feelings of every kind, whether aroused from outside or altogether intrinsically awakened, whether extensive or intensive, are one and all mere states of our individual mind, and it cannot fail to become a settled philosophical tenet that, whatever consciousness we possess regarding our own body and by whatever means that consciousness may be aroused, it can be only of mental consistency.

It is but a traditional prejudice to take for granted, as is usually done, that feelings can have, as such, no extension, shape, or motion, that all mental states possess only intensive qualities. A visual percept—a flying bird, for instance, with all its extension, shape, and motion—is realized in my consciousness, and is, therefore, out and out of mental consistency.

And now we are in a position to understand what has so sorely puzzled most modern thinkers,—why, namely, our brain and its molecular motions cannot possibly be causally connected with our mental phenomena. The brain and its molecular motion are perceptive realizations, mere mental existents in the consciousness of whoever perceives them. It is, therefore, quite out of question that as such mental existents they could have any influence, and much less be the actual cause of the mental phenomena experienced by the subject to whom the organ is seen to belong. If anything at all causes these mental phenomena, it must evidently be some extra-mental existent having power to arouse in an observer the perceptual realization of a brain in functional activity, a brain apparently belonging to a definite outside subject, and power also to arouse simultaneously in the subject to whom the brain seems to belong mental states found on investigation to correspond with the molecular changes which take place in his, the observer's, perception.

The relation of an objectively perceived brain function in the consciousness of an observer to the feelings experienced concomitantly by the subject to whom the organ actually belongs—a relation, after all, not so exceptionally mysterious as has hitherto appeared—was obscured, above all, by the physical generalization, confidently asserting that all forces in nature, when disentangled from the subjective qualifications of observers, are in their own real nature so many modes of motion. This seemed plausible enough even to advanced scientific thought; for not only is every physical change or effectuation perceived or conceived as a mode of motion, but all influences which affect our senses and our sensorium are apparently mere modes of motion, vibrations, and mechanical impacts of all sorts impinging on our sensory surface. Then, furthermore, such motion is propagated from the sensory surface along the nerves to the central organs, where the molecular stir—apparently producing consciousness as a mere by-play, or being somehow mysteriously accompanied by it—is transmitted to the motor tracts, and thence out again into the inorganic world. Thus, motion,

everywhere the apparent bearer and instigator of physical activity, came to stand in the scientific mind for the very essence of objective efficiency; while sensation, which seems to emerge all at once so incomprehensibly from the brain in connection with it, was held to compose, in full contrast to all physical facts, the subjective side of nature.

The relation of brain motion and mind was still more obscured by the physiological generalization which looked upon *contractility* as the vital function of the muscular system, and upon *sensibility* as the corresponding vital function of the nervous system. Nothing could be philosophically more confusing than this readily exposed physiological misconception, which has induced so many materialistic thinkers to look upon mental phenomena as brain-secretions. In observing a functioning muscular fibre, you perceive in it a molecular stir, resulting in an alternate contraction and expansion of the muscular fibre. In observing in the same manner a functioning piece of brain, you would likewise see nothing but a molecular stir, only here the molecular motion does not result in a perceptible contraction of the functioning parts. The difference in the kind of *motion* is the only difference which an observer can possibly perceive between functioning muscular substance and functioning brain substance. The vital performance or physiological function is in both instances essentially identical,—a peculiar kind of motion, and nothing but motion. Or does the observer of muscle and brain,—as usually presupposed in scientific reasoning,—does he in any way perceive the sensation which the subject, to whom the perceptively represented muscle and brain actually belong, has been himself meanwhile experiencing? If you were capable of perceiving every slightest molecular stir in my brain, you would not share in the very least degree in my consciousness, would not be aware of my feelings and thoughts. My sensations, feelings, thoughts, are as such absolutely and unsharably my own subjective property, impalpable, invisible, inaudible, in all ways insensible to any one else.

You perceive a brain and its molecular stir, and these peculiar realizations form part of your consciousness. The subject to whom the brain actually belongs experiences at the same time certain sensations, found on inquiry to correspond with these realizations of yours; but such sensations form part of his consciousness, not of yours. Your conscious states, in which he has no part, and his conscious states, in which you have no part, cannot possibly as such affect each other, cannot stand in any relation of mutual coercion. I am utterly impotent to feel what mental states you are experiencing, unless you let me know by dint of sensible and comprehensible signs. You, in the same way, are impotent to know without appropriate physical signs what is present in my mind.

It is of the utmost consequence to recognize that these objective expressions of our subjective mental states, which the observer perceives as physical signs emanating from our individuality, as they are not mental, must necessarily be extra-mental activities,—activities of extra-mental belongings of ours, which we ourselves somehow control, and which have power to impress observers, by awakening in them the feelings which constitute the perceived physical signs.

To motion perceived by an observer in muscles corresponds motion perceived by an observer in brains. To sensation experienced in one's own central organ would correspond sensation experienced in one's own muscular organs. And these organs, which an observer perceives as muscular substance and brain substance, are, evidently, as one's own belongings, extra-mental

* See *Mind*, 1885, "Space and Touch."

existents, carrying on their vital business independently of being realized in the perception of any observer whatever.

In order to assist in penetrating the erroneous antithesis established by science between motion and sensation, it is, perhaps, advisable to give special expression to what is already obviously implied in every part of the above discussion; namely, that the motion you or I may be perceiving, of whatever kind it may be, physical or physiological, is a fact in your or my consciousness, and, therefore, itself a mode of feeling. Motion is definite sensation shifting in space: voluntarily, when one brings about the shifting one's self; compulsory, when it is imposed from outside. In any case, it is of mental consistency through and through, and, as such, never a cause, force, energy, or efficient agent of any kind, but only a sign of effectuation. Hence, the perplexity of mechanics.

From the evidence before us, it seems positively proved that the outer world we know, and also our own body, are perceptual realizations within our individual consciousness, and, as such, purely mental existents. It follows that the distinction we make within the realm of our consciousness, between its objective and its subjective modes, does not designate a radical difference of nature. There exists no deep-going contrast between what we know as matter and what we know as mind, no real duality of material body and immaterial soul. All we individually and directly are aware of concerning this world and ourselves is indiscriminately of genuine mental consistency. Therefore, every distinction we draw between various groups of our mental possessions and whatever name we give to such distinctive groups of conscious existents, the all-comprising unity and ideality of individual consciousness is including them all in one and the same monistic system of mental manifestations.

The further all-important questions are, What do these mental realizations actually signify? How are they caused? What power have they over existence? and, above all, What relation do they bear to that which so steadfastly compels the peculiar group of perceptions which we call our body?

BOOK NOTICES.

THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. By Edwin Pears, LL.B., Late President of the European Bar at Constantinople. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

Drawn to the subject of this volume during a protracted residence in Constantinople, the author brings to it not only an enthusiastic interest, but ample learning, diligence, and discrimination. His acknowledgments to those who have preceded him are generous, but he claims for himself a different object from any of them. It is his opinion that the diversion of the Fourth Crusade from its legitimate purpose—if it had one—to Constantinople was the prime cause of the ultimate conquest of the city by the Turks in 1453. Up to the time of the onslaught of the crusaders on the city, in 1204, it had for a century and a half been doing valiant service in keeping the Ottomans at bay. It was only when attacked by Christians in the rear that it fell; and, though it was recaptured by the Greeks in 1261, it never recovered its prestige nor the power of resistance that it had before the treachery of those whose wisdom was to strengthen it for their own safety. The author argues his opinion with an ability that will certainly be convincing to the general reader, however it may seem to one who knows as much about the matter as Freeman, for example. But the value and interest of his book do not depend entirely upon its central proposition and the bearing of his facts upon it. Here are six very interesting chapters on the later fortunes of the Eastern Empire before 1200 A.D., then a seventh on the condition of Constanti-

nople at this time, then nine upon the Crusade, and one of summary and conclusion. The whole is calculated to convince unprejudiced minds that the Christianity of the thirteenth century, whether of the East or West, was a most melancholy and abominable thing.

OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN. The Lord's Prayer in a Series of Sonnets. By William C. Richards. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price \$1.50.

This is a beautifully illustrated devotional book for the holidays. The sonnets are thirteen in number, with fourteen full-page illustrations of great merit and loveliness. Even to those who, like most readers of *The Index*, have outgrown belief in orthodox traditions and faith in the virtue of prayer, the so-called "Lord's Prayer" keeps still a charm in its simplicity, directness, and early reminiscent associations. The sonnets which elaborate each separate petition of this prayer are graceful in wording and devotional in spirit. Many of the engravings cannot fail to please by their artistic beauty those who do not accept the teachings they are intended to strengthen and enforce.

In *Wide Awake* for November, Margaret Sidney's pleasing story, "A New Departure for Girls," and E. S. Brooks' story of colonial times, "The Governor's Daughter," are brought to satisfactory conclusions. Harriet Pinckney Huse contributes "Some School-girl Recollections of Fenimore Cooper," Mrs. Jessie Benton Frémont gives a sketch of Queen Marie-Amelie, the wife of Louis Philippe. Other writers for the number are Yan Phou Lee, Mrs. Lizzie Champney, Mrs. Mary Treat, Amanda B. Harris, and Oscar Fay Adams. Prominent among the illustrations are full-page pictures idealizing Mrs. Browning's "Aurora Leigh" and Robert Browning's "Balaustion."

Messrs. L. PRANG & Co. publish a fine reproduction in chromo of Mr. W. F. Halsall's notable picture, "The Finish," representing the victory of the "Puritan" over the "Genesta" in the final race for the America's cup. It is acknowledged by all who saw the yachts at that memorable moment to be a rarely accurate representation of the scene. Mr. Burgess, the designer of the "Puritan," says of it that "the appearance of the yachts on that occasion has been rendered as accurately and as spiritedly as it is possible for a brush to do." Independent of the interest attached to the race itself, this beautiful chromo will delight every lover of marine scenery.

THE November *St. Nicholas* gives the opening chapters of what promises to be a charming international story for children, by Frances H. Burnett, entitled "Little Lord Fauntleroy"; Helen H. Jackson, "being dead, yet speaketh" in the first of a series of papers prepared a year before her death for this magazine, entitled "New Bits of Talk for Young Folks." Other distinguished contributors to this number are Celia Thaxter, Louisa M. Alcott, Dora Read Goodale, Susan Coolidge, Frank R. Stockton, W. D. Howells, Edmund Alton, and Palmer Cox.

THE *Library Magazine*, published by the enterprising John B. Alden, 393 Pearl Street, New York City, is enriched by the reproduction of the best thought of the day gleaned from home and foreign sources. The November number has articles by the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Ducie, Richard A. Proctor, William Henry Hurlbert, Mary Howitt, T. H. S. Escott, Vernon Lee, V. L. Cameron, T. K. Cree, Alfred H. Guernsey, Philip Schaff, Rev. William Booth, C. H. Lepper, and William Sloane Kennedy. \$1.50 per year.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. have just issued a new edition of the Portrait Catalogue of their publications. In addition to the thirty-six excellent portraits of distinguished authors whose works they publish, given in previous editions, those of Charles Egbert Craddock and Richard Grant White appear in this number. This attractive catalogue is sent free to any one requesting it.

"PANSY" for November, among its variety of good reading for young folks, has interesting stories by "Pansy," "Margaret Sidney," and others. A bright article on "Flowers and Birds"; biographical sketches of Adoniram Judson and Mrs. Frances

Dana Gage; an article on Egypt; with several pretty poems, etc., and many pertinent illustrations.

OUR LITTLE ONES for November is in no wise behind its predecessors in beauty of illustration and instructive stories and poems. This juvenile magazine, with its many stories of animal sagacity, ought to be in high favor with the members of the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

THE *Unitarian Review* for November contains articles on "Religion and Political Economy," by Rev. Howard N. Brown; "Final Causes, IV.," by Rev. Thomas Hill; "Rufus P. Stebbins," by Rev. Rush R. Shippen; and "Oriental Religions," by William M. Bryant.

THE interesting topic of "Faith-cures" will be treated "without gloves" in the December *Century*, by the Rev. Mr. Schaffner, who has paid particular attention to the subject.

MRS. HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD has been engaged as a permanent contributor to *Wide Awake*. She has written a White Mountain Romance, "A Girl and a Jewel," for 1886, and is busy on an important undertaking for the magazine of 1887.

"Is Boston losing its Literary Prestige?" is the interesting question to be discussed in the December number of the *Brooklyn Magazine*, by Julian Hawthorne, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, R. W. Gilder, O. B. Frothingham, George Parsons Lathrop, Frederic Henry Hedge, Dr. C. A. Bartol, and others.

A NEW novel of Chicago life is promised for publication next week, by Charles H. Kerr, 135 Wabash Avenue, Chicago. The title is announced as *Foiled: By a Lawyer*, the qualifying phrase being used in a somewhat ingenious way to hint at the subject-matter of the story and the personality of the author at the same time.

History of the Arguments for the Existence of God.

By AARON HAHN, Rabbi, Cleveland, Ohio.

BLOOK & LONG, Cincinnati, Ohio, Publishers.
Sent by mail, prepaid, for \$1.50.

NEARLY READY:

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BY B. F. U.

COMMENTING on the proposal to send children bitten by a mad dog in Newark, N.J., to Pasteur, in Paris, for inoculation with "cultivated and mitigated" virus, and to Pasteur's reply to Dr. O. Gormon's cable despatch, "*Si croyez danger, envoyez enfants immédiatement*," the Springfield Republican observes: "It marks progress to note that, if a century ago, a French doctor had offered to cure children of hydrophobia by pouring virus into their blood, he would have been considered a subject rather for a mad-house than a seat of honor. As it is, the world rather expects a wonderful discovery in medical science about once a month."

THE first cremation at the Mt. Olivet Crematory, recently built at Bushwick, L.I., took place on Friday, December 4. The body incinerated was that of Eugene Lièvre, a German, who died November 1, at Hoboken, N.J., and one of whose last requests was that his should be the first body burned in the new crematory. As the cremation took place about 10 A.M., few people were present; but the process was an entire success. Lièvre was a man of advanced ideas and an enthusiastic advocate of cremation. No religious ceremonies were performed. Several other bodies are awaiting cremation at this crematory, one of them being that of a lovely young lady who desired that her body undergo this summary process of decomposition.

A NEW YORK paper which publishes an account of the Cutting estate scandal, which involves the charge of misappropriation of more than a million dollars of trust funds by Gen. Cutting, speaks of the man accused as "always wearing loose trousers, and giving a grand ball and supper once a season at Delmonico's, on which occasion he is wont to hire the house and entertain his friends like a king. He is personally exceedingly popular in and

out of society; and, no matter what the outcome of his present trouble may be, he will retain a host of friends." This writer seems to regard the robbery of a family of their funds by one intrusted with them, as executor of their inheritance, a trifling peccadillo, which, if proven, would scarcely affect his standing among his friends. It is gratifying to know that throughout the country, generally, felony is still regarded with decided disfavor.

THE *Christian Leader* thinks the time spent in trying to reconcile science and theology worse than wasted: "It is time," it says, "that this vocation of harmonizing religion and science came to an abrupt end. They who engage in it are tinkers, even when they are not charlatans. The very enterprise is that of meddling with things in respect of which man has no rightful option other than to accept and obey. Let science have free course, run, and be glorified. Let religion, let all thought of religion, have free course, run, and be glorified. Parallel lines need no guiding lest they conflict. When matured, science, if true, will stand; and theology, if true, will stand. If either be untrue, it will fall. If both are untrue, both will fall. And error cannot go to the wall a moment too soon. Meantime, out upon the whole set of quacks who attempt to adjust what at the outset God hath adjusted in the nature of things! A truce to this theological quackery!"

PROF. D. C. EASTON, of Yale College, thinks Eve may have been tempted by the quince or the pear. This is what he said in a recent address on apples before the Scientific Society of Bridgeport, Conn.: "The first positive scientific demonstration of the existence of apple-trees was in the disclosure, made through a very low condition of the water, that apple-tree trunks formed part of foundations of the habitations of the lake-dwellers of Switzerland. This period, as nearly as could be judged, was from twelve hundred to two thousand years before Christ. That the apple with which Eve was tempted in the Garden of Eden, according to the Scriptures, is the apple of to-day, is uncertain, inasmuch as the word anciently applied to the apple included the quince and the pear. Consequently, Eve might have been tempted by either of these latter fruits. The present apple was due to the cultivation and development of the crab-apple; and the peculiarity of the apple in its evolution is that the part now valuable was simply the calyx, thickened and become fleshy, which had formed around the fruit or seeds. There are now nine hundred varieties of apples, classified under not less than three thousand names."

AMONG the new letters of Carlyle to Emerson, soon to be published, occurs this characteristic paragraph in regard to Margaret Fuller and the Transcendentalists: "Miss Fuller came duly as you announced; was welcomed for your sake and her own. A high-soaring, clear, enthusiast soul; in whose speech there is much of all that one wants to find in speech. A sharp, subtle intellect, too; and less of that shoreless Asiatic dream-

iness than I have sometimes met with in her writings. We liked one another very well, I think. But, on the whole, it could not be concealed, least of all from the sharp female intellect, that this Carlyle was dreadfully heterodox, not to say a dreadfully savage fellow at heart; believing no syllable of all that gospel of fraternity, benevolence, and new heaven-on-earth, preached forth by all manner of 'advanced' creatures, from George Sand to Elihu Burritt in these days; that, in fact, the said Carlyle not only disbelieved all that, but treated it as poisonous cant,—sweetness of sugar-of-lead, a detestable phosphorescence from the dead body of a Christianity, that would not admit itself to be dead, and lie buried with all its unspeakable picturesqueness, as a venerable dead one ought! Surely detestable enough. . . . If she do not gravitate too irresistibly toward that class of New Era people (which includes whatever we have of prurient, esurient, morbid, flimsy, and, in fact, pitiable and unprofitable, and is at a sad discount among men of sense), she may get into good tracks of inquiry and connection here, and be very useful to herself and others."

IN a letter published in the New York *Tribune*, Edward Atkinson says that, through the past three years, only about three per cent. of wage-workers in this country have been thrown out of work, and they not necessarily for a great length of time. Of the twenty million people employed for gain, Mr. Atkinson estimates that from eighty to ninety per cent. are wage-earners, salaried persons, or small farmers, and that the incomes of only about ten per cent. of these have been reduced during the "period of depression," which began in 1882, and which, it is affirmed, has been real to the few only and imaginary as to the many. Mr. Atkinson's figures may not, probably do not, fully indicate the depression that has actually existed; but they unquestionably convey an impression more correct than the one which generally prevails.

IT is not certain at this date whether in England the Liberals will have a majority over the Tories and Nationalists. Mr. Parnell says that the policy of the party of which he is the leader will be guided by circumstances. He evidently awaits the declarations of the leader on the Irish question. His latest utterance is to this effect: "I expect the settlement will come from the Liberals; for, assuming that they would be about equal to the Tories and Nationalists combined, we could give them a majority of one hundred and seventy, which would be quite sufficient to enable them to deal with the Irish and every other question, even making allowance for possible defections from their ranks: whereas, the Tories cannot, even with our aid, get more than a bare majority, and would be hampered in the whole business by their eighteen or nineteen followers from Ireland." Mr. Parnell has been nominally acting as the ally of the Conservative leaders, evidently with a very definite purpose, and probably with little or no hope of voluntary assistance from the Tories in the settlement of the Irish question.

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The Index, we believe, has had no reference to the reported remark of President Eliot, of Harvard, made at a teachers' meeting a few weeks since, to the effect that the Catholics are right in their opinion that the religious education of the young should go hand in hand with secular education; and that they are right, too, in their demand that, in our public schools, the State should provide religious instruction in accordance with the wishes of the parents whose children attend the schools, and whose property is taxed to maintain them. At first, we were inclined much to doubt whether Mr. Eliot had been correctly reported. But as the report of his remarks has been widely quoted in the press, and variously commented upon, and no correction, so far as we have seen, has appeared from him, it must be assumed that he said substantially what was attributed to him.

Assuming, then, that he spoke as reported, it does not seem to us that President Eliot spoke on this matter with that consideration with which his words are wont to be weighted. The utterance, if it had come from any ordinary public speaker, we should have regarded as a random expression of opinion, without either a large or a practical view of the subject in hand. It is not the custom of Harvard's thoughtful President so to speak. But was he not, for once, off guard?

We should agree with President Eliot that the Catholics are right in the claim that religious education should proceed at the same time—that is, in the same years—with secular education; though our view of religious education would differ greatly from theirs, as his, too, probably would. But, when it is claimed that this religious education should be given in the public schools, at the public expense, we should have to enter our protest. Would not the same argument require that the churches, which continue religious education for adults, should also be supported at the public expense, as formerly they were in New England? Indeed, the view might be very strongly presented that it is not until young persons are approaching manhood and womanhood that they are capable of receiving much doctrinal religious instruction, and that the religious culture of men and women engaged in the active duties of life is so all-important to the welfare of a people that the churches, which attend to this culture, should be pecuniarily maintained by the State,—care being taken to guard freedom of conscience by distributing the public money among the different sects. But such a dependence of the churches upon the State, though still existing in some of the countries of Europe, was deliberately abandoned in this country; and religion, in its various organizations, was left to the voluntary support of the people. This, at least in the main, has become the law and the practice of the United States, though one feature of the old custom still survives in the exemption of churches from taxation. And this voluntary system for sustaining religious institutions and instruction has proved entirely successful. The churches have held their ground, increased rather than lost their zeal, and found little difficulty in raising the needed funds for their work. Now, why may not the religious education of children be left just as safely to the voluntary system? Why should the State be asked to provide for it more than for the religious wants of adults? The way, certainly, is freely open for the churches to do much more in this direction than they now think of undertaking.

President Eliot is right in the statement that, if religious instruction is to be given in the public schools, the opportunity to give it should be ac-

corded impartially to teachers (clergymen or others) of different religious beliefs, according to the preferences of the pupils' parents. That is, other teachers should come into the schools at regular hours, for this special duty, the children being then separated by denominational or religious lines, and the different groups going respectively to instructors of their own or parents' faith. Here would be a Catholic group, with their priest or sister of charity; there a circle of Presbyterian children learning the catechism of their church; in another room, or possibly in a corner of the same room, a Baptist would instruct in the tenets of his sect; in a second corner, a Universalist would bring forth the reasons for his belief; in a third, an old-fashioned Calvinist would give lessons to the little Calvinists on "the five points"; and the New Orthodoxy would be close by with its amended creed; the Methodist, the Episcopalian, the Unitarian, the Quaker, and we know not how many more, would also claim room, in order that their views might have a fair chance; and even Agnostics might think it too good an opportunity to lose, and send a representative to gather their little ones in the porch for expounding to them Herbert Spencer, and explaining to them how little they can know of the Unknowable. There would be, in fact, so many different classes for religious instruction, were President Eliot's plan of solving the problem adopted, that there are few school-houses that could accommodate them all without the classes interfering with each other: there would be constant liability of the Baptist children overhearing the Catholic lessons, and *vice versa*; and the Methodist children might catch who knows what dreadful heresies from the Unitarian and Agnostic groups. These evils would be so great that we are quite sure a short trial of this plan would demonstrate its impracticability, and that then the very natural suggestion would occur to the religious teachers that they could do this work to much better advantage by repairing to their respective churches or vestries or halls.

And these practical evils are so obvious that, if President Eliot were a satirical man, we should incline to believe that he meant to inculcate, by the use of the *reductio ad absurdum* argument, the principle that, under our form of government, no specific religious instruction at all can justly have a place in our public schools. If the school children need more of such instruction than they now get at home and through the Sunday-schools and churches,—and we do not here say that they do not,—then let the hour for it be taken from the hours of the public school, but let them go outside for the purpose, to such places as their parents or religious denominations may provide and at their own expense. The American theory of the public school is that there is a certain amount of knowledge which is necessary to good citizenship and to the safety of the republic, irrespective of religious beliefs; and, for this amount of learning, it guarantees to all children an opportunity as their right, and provides for it by public taxation. But it does not undertake to say that this or that religious belief is necessary to the safety of the State, or to discriminate between religious beliefs in its plans of education. All this it leaves freely to the choice and conscience of each citizen, giving free opportunity to all to tax themselves, according to their own pleasure, for religious purposes and privileges.

But, while doctrinal religious instruction cannot advantageously nor justly be given in the public schools, there is a way in which religion may be taught there; and that is, in the form of character. The upright, just, pure, unselfish,

devoted, consecrated character, with whatever religious opinions it may be associated, whether Protestant, Catholic, Hebrew, or free thinker's, cannot fail to impress itself on young minds, and is a kind of embodied religious instruction that no statute can or should keep out of the schools. Would that teachers were more sought because of this qualification! What the public schools specially need is not more instruction in the catechism, but better instruction in character.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE ELIOT'S AGNOSTICISM.

I.

Re-reading the memoir and works of George Eliot now that the mere sentiment of curiosity about her views and life has been in a measure satisfied, the impression made at first is renewed and deepened of their profound religious significance, agnostic though she was, and of their value, perennially fresh, as a study in the great religious forces and drift of our time; and this not so much because of her direct discussion of the subject—for that is very meagre—as on account of her own wonderful personality, and of the way in which she came to her position.

Agnosticism, in her case, was evidently not a mere superficial matter, a rejection of religion from ignorance of its teachings, or because of prejudice against its adherents, or without examination of its claims, or through lack of spiritual faculties to apprehend its divineness, but the deliberate and thoughtful action of the brightest woman of the nineteenth century, taken after pressing to her lips the cup of faith, and in full view of all its evidence and all its worth.

She knew experimentally, a most important fact, at least one phase of Christianity,—not only grew up under its teachings, but was herself an acceptor of them for a while in their most pronounced and evangelical form. Her favorite books as a young girl, *The Christian Year*, *The Great Teacher*, *The Infidel Reclaimed*, *The History of the Devil*, and the like; the recommendations she received on leaving her early home as "a leader of prayer-meetings among the girls," and as "sure very soon to get up a clothing club or some other charitable undertaking," and her letters written in youth, sighing over those who, "by marrying and giving in marriage, are multiplying ties which detach their hearts from heaven," condemning novel-reading as "pernicious to the soul," speaking of herself as "a cumberer of the ground," expressing her desire of "living for eternity," all else being "vain, vain, vain," and preferring the Epistle to the Colossians for reading, because it "portrays the divine fullness contained in the Saviour as contrasted with the beggarly elements a spirit of self-righteousness would mingle with the light of life,"—all have, almost ludicrously, the ring of the standard pietistic coin. And though from these evidences alone the depth of her experience might well be doubted, as it has been, yet who beyond these can read the genuine emotions, the earnest prayers, and the passionate utterances of faith and trust which come so naturally from some of her characters in *Adam Bede*, *Romola*, and *Scenes of Clerical Life*, or, better still, read the characters themselves, and not feel, dramatic though she was, that somehow and at some time she had sounded the utmost depths of the evangelical faith, and that she knew as thoroughly as any believer in it ever did all its genuine wonders of ecstasy, comfort, inspiration, hope, and life?

There can be no question, either, that her change out of this faith into agnosticism brought her great relief of mind and heart, and opened

for her new vistas of life and thought. She could speak from experience of the unhappiness of a childhood which was "afflicted with colic and whooping-cough, and a dread of ghosts, to say nothing of hell and Satan and an offended Deity in the sky, who was angry when she wanted too much plum-cake," and of "the exultation and strong hope which the soul feels when it is just liberated from the wretched giant's bed of dogmas on which it has been racked ever since it began to think." With her, the usual order was exactly reversed. She found her peace, not in the acceptance of religion, as it is commonly taught the soul does, but in giving it up. Nor was it a mere temporary reaction. "The highest calling and election," she said years afterward, in her full maturity, "is to live without opium,"—that is, without the drugs of religious consolation,—and to live through all our pains with a conscious, clear-eyed endurance." And, though something was evidently wanting in her life, a food, if not a drug, nevertheless it is impossible not to see that she was happier, more normal, more true to her real nature as an agnostic than she ever was, or ever could be, as an evangelical Christian.

Equally evident is it that she gave up her religion in the spirit of honest truth-seeking, that her attitude to it then and afterward was that of perfect fairness and good will, and that she always to the end recognized its grandeur, and kept her soul open for more of its light. Writing to a friend who was anxious for her salvation yet doubtful whether she would bear having its consideration broached, she said, "The subject is more interesting to me than all else." I do "not mean to be my own echo, reading the yea, yea, of my side, but comfortably deaf to the nay, nay," of the other. "My wish is to be among the ranks of that glorious crusade which is seeking to set Truth's Holy Sepulchre free from a usurped domination." She had not a particle of sympathy with the old unbelief represented formerly by Voltaire and Paine, and now by Ingersoll and his *confrères*,—the kind which takes delight in assailing the Church, is filled with bitterness and hate against its adherents, and can see in it no truth or goodness at all; a kind which, in its way, is as narrow, intolerant, and bigoted as any form of Orthodoxy. She belonged wholly to the new school of unbelievers represented by Hennell, Mill, Spencer, Comte, and the Dutch theologians,—the kind which recognizes that religion, whether true or not, has its own legitimate place in the world's affairs, and that like all other phenomena it is to be studied in the broad scientific spirit to find out exactly what it is as a genuine natural product. She had a growing conviction, to use her own words, that "we may measure true moral and intellectual culture by the comprehension and veneration it gives to all forms of thought and feeling which have influenced large masses of mankind." She declared to one of her friends that she "had very little sympathy with free thinkers as a class," that she "had lost all interest in mere antagonism to religious doctrines," and that she "only cared to know the lasting meaning which lies in them all from the beginning till now." "All the great religions of the earth," she said, "historically considered, are rightly the objects of deep reverence and sympathy. This is true pre-eminently of Hebraism and Christianity; and, in this sense, I have no antagonism toward any, but a strong outflow of sympathy." And, in her novels, she is so conscientious and faithful in portraying religious people, as, for instance, Dinah Morris in *Adam Bede* and the Jews in *Daniel Deronda*,—does such justice to their motives, and catches so clearly their inmost spirit, that, when her pseudonym first

appeared, many ministers and church people felt absolutely sure its owner must be one of their own number.

Neither is her agnosticism to be explained away by anything which is eccentric and one-sided in her own personality. She was not simply a great creative brain, with no heart, no warm human affections and cravings, and no common sense. The emotional side of her nature was richly and normally developed. Nothing can be more beautiful in itself, whatever may be said of it conventionally, than her attachment to George Lewes, her dependence upon him for sympathy, counsel, and communion, and her motherly concern for his children. She believed in the home and the fireside, in all those sweet domestic virtues and attachments which are thought to be the natural companions of Christianity,—knew how to create and nourish them, not only in fancy, but in fact. And, with all her courage and strength of character, she had her full share of those feminine weaknesses, wants, and tastes which ordinarily lead her sex to devoutness and the church.

Then, most striking of all, her nature at the core, in spite of its agnosticism, was profoundly religious. Deeper than any thought about God she had within her that unthought consciousness of the Divine, which is really the foundation of all genuine faith. "The mystery which underlies the processes of the universe," as she herself said, "was to her more impressive than any explanation of what those processes were"; and it was her recognition of the greatness of this mystery—that is, her very religiousness—which made her so much a sceptic toward all efforts to place it within the bounds of name and form. Her despair, moreover, of reaching the Divine in Deity only made her turn all the more eagerly to lay hold of the Divine in man. No one ever had a higher conception of the moral and philanthropic side of religion than she did. At the very time when she was giving up her old faith, she wrote: "I begin to feel other people's wants and sorrows a little more than I used to. Heaven help us, said the old religions: the new ones from the very lack of that faith will teach us all the more to help ourselves." Referring once in conversation to those three grand words which have been used so often as the trumpet calls of religion,—God, Immortality, and Duty,—she exclaimed with terrible emphasis, "How inconceivable is the first! how unbelievable the second! and yet how peremptory and absolute the third!"—a single incident, by the way, narrated by Mr. R. H. Hutton in an English review, which lets one into the real George Eliot far deeper than is done by all the skimmed letters from her pen so conscientiously given us by Mr. Cross. Nothing can exceed the fine scorn with which she rejects the words she once heard from a famous London evangelical preacher,—"We feel no love to God because he hears the prayers of others: it is because he hears *my* prayer that I love him,"—words that are a fair specimen of the supreme selfishness and consequent irreligion of much of the world's Christianity. She wrote as the motto of her own life:—

"Give me no light, great heaven, but such as turns
To energy of human fellowship;
No powers save the growing heritage
That marks completer manhood."

The true explanation, perhaps, of why she failed to believe in a personal immortality was that she identified herself so completely with the immortality of goodness in the race as to make any lower, private kind seem hardly worth her faith. The atmosphere which pervades all her

books, whatever their wit, gayety, love, poetry, or crime may be, inspiring as the mountain air, is that of Duty,—not morality, or right, or virtue, or character, but simply Duty. And, in nearly every one of them, the plot turns on the obstacles and difficulties in the way of its performance,—a noble soul filled with a grand ideal of what it will do for the world, and starting out bravely for its accomplishment, but beset with meaner natures and lower calls, tending continually to keep it back; in only one case, that of Dinah Morris, triumphing over them; in all the others demoralized and dragged down to their own level,—a kind of tragedy, alas! which has marked how much of Duty's course on earth: this, mingled with a sense of the awful mystery there is in it all, religion's greatest problem in human life and the one on which the Book of Job and so many of the old Greek and Hindu poems turn, this which gives her novels their tremendous power and their fascination beyond that of sermons for the truly religious mind, this which only a great religious nature—great enough to recognize the tremendous reality of a divine element in human affairs, and at the same time too great to attempt its solution—could ever so wonderfully have dealt with and used.

JOHN C. KIMBALL.

DEVELOPED WOMANHOOD.

When women have arrived at a certain age, have married, and have borne children who have taken their places in the world as men and women, they are generally supposed to have accomplished their life-work, and are considered of importance only as useful working machines,—cement to hold the family together, household "genii" to keep the rooms, the pantry, and store-closets well supplied with proper food for the sustenance of the permanent or transient inmates or guests of the home. Of course, this applies only to the average woman, not to those endowed with genius or possessing peculiar faculties. Such seem always to be exempted from the general condition of their sex. In regard to the majority of women of the middle and lower classes of society, this statement is true, and is one of the most painful facts regarding our sex.

This is owing, in a great degree, to their own want of a self-asserting individuality. It is an inherited feeling that has become crystallized in the sex, as, through ignorance and superstition, it has been reincarnated in successive generations, till it almost amounts to a differentiation of species. When a woman marries, this idea, latent it may be, combined with that subordination to the love of power in man, or, as many think, to his superior wisdom, compels her to think that her duty as a wife requires her to sacrifice her own ideas and wishes to those of her husband,—not the noble forgetfulness of self for the good of others, but a weak yielding to the selfish requirements of an exacting nature.

There are many noble exceptions to these traits. All men are not selfish nor exacting. There are those who would scorn to take advantage of this mistaken sense of duty, and would never accept of any act of renunciation, except it was inspired by that love which blesses the giver as well as the recipient.

When children come, the blind love of such a woman gives her the feeling that the more she gives up her life to them, the better mother she is; but, instead of that, by this mistaken idea, she cultivates the spirit of selfishness in those in whom her love, rightly directed, would have had the opposite effect. We boast of our superior religious and ethical systems, but, in the duties

of reverence and respect for parents and all older people, the "heathen Chinese," as we term them, are far above us; and they can teach the missionaries we send to them lessons of truth and morality in these as well as in many other virtues. In all the animal kingdom, with the exception of mankind, superiors in age are treated as worthy of that respect which looks "up to, and not down on, those older than themselves." What does the vegetable world teach in regard to this subject? When the tree arrives at maturity, it blossoms, bears fruit, and its seeds are scattered, producing the young trees which rise around it. Still, it retains its individuality,—still grows and puts forth new branches to protect the nests of the birds that gratefully carol their matin songs from their leafy covert. With poetic license, we may suppose that she rejoices in the knowledge that she is the mother of the young family about her, and, also, that she is a stately tree, still growing higher and broader.

Too long has a clinging, self-depreciating nature been regarded as the greatest ornament of woman. From her alone can arise the influence and firm resolve which will, in time, uproot this deep-planted weed, the offspring of ignorance and superstition. Let her no longer think that age renders her incapable of progress and culture or of the enjoyment of life as reflected in society or nature. She must demand and take what rightfully belongs to her,—a position to command the respect of her own family and of society. To fit herself for this, she must, for her intellectual and spiritual growth, assert her right to a good portion of her time, neglecting for it, if necessary, some so-called duties.

There are duties and self-sacrifices clearly and intelligently defined, the demands of which no men or women can disobey without injury to their own souls. These are not what the selfish requirements of society and family ask of the meek, long-suffering wife and mother. The heroic performance of the former elevates, ennobles, and dignifies all character; while these, which consume a woman's time and strength, instead, have a depressing, narrowing influence. When women see what they need, they will not weakly succumb to the depressing influences with which a false social law has so long weighted them down. Quietly, with a strong invincible will, they will resolve to "conquer or die" in the conflict with these old prejudices and superstitions inherited from long-past ages. Then will "the shackles fall" from their minds and bodies; and then there will be noble mothers worthy of the name, and sons and daughters to appreciate their worth, and also to recognize the justice and truth of this change in private and public opinion.

There are many indications to prove that the agitation of the subject of women's true position in the world has had effect. One is that, in large centres, as in cities and their suburbs, we see a great change in this respect in the estimation in which women who have acquired an advanced position in literary and artistic work are regarded. An author is now judged by merit, not sex. Genius and talent receive recognition wherever found. But there is danger to be apprehended here. In the admission of women of talent and culture to an equality with men there will be evolved, in the course of years, a spirit of caste and aristocracy among women. This exists now, when wealth alone, in fashionable society, gives distinction. We should not forget that there are multitudes of women in the world who have neither great genius nor exceptional culture, but who have sweet and capable natures, and who need the help, sympathy, and encouragement of

those who have, by their own exertions, aided by favorable circumstances, taken a higher stand in the ascending slope of human evolution. The right word, the suggestive thought, may here so arouse the dormant will that it will no longer hesitate to assert its individuality, and become a *fact*,—not merely a cipher in a world of active forces for either good or evil.

There are needed the women who, added to progressive culture, possess the broad and varied experience which comes from their lives as wives, mothers, and housekeepers. It is not the flowers, beautiful and sweet as they are, but the tonic juices of the mature fruit of life, which will supply the vitalizing forces which society is most in need of.

This theme of the personal subjectivity of women, no longer young or beautiful, broadens out so widely, as I think of the many instances of its narrowing, discouraging effect which have come under my notice, and of the small attention it has received in the discussions in regard to woman and her disabilities, that I can but hope that these thoughts, which are merely suggestive, will arouse some of our thinking women to write and speak on this subject with an eloquence and force that will carry conviction, and induce some of our sex, at least, to throw off this incubus of habit which has so long buried them beneath its crushing weight.

R. F. BAXTER.

THE POEMS OF TWO WESTERN UNITARIANS.

I.

By their poetry ye shall know them, is something that is to be said of movements and of men almost as seriously as By their fruits ye shall know them. A true and beautiful poetic feeling is one of the best and surest fruits and tests of a good religion. In the really vital and fertile soul, the flower of poetry almost inevitably finds root; while the soul or the system that is not moved to poetry or by poetry is almost certainly barren and sandy. Times of stress come when the great poet and prophet souls are moved too fiercely to have opportunity for the beautiful word,—the Puritan times, Carlyle's time. But, when a Carlyle inveighs against poetry, we find that it is as a poet that he does it, that only the true poet can do it aright, and that it is not against poetry that he really does inveigh. A great new truth may be "at first cold and naked, a babe in a manger again, without shawms or psaltery"; but "it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry," if it be indeed a great new truth, if it be wholesome and harmonious and good; and he who has eyes to see will see its potential poetry, will see the halo above it, even in its coldness and nakedness. Poetry is life and health and truth and promise; but irreligion cannot sing, and convention cannot sing. "There was never poet who had not the heart in the right place," Emerson said. "Show me," he said again, adopting the word of another, "one wicked man who has written poetry, and I will show you where his poetry is not poetry." Show us, we might add, one formalist or one saltless soul who has written poetry, and we will show you that his poetry is prosiest rectangle and empty sound, hasting to break its promise. Show us men moved ever, in simplicity, to the genuine poetic word, and we divine life and truth in their midst.

These thoughts occur on taking up the little volume *The Thought of God, in Hymns and Poems*, by Frederick L. Hosmer and William C. Gannett; just published by Messrs. Roberts Brothers. This collection of beautiful religious poetry by these

two friends, dedicated "To J. L. J. and our fellow-workers in the West," is one of the best expressions which we have of the spirit of Western Unitarianism. Western Unitarianism is a term which has come to have a meaning almost more qualitative than geographical. As qualitative, it means simply Emersonianism. The thought of Emerson, as contrasted with the thought of the Unitarianism which he came out of and left behind, has indeed kept winning its way in Unitarian churches everywhere. And many men in Eastern pulpits could be named, who think just as this little group of Western preachers thinks. But this little group in the West, constituting the majority, perhaps, of the Unitarian preachers of the West, including the most interesting personalities,—the men of influence, the organizing, directing men, the men who set the tone of conferences and publications,—these men have all chanced to be so dominated or inspired alike by the thought of Emerson as to give a considerably different general tendency and temper to Western Unitarianism from that of the average church in the East. The distinction of course grows ever less and less; for thought has been very active in the Eastern churches in the last ten years, and all Unitarianism must become Emersonianism or nothing. But, meantime, this little group of men has occupied a very distinct position and performed a very distinct service. And one of the most notable things about the little group is that so many of its members are poets. We have in this little volume some of the best, perhaps the very best, of their poetry. But Mr. Hosmer and Mr. Gannett are not the only poets. The recent little volume of *Unity Songs* represented many more. Mr. Blake is always singing. Whoever has read Mr. Simmons' *Unending Genesis* does not need to wait for verses—though verses there may be—to prove that he has the poet's mind as truly as the author of *The Year of Miracle*. Mr. Jones' sermons are full of poetry; and he is one of the best American expounders of one of the greatest of poets,—of Browning. And does not Mr. Chadwick belong in the list? Is he not simply a non-resident "Western Unitarian," a member of the same family with Mr. Hosmer and Mr. Gannett? Mr. Gannett's graceful verses addressed to Mr. Chadwick, included in the volume before us, might almost as well have been addressed to any one of several of his Western brethren:—

"He has voyaged with the Captains
Who sail the seas of thought,
Daring with them the tempest,
Hailing with them the port.

"In lands men deemed unholy
He gleaned from every clod
Some treasure-trove, revealing
Horizons new of God.

"Till Heathenness grew homelike;
While the traveller's tale was still
Of a Ceaseless Care, whose presence
Outworketh good from ill."

It is, perhaps, worth noting here that the number of hymns drawn from Mr. Chadwick for *Unity Hymns*, the native Western Unitarian hymn-book, is larger than the contributions of either Mr. Gannett, Mr. Hosmer, or Mr. Blake.

Of the "hymns and poems" which make up this little new volume, one might say roughly that Mr. Hosmer contributed the hymns and Mr. Gannett the poems. Of what seem to the writer the two finest poems in the collection,—*"Recognition"* and *"The New Year,"*—the one is Mr. Gannett's and the other Mr. Hosmer's. This poem on "The New Year," which comes as an old friend to many,—as, indeed, does almost every page in the volume,—has a rare strength

and freedom in its movement; and there is a noble sweep and lift in some of its lines almost like Emerson. But almost all of Mr. Hosmer's contributions consist of hymns, hymns that may be sung, that have been sung, that were written vicariously,—not, indeed, save in a few special instances, with any image of the congregation in the mind, for they are ever the immediate and simple expression of personal religion, but the simple expression of religious feelings sure to be shared by those to whom the words would come, and so the expression at once of their prayer and worship also. Mr. Gannett's poems are seldom best sung: they are best read. They seldom have that kind of simplicity, that singleness of ethical direction, which makes the best hymns: they are usually too full of suggestion, of surprise, of wonderings, and of pictures for that. This of those poems which are hymns: most of Mr. Gannett's poems here were not meant for hymns at all. These qualities in the hymn-like poems do not at all detract from them as poems, but rather constitute much of their very interest and charm. And "The Stream of Faith" is a genuine hymn; and so is "The Secret Place of the Most High," from which, when incorporated in *Unity Hymns*, the last verse, most hymnic of all, was wrongly omitted. All of the hymns contributed, both by Mr. Gannett and Mr. Hosmer, to *Unity Hymns*, appear in this little new volume; Mr. Gannett's almost always in a fuller form, Mr. Hosmer's under some new name.

The half-dozen hymns of Mr. Hosmer's which appeared in *Unity Hymns*, including that which gives its name to the new volume, are as good as any which he has written, and illustrate very well the character of his thought and feeling. But they are no better than some others which appear in this little collection, such as "A Psalm of Trust," "On the Mount," and "Loyalty." The following closing stanzas from "A Psalm of Trust" have all the religious simplicity and sweetness which we find in the best English hymns of a hundred years ago:—

"I know not what beyond may lie,
But look, in humble faith,
Into a larger life to die,
And find new birth in death.

"He will not leave my soul forlorn;
I still must find him true,
Whose mercies have been new each morn
And every evening new.

"And so my onward way I fare
With happy heart and calm,
And mingle with my daily care
The music of my psalm."

"On the Mount" is much less a hymn: it is better read than sung; but it is one of the most beautiful of Mr. Hosmer's pieces, touching the thought how difficult it is to keep heights which the soul is able to attain, and that other, so strongly shaped by Mr. Arnold, that tasks in hours of insight willed may be in hours of gloom fulfilled.

"Loyalty" is as good a hymn as Mr. Hosmer has written, and deserves to live, if only for this stanza:—

"And more than thou canst do for Truth
Can she on thee confer,
If thou, O heart, but give thy youth
And manhood unto her."

The stanza, as well as the whole hymn, and, indeed, several of Mr. Hosmer's hymns, remind one very much of Faber. There is the same quality of sententiousness without hardness which made Faber so good a hymn-writer, and which so frequently characterizes Whittier, who, on the whole, has written more than any other American that we can make good hymns of.

Mr. Hosmer, although so good a religious poet,

would probably never have been a poet, if he had not been moved to poetry by religion,—like Faber and Keble and Charles Wesley. Mr. Gannett, whose poetry is, in fact, almost entirely poetry of religion, because the religious sentiment is so dominant and absorbing with him, is, we feel, a poet by constitution, bound to sing, whether in the field of religion or another; and, while we do not want any less religious poetry from him, it were a thing much to be desired that he might now and then become a "pagan," and sing of the sun and the hill-top and the brook in the woods, with no thought of divinities more serious than dryads and naiads, become purely of the chimney-corner and the street, and tell a little tragedy or comedy of life, with no ultimate reference at all.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

FRIENDS who have kindly procured signatures to the petition against permission of Sunday fraud are requested to send them before the end of this month to F. M. Holland, Box 61, Concord, Mass.

C. W. STEWART, of Liberal, Mo., informs us that he is prepared to give a course of lectures on evolution, "in which he adapts the scientific thought of the age to the popular comprehension." Several Western papers speak of him as a lecturer in commendatory terms.

MR. CHARLES D. B. MILLS, of Syracuse, N.Y., is prepared the present season to deliver a series of lectures giving a succinct view of the development and history of civilization, commencing from the dim beginnings in the primal arts of life, touching the migration of races, the early settlement of Europe, the rise and growth there of civilization,—especially the industrial and economic,—down to the present time. Among the other lectures, he will give, if desired, are "The Lessons of the Day" and "Old and New."

A LADY writes: "Does not Col. Ingersoll's melting period on the death of the aged, quoted in *The Index* of October 15, contain more poetry than truth? Is death generally welcome to the aged, unless some exceptional physical torture attends? Do not the aged who have found rest this side, by the tender watch of those on whom they are dependent, love to linger here during the twilight of their evening? My experience from association with those of ripe age is perhaps the average, and it has to give the affirmative to the last question."

THE *Woman's Journal* says: "Three-quarters of what the early woman's rights conventions demanded for women, in the way of education, equal property rights, and admission to trades and professions, has been conceded. These things in the beginning called out more uproar and abuse than the demand for suffrage itself. They were opposed by the same arguments and by the same kind of people. It is the regular habit of the conservatives to fight every inch of progress fiercely, but, as soon as an inch is gained, to turn around and cry: 'Oh, yes, we always believed in that. To go so far is all right, but we have now reached the limit: an inch further will be destruction. And so of the next inch, and the next.' And this is as true of other reforms as of woman's suffrage."

A DESPATCH to the *Boston Herald* says:—

The sixth part of Herbert Spencer's *Science of Sociology* is announced for publication. It is entitled "Ecclesiastical Institutions." In his preface, Mr. Spencer explains that the delay in completing this volume, it being three and a half years since the fifth volume was published, has been caused by his occupation with other subjects, and principally by ill

health, which, he says, often has prevented him from doing even the small amount of daily work which he had been accustomed previously to perform. The seventh and eighth parts, to be entitled respectively "Professional Institutions" and "Industrial Institutions," remain unfinished; but Mr. Spencer says he hopes that there will be less delay in giving them to the public.

THE following from a letter received from an eminent scientific and philosophic writer was suggested by an article in a recent number of *The Index* on the Design Argument: "Your way of disposing of cosmical design is much more simple and telling than that of Kant, who showed that the teleological argument includes the causal as well as the ontological assumption, and is, therefore, inadmissible. Scientists, it seems to me, have not yet quite understood that the constitution and order of things are due to their specific modes of interaction. Change anything in the established interdependence of such existents,—withdraw, for instance, the pressure of air from water, and it becomes something possessing wholly different properties, having entirely changed functions in its relation to the rest of things. Place, then, this water gas in a sufficiently heated medium, and it splits up into two totally disparate substances, manifesting completely new modes of interaction. So always and everywhere. How completely an organism, the most individuated form of being, is dependent for its existence on interaction with its manifold medium, must be evident even to superficial observers. Indeed, its specific modes of interaction constitute its life; and organization itself has been gradually evolved through such interaction. The endowments of specifically acting and being specifically acted upon are the veritable powers binding things together into a cosmos, which means in truth a more or less static equilibrium of interacting existents. Intelligence—the peculiarly organic and human faculty known to us under that name—is utterly impotent to bring forth any powers of interaction whatever. It can only so dispose pre-existent powers as to elicit from them new results, which may, perchance, be better suited to its ends than those previously found in existence. Intelligence merely utilizes forces already inherent in something not itself. Is theology, then, inclined to maintain that the order of interacting forces called cosmos is due to the intelligent but creatively impotent interference of a demiurge utilizing the powers of a pre-existent nature to suit his own special purposes? Such an extraneous demiurge would be as completely dependent on actual reality and its intrinsic efficiencies as we ourselves. How can intelligence, a superficial, fitful, partial agent, itself only a special product of nature,—how can it be made accountable for the creation and endowment of the never-flagging, all-efficient powers of interaction which, by dint of being such, are constituting the present world? Surely, the mystery of existence lies deeper, far deeper. Teleology, causation, substantiality, do not reveal it."

LISSAU.* For *The Index*.

On Lissau shone the rising sun,
The lark his carol had begun,
Far-soaring from his night's repose.
The dew was in the opening rose.
But singing lark nor morning rays
Awoke to life the Lissau ways,
And in her streets there was no tread
To break the unwonted silence dead;

* Lissau was a village on the Elbe. The events narrated in the poem occurred among the frightful persecutions instigated and conducted by the Jesuits, during the Thirty Years' War.

Yet morning twilight there would soon
Burst forth into unwonted noon.

In Lissau hamlet, life had run
From father on to stalwart son,
Calm gliding on, from age to age,
Without a mark on history's page;
Yet many a life of sturdy worth
Had passed beside the hamlet-hearth,
And after quiet life's surcease
Had vanished there in death and peace.

But southward far, with deepening awe
Astound, the men of Lissau saw
A sign of fear. 'Twas not the rain,—
The tempest deluging the plain
With mighty flood.

As one in haste,
The reeling whirlwind leaves a waste
Behind, and on, with heavy tread,
A thing of wonder and of dread,
Whereat the cheeks of men grow pale,
Armed with the lightning and the hail,
O'er harvest fields of blasted corn,
And lordly forest oaks upturned,
O'er wreck of homes, and houseless men,
Nor turning on its path again,
It stalks upon its fearful way,
With none its blind career to stay.

But this was not the formless form
Of fear,—the blind and blinding storm.
The darkening cloud, with deepening awe
The silent men of Lissau saw,
Was of a vast and moving horde,
Whose symbols were the cross and sword.

With couriers robed in sable stole,
With ominous plain-song, and the toll,
The warning toll of sullen bell,
They came with steady purpose fell.

Before that league of power and hate
That lowered afar,—a coming Fate,—
The dwellers of the hamlet knew
Nor justice fair, nor courage true,
Could aught avail. With dauntless heart,
They bravely chose the nobler part,
Gathered their little all in haste,
And left of Lissau but a waste.

Upon the mount, above the flood,
The dwellers sad of Lissau stood,—
The maiden in her youthful charms,
The mother, with her child in arms,
The stalwart son, with heart of ire,
And with toil-hardened palm, the sire,
Woe, 'mid the hurrying tumult wild,
Led by the hand his little child.

As faithful friends, they left behind,
In deadly leagues, the flame and wind,—
Made of their homes one mighty pyre,
That 'mid the all-destroying fire,
Vanished in mingled smoke and flame,
And left of Lissau but a name.

They banished, as they could, their fears,
Brushed from their eyes the blinding tears,
Then, turning to the way they must,
They from their garments shook the dust,
With last embrace and severing hands
Departed into sundered lands.

To me 'tis honor to rehearse
The tale of these poor villagers
Who gave, 'mid persecution dire,
Their homes to the consuming fire,
And, with the will that never yields,
Forever left their native fields,
Then the sad road of banishment,
Into the endless exile went,
And gave, with mien of lofty grace,
Ensample to the human race.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

PHILADELPHIA, November, 1885.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 10, 1885.

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

WILLIAM J. POTTER, } Editors.
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, }
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ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS.

LECTURE IV.

JUDAISM THE MOTHER, AND CHRISTIANITY THE DAUGHTER.

Delivered at the Temple Adath Israel, Boston, Oct. 30, 1885,
by Rabbi Solomon Schindler.

Presuming that you have heard or read my last lecture, I shall take up the thread of my research to-day just there where I dropped it last week, and proceed without any further introduction.

The time when Christianity was born was as peculiar and as remarkable in regard to religious matters as is perhaps our own present age. Then, as to-day, the educated classes, the pioneers of civilization, were ready for a change of front. Old ideas had outlived their usefulness, and the new ones had not yet developed so far as to take their places. The minds of the best and most conscientious of men were, therefore, kept in a constant tension. The old pagan gods had lost their reputation, and the world was yearning for a God who should fill the void in the human heart. Though the most magnificent temples were erected at that period, there was an utter lack of true religious sentiment, and hypocrisy ran high. The splendor of the temples, and the very attractions which the priests were compelled to offer, were unmistakable evidence that rites and ceremonies had lost their meaning, and with it their influence upon the worshipper. At that time, the eye of the pagan world instinctively turned toward the Jews. Their theology was pure, their doctrines founded upon philosophy, their laws were just and comprehensive, their rites elevating and soul-inspiring, their ethics unsurpassed. Their intercourse with Greeks and Romans had introduced our ancestors to the world. They had multiplied, and were to be found everywhere. There were at that time more Israelites outside of Palestine than within. Large colonies of Jews were to be found in Persia and along the whole coast of Asia Minor: they had settlements in Greece, in Spain, in Gaul, in Italy,

especially in Rome. In Egypt, they were almost the masters. They were the leading statesmen, they commanded the armies, they were the magnates of commerce and the owners of factories. In Leontopolis, they owned a temple which rivalled in beauty and elegance that of Jerusalem. In Alexandria, they had a number of synagogues, the most prominent of which is reported to have been of such dimensions that the loudest voice could not be heard from end to end, and that, therefore, a flag was waved from an elevated stand whenever the congregation was requested to rise and to join in the Amen. But what is of still greater importance, the Pentateuch had been translated into the Greek language. The Septuaginta, as this translation was called, had become a standard work; and all men of intelligence and learning had become familiar with it. No wonder, therefore, that Gentiles in large numbers embraced Judaism. From the interior of Asia, a princess came with all her family to be initiated into the Jewish religion.

It is said—and it is well said—that every man has once in his life an opportune moment when he can make his fortune, but that very few only take hold of it, while the rest let it slip from their grasp. The same holds good for nations. That very period was the time when Judaism could have conquered the world. It would be an idle play of imagination for us to conjecture what our present condition would have been, if our ancestors had made proper and prompt use of their opportunity. Alas! they did not. Perhaps an all-wise Providence had destined it so, for good reasons, that they should not. There were two obstacles which then hindered the spreading of Judaism. In the first place, its customs were too rigorous. The Gentiles, though they acknowledged the correctness of Jewish theology and the purity of its ethics, were unwilling to submit to the Abrahamitic rite, to the table laws, and to the minute prescriptions concerning cleanliness. Judaism, on its part, was not ready to compromise with them, because—and this was the second obstacle—it was too aristocratic. Its doctrines maintained that the Israelites were a people chosen by God, that the much admired laws were given to them for their own welfare, and that it was obligatory for them to guard, but not to spread them. Judaism, of course, would not reject the stranger who would knock at its doors: it would accept him cheerfully, provided he would take upon himself the whole burden of the law without any haggling; but it would not proselyte, it would not go and coax or force the stranger to come in. If these two obstacles could have been removed, the mastery of the world would have fallen as a consequence into the lap of Judaism.

There was one man living at that time who saw the golden apple hanging within such easy reach: he stretched forth his arm and broke it, but, alas! not for his own nation. It was Saul of Tarsus, better known as Paul. To him owes Christianity its life. Paul was no rabbi. He was no scholar whatsoever, nor was he versed in Jewish literature. He knew the Bible in its Greek version only: he would misquote, in his letters to the Corinthians, a passage in Isaiah as occurring in the Pentateuch; but, for all his ignorance in letters, he was zealous and practical. Observing that Judaism could not and would not allow one letter of the law to be changed, he embraced with eagerness the legends of the crucified Jesus, which must have reached him in an exaggerated form; and, without having ever known him, he made him the corner-stone of the building which he proposed to erect. There was an old saying, that the Messiah would do away with the law, as he would naturally

usurp the power of issuing new orders. Paul made use of it, and accepted Jesus as the Messiah, no matter whether he had fulfilled what was expected of a Messiah or not. It was sufficient for him that a Messiah had appeared; for this gave him a handle to change or to abolish so much of the law as he, Paul, saw fit. With one stroke of the pen, as we would say, he removed one of the obstacles: he admitted Gentiles into Judaism without the performance of the Abrahamic rite, and allowed them to eat whatever they pleased. Denounced by his Jewish brethren as a law-breaker, and distrusted even by the personal friends of the unfortunate Galilean, who were shocked to hear the words of their master interpreted by a stranger in such a peculiar way, Paul sought and found his friends among Gentiles. Supplying a long-felt want, his career became a success in spite of all the obstacles which beset his way. He was the first missionary whom the world has seen. Christian congregations grew up under the very print which his foot left upon the ground.

With him, the Messianic idea, formerly local, took a universal turn. The Messiah now ceased to be an anointed king, expected to remove the political misery of the Jewish nation. He grew into a divine messenger, a son of God, sent from heaven to earth to save all mankind from the effect of sin. Though having been put to death, he would soon return, and hold stern judgment over the world. His friends would be royally rewarded, his enemies unmercifully punished. Thus, the Messianic idea became a necessity for the Paulinian Church. Without it, it lacked all authority for the inroads made upon the law, the grandeur of which still remained the centre of attraction to the pagan world.

It would take years, should I attempt to trace in weekly lectures the rise and growth of Christianity. May it suffice that I show to you its source, and that I establish the fact that it was built by Paul from sheer necessity upon a mistaken interpretation of the Messianic idea, with which it stands and falls.

In the mean time, the Jews witnessed the appearance of another Messiah. His name was Theudas. He shared the fate of Jesus. Fadus, the Roman governor, caught him and his band, and beheaded him. Pilate did exactly the same which Fadus did a few years later; but nobody would claim to-day that the Jews tried and sentenced Theudas, nobody would hold them responsible for his death. Theudas, however, must have gained more notoriety than Jesus ever did at his time; for Josephus granted him a considerable space in his history.

When, finally, the cup of misery was full to the brim, and no help came from outside, the people arose in arms. A short but fierce struggle followed. Titus and his legions stormed Jerusalem, laid the temple in ashes; and, with the destruction of Jerusalem, Israel was stricken forever from the list of nations.

The seed planted by Paul had, in the mean time, grown up, and kept on growing. Christianity spread from day to day, and the daughter soon severed all connections with her mother. She went her own way; for she had a mission of her own to fulfil,—a mission which neither Judaism nor Hellenism could have fulfilled with success: she had to civilize a world of barbarians. Judaism would have failed on account of its rigor; Hellenism, on account of its selfishness. Greek philosophy cared little for the welfare of mankind as a species, its attempts were directed toward individual happiness. But it forgot that individual happiness and national happiness stand in a mutual relation to each other, and that the one

is impossible without the other. Whenever it failed to secure individual happiness, it was at a loss to account for it, and advised to escape the miseries of life by suicide. This was its last and only remedy. Nature, however, abhors destruction; neither the Epicurean nor the Stoic schools could ever win the favor of the masses. A Greek philosopher would have ridiculed it as absurd to stoop down to a slave or a barbarian, in order to educate him to higher and better principles. Not so Christianity. From her mother, she had inherited the principles of freedom and equality, the principle of one God and one human brotherhood. From her, she had learned the maxim: Love thy neighbor as thyself. Equipped with these gems from her mother's treasury, adorned with the ten sparkling diamonds of the Sinaitic law, she entered upon her path. What we would call elevate or civilize was called by her to save; and to save the world she was bound. Let us give honor where honor is due. With unexcelled heroism, the disciple of the early Church would seek strange countries, savage nations, always carrying his life in his hands. He would fearlessly enter the cabin of barbarians, suffer their scorn, their anger, even death from their hands. He would never flinch nor shirk his duty. And such heroism overawed the barbarian: he submitted, and bowed before the new God.

There is a steel engraving, to be found in almost every large picture store, representing the following scene: Two savage-looking gladiators are seen fighting in the Circus Maximus of Rome, for the amusement of the masses. One has succeeded in throwing the net over his opponent, and in forcing him to the ground. His eyes beam with passion, he craves the blood of his victim. Uplifted in his sinewy arm, he holds the trident, a fearful weapon, wherewith to deal the deadly blow, when, lo! and behold! a disciple of the early Church fearlessly places himself between the victor and his victim, with the cry, "Thou shalt not kill!" I do not know whether it is the skill of the artist or the subject chosen by him which produces the effect, but I can never pass this picture without emotion. Though the artist only imagined that scene, he took it, nevertheless, from life. Such scenes have occurred,—not once, but a thousand times, until the brute in man was tamed, and the barbarian had learned, not only the lesson, "Thou shalt not kill," but the still greater one, Love thy neighbor as thyself.

Christianity at the same time was accommodating to the pagan world. It did not ask for more than it could possibly get at a time. It granted indulgences, provided some of its lessons were accepted in exchange; and thus, step by step, it went further and further, until it had subdued the world, until it had civilized Germans, Goths, Celts, Huns, Mongols, and all, until princes would yield to the frown of a bishop and warriors sheathe or unsheathe their swords at the command of the ecclesiastical head. Every unprejudiced man must acknowledge it, and I acknowledge it with pleasure, that Christianity has performed some remarkable deeds. It has abolished slavery; it has established monogamy; it has mitigated the evils of war, and by all means raised the standard of civilization.

But there is nothing obtained in this world without compensation. What is won on the one side is generally lost on the other. Christianity had stooped down to the pagan world to save it, it had yielded to its whims; but, in its embraces, it had lost its identity, and had become paganized in its turn. Step by step, it was dragged—let me say involuntarily—from its path. The Messiah

was changed into a son of God, and the son soon unthroned the father; a mysterious trinity replaced monotheism; superstitious idolatry raised again its head. Upon the pedestals from which the early Church had thrown the jolly crowd of Greek gods and goddesses, the later Church erected the images of their saints. A St. Martin took the place of Mars, the god of war; a Madonna, the place of a Minerva; a Magdalene, the place of a Venus. The churches were again desecrated into wonder-working institutions; the Christian priest assumed the splendor of his predecessor, and dressed in gorgeous style; the bishop of Rome became the heir of the late Pontifex Maximus. Reason was banished, and unbridled imagination was permitted to run riot. Paganism, it is true, had been Christianized; but, during the process, Christianity had become Paganized. The world would surely have fallen back into its former barbarism,—as the dreary Middle Ages indicated it,—if it had not been for Judaism. Yes, indeed, if it had not been for Judaism; and this is a fact which only few seem to know. Though bleeding from many a wound, though despised and maltreated by her haughty daughter, Judaism, the mother, still lived; and, as long as she lived, she was a living protest against the frivolous conduct of her daughter. Her rigorism, which had made her lose the command over a world, had protected her, on the other hand, from the dangerous embraces of Paganism. She had preserved the purity of her doctrines, and still clung to reason in preference to blind belief. At this juncture, it appears necessary to me to say a few words about "belief." We hear so much about believers and unbelievers, or infidels. Belief is always resorted to, to offset reason; and a great many maintain that religion cannot be severed from belief. There are perhaps many Israelites who do not know it, and therefore will be scared when I tell them that Judaism is not built upon belief, but that it stands upon the firm rock of reason. You will never find in Jewish literature the command, "Thou shalt believe." This word was introduced into the religious vocabulary by Christianity. The mere belief in the Saviour was to save from eternal domination. Standing upon a basis which could not withstand the pressure of reason, it was to be supported by beliefs. To believe did not mean to accept a statement as true, because it could reasonably be expected to be true,—no: to believe meant to accept a statement as true, although reason revolted against it. Only then the saving qualities of belief would come into play. There was, for instance, no merit in the belief in a God whose existence, though not perceivable by human senses, still stands to reason; but the belief that three are one and one three, a doctrine against which reason revolts, such a belief was soul-saving and meritorious. Let me give you another example. To believe that the sacred Scriptures were written in the same way as all other books, which they may surpass in diction and beauty, by human writers inspired for their work, or to believe that the soul of every writer, inventor, or discoverer, stands in a certain relation to the source from which all talent and genius spring and our spirits flow,—such a belief, which stands to reason, was of no merit: it was, and is still, called unbelief; but to believe that God selected a certain man, and dictated him, word for word, an oration which he was to hold or a narrative which he was to write, assuming the responsible editorship himself, and using the man only as an amanuensis,—such a belief, against which reason reasonably rebels,—such a belief is still to-day demanded. The passage in which a Church Father

says, "*Credo, quia absurdum est*,"—"I believe, because it is absurd,"—was by no means intended as a sarcasm: it was the only stand-point of the Church. Whatever is reasonable needs not to be believed: it is convictive; and the great God who has granted us the heavenly light of reason cannot, does not, want us to exchange it for the dim lamp of blind belief. A religion which cannot stand the test of reason can never endure: belief is a weak prop only, which sooner or later must break.

Christianity, because it could never prove its premises, was forced to cling to belief. Judaism, on the contrary, was not and is not under such a pressure. It accepts facts which have occurred in the past as true, as long as they are not unreasonable or proven to be unhistorical by new developments; and no merit is claimed for it nor any reward expected for it. This grants us full liberty of conscience.

At every critical period in the development of the Christian Church, Judaism, the mother, raised her voice of warning; and this voice was not to be silenced. Neither the sword of persecution nor the pyre and torture of the inquisition, not even ridicule, could chase away the maternal ghost which would step between the daughter and her seducer at the critical moment. And, thus, the tide turned. Slowly, but surely, the daughter retraced her steps. Protestantism was the first step toward home. Judaism had so long protested against image worship, that the very best Christians began to listen, then to think, finally to join in the protest. Christian scholars secretly visited in disguise the learned men of Judah. They visited their miserable abodes, to be introduced by them to the mysteries of the Talmud, and to read with them the Bible in the original. Here they drank in full draughts from the waters of life; and, when Luther nailed his theses to the church-door of Wittenberg, his hammer sounded the death knell to idolatry. Four hundred years of retracing her steps are not a long time in comparison with the fifteen hundred years during which the Church was built, and considerable work has been done already. We have arrived at that stage where the dogma of a trinity has been abandoned, and a Unitarian platform is erected in its place. Jesus of Nazareth, five hundred years ago the principal and foremost feature of the trinity, is now to our enlightened Unitarian friends not more than the ideal of a man; and I doubt whether the remaining eleven hundred will be consumed before he will be not more and not less than the carpenter's son. Hereditary sin, atonement through Christ, heaven and purgatory, eternal bliss and eternal damnation,—all these superstitious doctrines have already fallen; and the sun of reason breaks through the clouds, and sheds its bright rays to-day over a world happier and better than ever before. Has Judaism remained unchanged during all these centuries? In its principles, yes; in its forms, no. The principle that there is but one God, and none besides him, and the ten commandments, which are the necessary consequence of it, have remained unchanged, and will remain unchanged forever, until the whole human race shall have adopted them, not in theory as yet, but in practice. But, in regard to forms, we have changed. Thank God, we have advanced. The Jew of to-day is not any more the Jew of nineteen hundred years ago. We are no mummies: we are alive and wide awake to the demands of our time. We have learned a good many things; and I praise God for it that we have also forgotten a good many. The advancing Israelite and the advanced or, as I shall name

him more properly, the returning Christian stand to-day almost upon the same level. There are only two slight difficulties to be overcome,—one on the part of our Unitarian friends, the other on both sides. The first is, they must subtract all the ideal embellishments with which Jesus of Nazareth is glorified, and reduce him to that place which he may have really filled,—the place of an honest, respectable man, of little importance to the world. I know it: it will take some time before they shall overcome this difficulty; for it is not so easy as you may think to give up ideals to which you have become attached from your earliest childhood, nor must we forget that then they would lose their claim to the Christian name, so highly cherished by them. The other difficulty, to be overcome by both sides, is race prejudice. With the spread of intelligence, with a better understanding between both races, and with good will on both sides, I am almost certain that, in course of time, this difficulty, too, will be removed.

Mother and daughter, who even then will touch one another with the tips of their fingers only, will feel the magnetic current of love pass through their bodies. Nearer and nearer they will be drawn to each other, until at last, after a thousand years, they will be reunited in one loving embrace.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PLAN AND DESIGN.

Editors of The Index :—

A number of *The Index* has come under my notice; and my attention has been attracted by an article from Mr. B. F. Underwood, headed "The Design Argument." If it be not too late, will he kindly allow me a few words in reply?

Let me preface by saying that I deem it almost as impossible for limited human intelligence to reason with regard to God as for the steam-engine to comprehend the brain which originated it; but, even from our narrow stand-point, it seems to me that Mr. Underwood has not quite established his theory.

He says: "If God is an infinite Being, his plans must be eternal; without beginning, and therefore uncaused. . . . If his plans had no beginning; if, like himself, they are eternal,—they must like him be independent of design. Since the plans of Deity are no proof of a designing intelligence that produced them (for they are supposed to be eternal), the plan of this universe, of course, was no evidence of a designing intelligence that produced it."

It is certainly true that the great cause must be as the circle, without beginning and without end. But I cannot agree with Mr. Underwood in his further conclusion that there need be no God.

"Cause is a substance exerting its power into act, to make one thing begin to be": therefore, as soon as you deal with "embodied plans," or, in other words, with effects, you are dealing with that which is not eternal, because it must have a beginning. An all-wise, eternal cause must always have held a perfect plan of this world; but cause must precede effect, and the "order, harmony, and adaptation" which we see in this world are an effect, and not a cause, and hence cannot be eternal, as is the cause which produced it. Therefore, "order, harmony, and adaptation" as seen by us may contain evidence of an Executor.

If eternal cause were one with effect, then effects must be eternal,—that is, without beginning and without end; but we know that effect must "begin to be." Therefore, though the plans of an infinite and all-wise Being must have been eternally conceived, they could not have been eternally executed; hence, that from which the design theorist draws his conclusion—namely, the "order, harmony, and adaptation" in this world—is a constant emanation. Is there not, therefore, a further link necessary before the chain of Mr. Underwood's argument is complete? We must prove that no Executor is needed; we must prove that a dead cause, an impersonal law, may produce living effects, ever varying combinations, intricate results, subtly difficult beginnings.

So far as human experience goes, we know that, though principles or causes may be eternal, the combining of these into effects requires an intelligent agent. The laws through which the steam-engine moves may always have existed; but a Stephenson was required to conceive a combination which would produce a desired result, and practically to embody the conception. May we not therefore conclude, reasoning from the known to the unknown, that a guiding, an ever-acting intellect is required to embody the magnificent plan of the universe?

Sincerely yours,

ROSAMOND DALE OWEN.

NEW HARMONY, IND.

[The only aim of the article mentioned above was to point out some of the fallacies of the Design argument. "Embodied plans" are, of course, evidence of design. So are all plans of which we can have any conception, for they imply calculation, and formation in the mind. To speak of an "eternal plan" is like speaking of a square circle. We used the words to meet the sophisms of those who assume that Infinite Intelligence "contrives" and "plans." We cannot see that the adaptations in what are called "effects" must necessarily be designed. It may be that the order, harmony, and adaptation that we observe in nature belong to an order that is eternal; that, for instance, when water results as an effect from the union of two elements which are adapted to unite in the proportions necessary to produce this compound, the phenomenon occurs in accordance with a principle of adaptation which is inherent in the ultimate nature of things. That the ultimate cause of all phenomena can be defined and described in terms of human feeling and thought, we seriously doubt.—B. F. U.]

The following is an extract from a private letter: "At present, the social problem is nearest and uppermost with me. It seizes me, now with profound compassion, now with high hopes for the great repressed mass of struggling, groping humanity. Shall we in this new land of unbounded promise, in this bright era of all-scrutinizing knowledge,—shall we fruitfully profit by the sad experience of so many older nations? The social problem embodies the ethical problem. The establishment and preservation of social equity in the pursuit of industrial well-being and civilization is, in truth, ethical fulfilment. The adjustment of the promptings and activities of individual life to a rational and comprehensive scheme of national prosperity and culture is the true desideratum of moral existence. This alone; not self-beatification, not cosmopolitan gush. Here before us lies our given sphere,—the land we dwell on with all its natural resources. Within its boundaries, we should be devoutly striving to evolve as perfect a national organization as creatures of our kind can possibly attain. As regards our industry, it should by no means aim at competing in open market with the productions of the system of industrial slavery maintained in European countries. Cheapness in relation to such foreign goods as can be produced at home would be a mistaken motive of American policy. The value of a free laborer's work has to be weighed against the yield of free agricultural labor in his own country, not against starvation wages fixed by capital in places where overpopulation has been artificially fostered. The reason why industrial protection should be here maintained is not the old one urged by Henry Clay and his supporters; namely, to enable home industries so to develop as to become fit at some future time to compete in open market. We need protection here, because we wish to organize our industry on principles of equity, by which workmen may themselves come to enjoy the full fruit of their labor. A nation cannot organize itself on new principles, and yet maintain unimpeded relations with all the old influences abroad. No amount of philanthropy can here avail. Even within its own internal compass, it cannot assimilate essentially heterogeneous elements. In spite of Christianity and humanitarian sentiments of brotherhood, the Indian is being exterminated, the Chinese executed, the negro eschewed, and even European immigration restricted. All this has to be, and gets itself done, in order that national homogeneity may be established. But is it not time to be courageously acting on clearly professed principles of specifically Aryan, specifically American policy? Why enunciate high-flown theoretical precepts, and then find one's self compelled

practically to act contrary to them? Ought we not to govern ourselves steadfastly according to wisely determined rules, and not allow our national bark to drift as motives of momentary expediency may suggest? The task is lucidly to expound and thoroughly to inculcate the essential principles of national democratic industrialism. This evidently is the order of the day."

BOOK NOTICES.

A CAPTIVE OF LOVE. Founded upon Bakin's Japanese Romance, *Kumono Tayema Ama No Tsuki*. By Edward Greey. With twenty-six illustrations from the original work. Boston: Lee & Shepard. pp. 280. Price \$1.50.

Mr. Greey, who has made a special study of Japan and the Japanese, and who has already published several books relating to that country, says of his present venture that, "while not a translation," it, however, "follows Bakin's charming romance as closely as possible in his own quaint style, and contains many details that author would have given, had he written for foreign readers. Bakin, who was one of the famous novelists of Japan, was a prolific writer; and his books, which are historically correct, are regarded as classics." The story from which this English work is adapted was selected "on account of its affording an excellent insight into the thoughts and methods of the Japanese about five hundred years ago, and for its interesting descriptions of superstitions not unknown to our ancestors." In this delightfully told story, the Buddhistic belief of the masses is ingeniously interwoven into the plot, which deals with the wicked doings of a fallen Buddhist priest, who, despite his vows, had allowed himself to fall in love with a beautiful but unprincipled woman. To the cloyed story-reader, this unique romance, which is thrillingly interesting from the first page to the last, full of dramatic situations, with tragedy, mystery, and humor intermingled, will be welcomed as a decidedly new and novel work. To the student, it will afford a lively picture of the domestic manners and customs of a comparatively unknown people, and to the philosopher will reveal strong evidence of the universal likeness of motive, passions, and principle, which, in spite of differences of faith and environment, makes all humanity practically one.

The domestic life of the Japanese, as unfolded in this tale, appears to be generally founded upon affection and respect, especially in the relation of children to their parents. Filial love is constantly enforced in the examples commended by the Japanese author. Wifely obedience is also steadily inculcated, though women appear to have more liberty of discussion and freedom in public than among most of the Oriental races. Still, their limitations seem to have been recognized by the Japanese writer, who makes his heroine declare: "Ah! this is a very hard world for women. Although men can do as they please, we must do exactly as they will." And again: "I hope I shall be a man in my next state. It is most trying to be a woman! I have no rest day or night, fetching this and preparing that. ... If the gods were all of my sex, our happiness would be more evenly divided!"

The belief in a succession of transitions from one state of existence to another appears in much of the conversation among the characters of the story; and some of their idiomatic phrases in regard thereto seem very expressive, as when the dying are made to say, "I feel that I am about to travel the lonely road," "I am about to start upon a long journey," "I am about to change my world." Death is almost invariably spoken of as a "change of worlds," and messages to those gone before are given in all seriousness to the dying. The laws of heredity are recognized, and an importance given to them which is sometimes very unfortunate for the innocent descendants of guilty men. When unmerited misfortunes occur to well-doers, they are represented as consoling themselves with the idea that they are sent as punishment for evil deeds done in some former state of existence of which they have no remembrance. If it were not for this belief, one would be disposed to find fault with the writer for allowing so many of his characters to die or be killed while doing no harm. The quaintly serious notes by Bakin, given at the close of each chapter in explanation of some incidents or allusions made in that chapter, are interesting from their apparent sincerity and charming

ingenuousness. The full-page illustrations "from the original work" look very grotesque to English readers.

As several Japanese gentlemen have given Mr. Greey the aid of their knowledge of ancient Japanese customs and traits, we may be sure that this volume gives us a pretty reliable picture of life in Japan at the time of which it treats. The book is handsomely bound and clearly printed. S. A. U.

MYRTILLA MINER: A Memoir. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. Price \$1.00.

This book awakens reminiscences of pro-slavery and ante-bellum times. It is the record of the life of a brave, enthusiastic woman who, by dint of indomitable courage and pure faith in the right, born of a conviction of the injustice done a servile race, conquered the most hardened prejudice and achieved a most noble work. In 1851, the subject of this "memoir," a school-teacher of fragile physique, but strong will, having been brought face to face with the evils of slavery in the course of two years of teaching in the South, determined to "beard the lion" of public opinion in regard to slavery by establishing in Washington, D.C., a normal school for colored girls, with the intention of encouraging education among the colored people by supplying them competent teachers from their own ranks. It must seem strange to the young readers of this generation, who know of the bitterness of the anti-slavery struggle only by occasional references to it, to read of the genuine dangers which encompassed this woman in carrying out so laudable a purpose. Her wonderful faith and courage are shown in the fact that, without money (save one hundred dollars supplied by a sympathetic friend), without influence, without health, without experience, and in the face of discouragement of all sorts, she dared start her enterprise. When, after almost superhuman exertions, she gained her point and established her school, "what she had most to fear," says the writer of these memoirs, "was rowdism and incendiaryism. She prepared to meet the former by practising with a pistol, and training herself to take good aim by shooting at a mark." "One night, some rowdies came to the school-house [which was also her home]. She stood bravely at the window with a revolver, and declared she would shoot the first man who came to the door. They retreated at once. Once her house was set on fire; but a passer-by awoke her, and helped to put it out. Stones were frequently thrown at her windows in the night time, and she was otherwise annoyed." Friends at the North replied generously to her appeals for mutual aid; and it is with pleasure we find it recorded that, among others, Mrs. Stowe sent one thousand dollars of the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* money, and gave, besides, "heartily sympathy and support to the work." Several of the Beechers—Henry Ward and W. H. Beecher, conspicuously—aided in her project. Senator Henry Wilson refers to her in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* as "one of the heroines of the irrepressible conflict,—not because she figured largely upon the theatre of popular discussion or entered her public protest against the evils of slavery, but because in the humble walks of the lowly she quietly sought out, and with patient and protracted effort educated, the children of the proscribed and prostrate race." Although she did not live to reap the full fruition of the noble work she began, that work still goes on, and speaks of her in the school she founded, which, under the name of the "Miner Normal School," has grown to an importance far beyond her most sanguine hopes in educating women of their own race as teachers for the colored youth of to-day. S. A. U.

THE WIT OF WOMEN. By Kate Sanborn. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price \$1.50.

Miss Sanborn, in her introduction to this work (an introduction which, probably, she makes purposely brief, remembering that "brevity is the soul of wit"), says: "I feel a cheerful and Colonel Sellers-y confidence in the success of the book; for every woman will want to own it as a matter of pride and interest, and many men will buy it just to see what they can do in this line. In fact, I expect a second call for this volume!" She gives as the cause of her writing this book a desire to disprove Richard Grant White's dogmatic statement, that humor is one of the "rarest of qualities in woman." The book is divided into ten chapters, the titles of which will convey an idea of the scope of woman's wit: "The

Melancholy Tone of Women's Poetry," "Puns, Good and Bad," "Epigrams and Laconics," "Cynicism of French Women," "Sentences, Crisp and Sparkling," "Humor of Literary English Women." This is scarcely a proper title to a chapter which treats of the Scotch writer, Mary Ferrier, two Irish women, Lady Morgan and her sister, Lily Clarke and Fredrika Bremer, the Swedish novelist, in addition to the English women, Fanny Burney, Hannah More, Mary Russell Mitford, George Eliot, and others. "From Anne Bradstreet to Mrs. Stowe" gives specimens of the humor of Mercy Warren, Mrs. Sigourney, Catherine Sedgwick, Mrs. Caroline Gilman, "Fanny Forester," "Fanny Fern," and Mrs. Stowe. "Samples Here and There" are chosen from the writings of C. M. Kirkland, Rose Terry Cooke, "Samanthy Allen," and Metta V. Victor. "A Brace of Witty Women" is devoted mainly to extracts from the writings of "Sherwood Bonner" (Mrs. McDowell), to whom Miss Sanborn credits the satirical poem entitled "The Radical Club," which appeared in *The Index* some years ago, and which is familiar to most of our readers. A page or two in this chapter is given to Phoebe Cary, as the second one of the "brace." In "Ginger Snaps," quotations are made from Louisa Hall, "Grace Greenwood," Amanda T. Jones, Julia Pickering, Mary Kyle Dallas, and "Eleanor Kirk." Chapter seventh is devoted to bits of prose humor from various sources, and the eighth to humorous poetry. "Good-natured Satire" is the subject of the next chapter; and the last is composed of an *olla podrida*, comprising "parodies, reviews, children's poems, comedies by women, a dramatic trifle, a string of fire-crackers." Although Miss Sanborn has given only one summer's work to this collection of the *Wit of Women*, she has formed here quite a storehouse, from which, when needed "to point a moral or adorn a tale," specimens of feminine fun can be sought for and found, though it is rather "too much of a good thing" to be read continuously, or at one sitting. The design on the cover is unique and handsome, though we fail to see its particular appropriateness. The fine heavy paper on which the book is printed gives weight to the volume, if not to the author's argument, and may tempt some would-be wit of the masculine gender to intimate that *The Wit of Women* is, on the whole, rather heavy. S. A. U.

THE BOY'S BOOK OF BATTLE LYRICS. By Thomas Dunn English, M.D., LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1885.

It is almost forty years since Edgar Allan Poe made Thomas Dunn English the subject of one of his most scurrilous attacks in the series of criticisms called "The Literati." Mr. English answered him according to his folly, and has since been "named and known by that hour's feat" almost exclusively. It is very pleasant, therefore, to meet one with whom our associations have not been particularly agreeable on the cordial footing which is afforded by his present work. The original intention of the author was to take up every notable event in our annals, so as to make a complete metrical history. This purpose was abandoned, as he found the volume would be inconveniently large. And, in truth, his style is so expansive that "the world would not contain the books" he would have written, had he gone on as he began. The "ballads" are, as he warns us in the preface, rather "metrical narratives" than poems. But the verse throughout is good, with much variety in the measures. Each ballad is recited in the first person, and with some attempt to give dramatic character to the narrator. To every ballad is prefixed an historical sketch, and there are many wood-cuts that are actually "illustrations" of the text. Some of the experiments in rhyming are extremely happy. Take, for example, "The Sack of Deerfield." The author has the true ballad feeling, and the indifference of the old-fashioned balladists to the length of the narration. The subjects are well chosen; and the book is one that cannot fail to be not only "the delight of generous boys," but a means of instruction, and, better still, of patriotic inspiration. J. W. C.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM vs. THE SPOILS SYSTEM. By George S. Bernard. New York: John B. Alden. pp. 128. Price 10 cts.

This work originally appeared in the form of letters addressed to a Virginian newspaper, with the hope of directing the minds of Southern voters to the importance as a political movement of the civil ser-

vice reform. They discuss in a calm and impartial manner the merits of that reform, and give much helpful information bearing on the subject. In the Appendix, the Civil Service Act is given in full, with a list of journals published and publications issued in support of the cause.

THE PETTIBONE NAME. A New England Story. By Margaret Sidney. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

This is No. 1 of Lothrop's *Household Library*, to be issued monthly at \$5.00 per year, or 50 cents per number. The holidays are an appropriate season at which to reissue this realistic tale of New England life, which brings out in strong relief the differing phases of character to be found in the farming towns of the Eastern States. It is principally a story of the self-sacrifice—self-imposed—of a quiet "old-maid," for the sake of "the Pettibone name,"—a name which, however, when she has achieved her purpose, she exchanges in a satisfactory but unexpected manner for that of her ministerial lover. The moral tone of the story is pure, and the style interesting.

THE ILLUSTRATED CATHOLIC FAMILY ANNUAL, 1886. New York: Catholic Publishing Society Co., 9 Barclay Street.

Twelve portraits of distinguished Catholic dignitaries, with sketches of their lives, several pictures of noted architectural structures, with an engraving of the monument to Margaret Haughey, of New Orleans, and a portrait of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, accompanied by sketches of the life and work of these women, are among the contents of this annual.

HOW TO ENTERTAIN A SOCIAL PARTY. A Collection of Tableaux, Games, Parlor Magic, Philosophical Recreation, etc. New York: J. G. Ogilvie & Co., 31 Rose Street. pp. 128. Price 25 cents.

A very handy book for young people to consult when at a loss for some variation of an evening's amusement at social gatherings or in the home circle.

METAPHYSICS is the title of a little paper-covered work of sixteen pages, without imprint of author or publisher, which deals with questions in theology and mental science. Its principal aim seems to be to give words of caution and advice to those disposed to dabble in mind-cure, faith-cure, and other branches of so-called metaphysical healing. The work contains some sensible thought on these and kindred subjects, but it is presented in such vague transcendental as well as theological phraseology that it is likely to fail of appreciation except by those in sympathy with the peculiar speculative views of the author.

THE Catholic World for November has the following table of contents: "The Legend of St. Alexis," by Aubrey de Vere; "The Divine Authority of the Church," by Rev. A. F. Hewit; "A French Reformatory," by Louis B. Binns; "St. Winifred's Well," by Agnes Repplier; "Solitary Island, Part IV., Chaps. II.-IV.," by Rev. J. T. Smith; "Much Ado about Sonnets," by Appleton Morgan; "The American Catholic University," by Rev. A. F. Hewit; "The Twins: A War Story," by T. F. Galwey; "To-morrow," a poem, by "T."; "The Irish Schoolmaster before Emancipation," by C. M. O'Keefe; "The Death of Francis of Guise," by J. C. B.; "A Chat by the Way," by Condé B. Pallen; "Novel Writing as a Science," by R. P. Among the books reviewed are *The Daemon of Darwin*, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, *The Age of Lead*, and *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.*

A VERY interesting engraving is that just issued by the Travellers' Insurance Company of Hartford, from the publishing house of Root & Tinker, New York. It is a representation in reduced form of the first page of fifteen of the leading Parisian journals, such as *Le XIX. Siècle*, *Le Temps*, *Journal des Débats*, *Le Moniteur Universel*, *Le Pays*, *L'Intransigeant*, *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Figaro*, *La Lanterne*, etc., with the portrait of its editor in the centre of each paper. A more noble-looking group of characteristic faces would be difficult to find. Indeed, knowing that the list includes such well-known names as those of Henri Rochefort, Paul de Cassagnac, Emile de Girardin, and Edmond About, with other French journalists worthy to be their *confrères*, an engraving like this could not fail of being a strikingly remarkable one. In addition, the artistic grouping and finish of the picture are excellent.

THE November number of the *Revue de Belgique* contains articles on the recent French election, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, two hundred years ago, on the holding of the soil as common property in various parts of Europe, and on the attempt to gain peace of mind by giving up liberty of thought. Only such peace as reigns in a cemetery can be purchased thus. To keep the intellect alive, we must let it work freely, owning no authority but that of truth. Those who do this duty faithfully can enjoy the purest and firmest kind of inward peace, that which a good conscience gives.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Vanderbilt's bequests were but one-half of one per cent. of his property, they amounted in the aggregate to over \$1,000,000.

THE President's message has been pretty generally read; and leading journals of all parties unite in speaking of it as a State paper entitled to high rank,—strong, straightforward, comprehensive, and unpartisan.

DAKOTA asks for admission as a State, with her coat-of-arms bearing the motto, "By God the People rule." The *Boston Post* thinks there is too much of the cow-boy about that motto, and asks, "Why couldn't they have been satisfied with the simple motto, 'The People rule,' without the profanity?"

It is stated that "a whole town in China has adopted Christianity as a result of deliverance from cholera in answer to special prayer." Some such display of supernatural power in the most enlightened portions of Christendom might do something to restore belief in Christianity where it has long prevailed, and where the people are losing faith in it.

REFERRING to the offer of the inhabitants of Quitman to donate to the American Missionary Society a site for a colored school, to take the place of the building lately burned there, the *Springfield Republican* remarks: "We infer that it is located more to the taste of the persons whose hostility caused the former school to be destroyed,—in other words, is outside of the town,—because the *Atlanta Constitution* observes that the society 'will certainly not attempt to rebuild the school on the old site, and will, doubtless, accept the town land donated by the citizens.' Unless the society has a larger share of the missionary spirit than is given to most people, it will not attempt to rebuild the school at all, unless its teachers can be assured

of more Christian, not to say decent, treatment than they received there before."

THE following, from a letter printed in a Boston daily paper, is sensible: "Archbishop Gibbons, in his address at the funeral of Cardinal McCloskey, makes the singular assertion that, 'to the eye of faith, the bishop is exalted above angels, because he exercises power not given to angels.' It may be that this excellent ecclesiastic has sources of information on matters of this sort inaccessible to the laity; but, to the average mind, an assumption like this seems supremely absurd. In the absence of any definite knowledge as to the precise functions exercised by the angelic host, in the presence of doubts in the minds of certain sceptical souls as to the existence of an order of superior intelligence with the attributes commonly ascribed to angels, the ground taken by the reverend orator is somewhat amazing. . . . It strikes me that it would have been quite possible to give the deceased prelate credit for 'every virtue under heaven,' without introducing any question of precedence, at least so far as concerns the celestial hierarchy."

WHEN so much is said and written of mad dogs, says *Science*, "it may be well to recognize that, as the *Lancet* says, fear or nervous apprehension can induce a fatal disease having nearly, if not all, the characters of hydrophobia. It is not necessarily true that hydrophobia is always brought on by the mental anxiety that a dog-bite not infrequently occasions. Hydrophobia is a nervous disease; but it has probably a material cause, a poison, which is most likely a "germ" or micro-organism. It is a curious fact that birds, even when inoculated with the poison of rabies, do not suffer from the disease; and some individuals appear to enjoy, with birds, the same kind of immunity. The *Lancet* further points out that, whether it is those persons who are not given to fear or nervous apprehension who always escape hydrophobia, even though bitten by a rabid dog, we are not in a position to state. But nothing can be more detrimental to a bitten individual than to brood over his misfortune, or make himself miserable by learning all the symptoms of hydrophobia."

THE name of Louis Prang must ever remain identified with the birth of the popular interest in art in America. More than any other man, he has worked in the right way to popularize the artistic taste among the people of this continent. His cheap chromo reproductions of the works of the best artists, his Christmas, New Year's, St. Valentine's Day, and birthday cards, and his encouragement of native genius by prizes offered for the best art designs for these cards have made the name of the firm of L. Prang & Co. a household word in every home in the land as a universal benefactor. The Christmas and New Year's cards sent out by the Company this year are in no respect behind their predecessors in beauty and artistic merit. More than this it is not necessary to say; yet we cannot help calling

particular attention to one of the new ones, called "the Boston card," which is illustrative of the modern Christmas. There are three figures, a young lady, a boy, and a little girl of two or three years of age, a quaint little darling in a cap and Mother Hubbard gown, who gravely tries to imitate the elaborate bow of her seniors. The childish pose has been admirably caught by the artist.

F. M. H. WRITES thus in regard to exempting churches from taxation: "During the year ending in September, 1885, the untaxed real estate in the city of Worcester, nearly nine-tenths of which property belongs to sectarian organizations, increased in value from \$2,000,000 to \$2,347,200, or over 17 per cent.,—a gain largely due to the erection of three expensive churches. The increase of the rest of the real estate in the city meantime was from \$35,684,400 to \$36,960,350, or only 3½ per cent. In other words, the property of the Worcester churches increases in value about five times as fast as that of the individual citizens. It certainly looks as if the religious societies were, at least, as able as the rest of the community to pay their own taxes. If the churches in Worcester keep up this rate of growth, it will not be many years before they come to own half the city, as was the case in many places in Europe during the Dark Ages."

THE newsdealers of Worcester have signed a pledge that they will discourage the sale of such publications as are referred to in the law enacted by the Massachusetts legislature at its last session, forbidding the sale to minors, or the exposition in their presence of "any book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper, or other printed paper devoted to the publication or principally made up of criminal news, police reports, or accounts of criminal deeds, or pictures and stories of crime." The Worcester newsdealers deserve the thanks of the public for the example they have set to those in the business. Youthful criminality is on the increase; and it seems to be due in part, and in numerous cases can be traced directly, to reading sensational stories of crime. Let the fact be well understood, and respectable newsdealers will not cater to the class that demand this sort of literature.

GERMANS in Chicago have inaugurated a movement for the erection of a monument to Goethe, and they will invite the co-operation of people of all nationalities. "This," says the *Cincinnati Graphic*, "is eminently proper. If the world has ever produced a great man who towered in his intellect as in his sentiments above all national bias, such a man was Goethe. As one evidence, and the best, that could be cited of this fact, at the time when France was making her most serious encroachments upon his country, he utterly refused to join in the almost universal outcry against French literature, French art, French influence generally in æsthetics, considering these elements in civilization as properly of no race or country. In this respect, he showed himself superior to Victor Hugo, whose sublime intellect was marred, or at least cramped, by the intensity of his patriotism."

LIBERAL CATHOLICISM.

There is a liberal Catholicism, as there is a liberal Orthodoxy. No church can quite escape the reforming influences of the nineteenth century. Yet it is the nature of reform within church lines to give the credit, not to the rationalistic thought of the present age, but to a retroversion to some phase of philosophy in an earlier period of Christendom. Thus, the New Orthodoxy is claimed by its adherents to be even an older form of Christianity than is Calvinism. Calvinism, it is said, has its roots in the teachings of Augustine. But the new school of orthodox thought finds its prototype in the Greek Christian theology, and more particularly in the views of Athanasius. And there is no doubt that Greek Christianity was much more liberal in its philosophy than the Latin. Athanasius was a disciple of Origen and of Clement of Alexandria. Origen and Clement, though distinguished "Fathers" of the Christian Church, were under suspicion for heresy. They were both learned in Greek philosophy and culture, and their view of Christianity was largely influenced by that learning. They both believed the Hellenic philosophy was a direct and divinely ordered preparation for Christianity. It was Clement who said, "God was the giver of Greek philosophy to the Greeks, by which the Almighty is glorified among the Greeks." How different is this teaching from that which is heard, even to-day, in circles of popular Orthodoxy,—that the whole world, for instance, was sunk in darkness and dead in trespasses and sins, with not a ray of saving truth, awaiting the advent of Jesus! The larger ancient teaching was the reflected light of pagan Greece, which really saved Christianity from becoming a mere sect of Judaism.

The Roman Catholic Church naturally holds in high regard St. Augustine, who turned the tide of theological thought into stricter channels, and impressed himself powerfully on papal Christianity. Yet these older "Fathers" are held as belonging to that Church also; and liberally inclined Catholics, like the liberal Orthodox of the Protestant ranks, may revert to them for authority, when they incline to concede to modern thought something of the stricter doctrine of the later centuries of their Church. Thus, Bishop Keane, of Richmond, Va., has recently delivered a lecture in St. Louis, under the auspices of the Catholic Lecture Bureau of that city, in which certain liberal passages concerning the religions anterior to Christianity clearly restate the position of the Greek Fathers, almost in their own words, though they are not referred to by name. The subject of the lecture is "The Light of the World." Christ, of course, is regarded as that light in all its fulness. But Bishop Keane does not contrast Jesus with other great religious teachers, as if they taught only error and he only truth. On the contrary, he even admits that the great teachers before Jesus—Socrates, Plato, Gautama Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster—were "men of Divine Providence," commissioned by Almighty Power to reveal truth so far as the world could receive it, and thus to prepare the way for Christianity. Bishop Keane's theory is that the fall of man—he accepts apparently the legend of the Garden of Eden literally—did not utterly incapacitate man for the understanding of genuine religious truth nor cut the human race entirely off from communication with the Supreme Being. Adam and Eve, though driven from the Garden, in shame and darkness, went from it with a promise and hope that their darkness would at some time be dispersed by the Light of divine truth; and upon that promise and hope, which all the

scattered races of primitive mankind retained, and which Bishop Keane concedes to be a veritable message from the Almighty, they all, he thinks, built their respective religious creeds,—creeds incomplete and mistaken in many things, and yet having real truth in them. Then the providential men were raised up who were to develop this truth and lead the nations onward toward the full day of revelation which should surely dawn.

On this theory, Bishop Keane spoke most sympathetically and appreciatingly of the ancient religious teachers of pagan faiths. Instead of declaiming against them as false guides, he regarded them as forerunners of Jesus, teaching the same kind of truth as Jesus taught, though only in part. Of Buddha, he said: "Disgusted with the degradation and tyranny resulting among his countrymen from a system of castes, he sought for the truth that would undo the evil. In the light of the natural law of the old tradition from which his people had wandered, he found the equality and brotherhood of men; and this doctrine so welcome to the down-trodden he proclaimed with all the energy of his soul." Of the Persian prophet: "God gave Persia its man of providence in Zoroaster. He, too, amid the darkness, caught the gleam of the old forgotten truth; and he proclaimed that there is but one God, essentially good, who makes morality both possible and obligatory." Of Confucius: "With a delicacy of heart that shrank from the gross materialism around him, he [Confucius] recognized and proclaimed the beauty and necessity of morality, of unselfishness, of truthfulness, gentleness, and kindness." Of the great Greek teachers: "God gave Greece her men of providence. These were Socrates and his great disciple, Plato. Spurning the materialism and sensuality which were making the life of their countrymen as foul and deformed inwardly as it was clothed in shapes of artistic beauty outwardly, their lofty souls aspired after the ideal and the infinite. In language whose beauty has rendered his teachings immortal, Plato told his country of spirituality and immortality, of religion and moral duty, and the one God."

Along with these views, which are so nearly akin to the truths concerning the ethnic religions that are now taught by such historical investigators as Max Müller and Renan, this Roman Catholic bishop, as might naturally be expected, teaches also the common orthodox doctrine that the plan of divine revelation and redemption was completed by the perfect incarnation of deity in Jesus, beyond all need of further addition or amendment. And this doctrine no scientific study of history will sustain. But it were well if that class of orthodox preachers who are in the habit of declaring that the heathen nations, before the advent of Jesus, knew nothing of the doctrine of one God, nor of a paternal deity, nor of a pure morality, nor of the idea of human brotherhood, nor had any hope of immortality, should take note of what this bishop of the Catholic Church says of these ancient heathen teachers of ethics and religion.

WM. J. POTTER.

TEACHING CHILDREN.

I have lately been reading O. B. Frothingham's *Child's Book of Religion*. I bought the work in the expectation that I should find some aid in what is confessedly a difficult task,—that of teaching children such religious ideas as will harmonize with a rational or scientific view of the universe. There are many reasons why liberal parents should endeavor to instruct their little ones in this matter. When children grow up to

youth and maidenhood, and go out into the world, they are very apt to have their senses captivated by the allurements of the fashionable religions round about them. The fine architecture and the gorgeous interiors of the churches, the stained glass, the organ and the choir, the millinery of the priest, and other social attractions, tend to lull them into forgetfulness of the irrationality of the doctrines taught,—forgetfulness of the constantly implied superiority in importance of beliefs over conduct.

Then, again, if they should have the misfortune of being led away to the old branch of the Church, they may become accustomed to the grossly immoral idea that the penalties due to their misdeeds may be wiped away by the word of a man; that, if they do not succeed in the all-important work of bringing their passions under the control of the higher faculties of their nature, they have only to submit themselves to the Church, pay the priest for absolution, and all will be well. Should they, on the other hand, be drawn toward any of the evangelical Protestant churches, they will there learn that faith is the one thing needful; that all earnest efforts after a better life, all striving to overcome the dominion of the animal propensities, are but as filthy rags in the sight of God; that, in the words of the hymn, such doing "is a deadly thing." Unless their minds have been fortified by the inculcation of sound principles in childhood, they will fall an easy prey to the common superstition, will rest contented with the salvation of their souls in a problematical future life rather than strive after the harmonious development of all their faculties in this real life.

It appears to me that the only kind of religion that can be taught with profit to children is that which is founded on the universal prevalence of law, alike in inorganic and organic nature, in the soul of man, and in the structure of human communities. The child should be taught that there is no place for chaos or chance in nature; that every department of it which has been investigated displays the same orderly succession of cause and effect; that every organ of his body has, in its relationship to the whole organism, a sphere of use; that all indulgence beyond that is abuse, and leads to mischief; and that health and long life and happiness and fitness for the discharge of his duties to others depend on conformity to the organic laws. It need not be said that it is impossible to impart a knowledge of such subjects to children. An intelligent teacher can illustrate the existence and operation of the natural laws by thousands of instances drawn from science, from history and experience. Neither does it matter much whether the child is taught that these laws have been implanted in nature by an infinite Power, or that they are inherent in the nature of things. It is in the existence of law and order, instead of chaos and disorder, that the great mystery lies; and the child who is taught that there is something continually present with him, always ready to co-operate and to aid him in every attempt he makes to improve his life, has got religion in its purest and most practical form.

In examining Mr. Frothingham's book with the view of getting some assistance in inculcating such views to children, there is little else than disappointment. The work consists of a collection of poems or hymns, lessons in prose on the good life and on truth, a series of stories called "Legends of Virtue," and some more hymns for such occasions as Christmas, Easter, and Whit Sunday. The lessons on the good life contain some slight references to this world, and may be considered the least objectionable part of the book. The hymns are nearly all devoted to the supernatural, and

can serve but the one purpose, that of preparing children for heaven. They are full of the peculiar beings which swarm in the pages of evangelical tracts,—angels, heavenly doves, and spirits of many kinds,—which set distance and the law of gravity at defiance. Children are told that “the brightest of the angels fell”; but they are not told that they went straight to hell, and became devils. The stupid and preposterous Romish doctrine of guardian angels is clearly expressed. Some of the worst parts of the New Testament are given at length, such as: Take no thought for your life. Consider the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field: they toil not, neither do they spin. Your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of food and raiment; but seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added to you, etc. In the stories called the “Legends of Virtue,” the devil is for the first time introduced in the character of a poltroon, as he is usually depicted by the Romish writers of the Middle Ages. He makes the common bargain for the services and soul of a man, but, coming face to face with a crucifix at a cross-road, immediately flies in terror, leaving his property behind him. Some other legends of virtue relate the travels and adventures of monks and nuns, but the greater part of them are taken up with an account of the miracles and wonderful works wrought by the child Jesus, which, it is needless to say, are not mentioned in any of the Gospels. The reading of these “Legends of Virtue” makes one turn with astonishment to the title-page, to see if no mistake has been made with the name of the compiler.

It is a singular phenomenon,—a liberal-thinking man like Mr. Frothingham, for whom the Unitarian Church was not liberal enough, hankering after the old figments of popish Christianity. How is it possible that he can think it good for children to sing an Easter hymn the burden of which is Christ is risen, when he knows it is not true, that he is not risen? How can he imagine that a child will be made more truthful and honest to himself and to others by singing hymns dedicated to Whit Sunday? It is not by such exercises as these that children will be fitted to take their place worthily as citizens of the future generation. It is not by filling their minds with such ideas as these that they will be able to help on the new era of truth and righteousness, which, alas! we can only see afar off.

J. G. WHYTE.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE ELIOT'S AGNOSTICISM.

II.

What is the significance of an unbelief reached as George Eliot's was,—the unbelief of a clear-headed, warm-hearted, dispassionate woman earnestly seeking after the truth, who, after testing religion and measuring it with the facts of the universe, deliberately falls back into agnosticism as practically the better thing of the two,—what the lessons of her experience?

First, the danger of what is commonly called the way of safety. No one can look at the mechanism, the unnaturalness, “the grocer's back parlor view,” as she calls it, of the faith in which she was brought up, and not be struck with its utter inadequateness for a nature like that of George Eliot. Reared in any of our denominational flower-pots, she would doubtless, in the end, have outgrown it; but it is impossible to avoid thinking that, had she been placed in one with a little more of our common earth for its soil, especially of its reason, cheerfulness, every-day truth, and recogni-

tion at the outstart of the unknown, the recoil, when its walls gave way, would have been less violent, and have thrown her less far beyond all enclosures. She is only one of a great number of persons who, in our time, are going through the same process. The dogmas taught them as Christianity, though starting them honestly and earnestly in the religious life, and really nursing them in it for a while, do not have the deepness of earth needed for their larger growing wants, and hence the church, entered as their ark of safety, proves to be to them only a half-way house from childhood's unthinking trust to maturity's thoughtful unbelief.

Equally significant is her experience as showing the possible moral character of unbelief, not its consistency with morals merely, but the actual morality of the thing itself, and what consequently should be its treatment;—showing how far it is from being necessarily the result of a wicked heart, of wilful blindness, or of a love for error, and how certainly it may sometimes be arrived at as the direct outcome of goodness, intelligence, honesty, and an earnest seeking after truth. Religion is like a game of checkers. With its men badly arranged to start with, or its opponent given the first move, the more honestly and accurately it is played, the surer will its end be defeat. Exactly the same process which has made some inquirers Christians made her, and has made others like her, agnostics. And, however reprehensible the unbelief of indifference, prejudice, and sin may be, who shall say that the men and women who have tried to be Christians and Theists, and failed,—made their best moves, but, through their very data to start with, have been defeated, are any more to be blamed than those who have tried, without success, to be poets, novelists, merchants, or mechanics,—who say they are not worthy of the profoundest sympathy from those who, with the same moves, but a better start, have been crowned with success?

Then, paradoxical though it be, her agnosticism is significant of the greatness, not the falsity, of religion. She was very far from being a disbeliever, one who has examined the claims of faith and found nothing in them at all, gone over its whole field and discovered only empty space beyond. She was simply a non-believer, an agnostic, a person denying not the truth itself, but only her ability to take it in. She rejected all existing formulas about it, not because they were too religious, but because they were not religious enough, that is, were not adequate to express the awful mystery which to her mind unwrapped all earthly things. She was an unbeliever with the upward, not the downward look; was more reverent in her scepticism than most in their faith; made her doubt a piety, and her life, ending at the tomb, infinite beyond many, reaching on forever. And who shall say that such an attitude of a great soul like hers toward religion is not inexpressibly more significant than that of a little soul which professes to have taken it all in? It leaves room for hope; gives new confidence in what other great souls, like that of Jesus, profess to have seen; shows there is something to it which is worth struggling for; is a challenge forevermore, as only the unknown can be, to man's loftiest efforts; suggests that some time, if not yet, in some life, if not in this, its mystic threshold may be crossed by all human feet, and religion for all souls be religious.

There is one other most important lesson that her unbelief is helping to teach, and that is what ought to be recognized by religion as the true ground of hope for a person's future. The old doctrine, still professed in many of our churches, that the only ground for it is a personal faith in

Jesus Christ and acceptance of his atoning blood, is receiving a terrible shock from the number of those, the very saints of earth, that it would inevitably leave out of heaven. Men are compelled to ask with each great soul that dies “unwashed in the atoning blood,” Can a doctrine be true that could thus rob the celestial world of the larger part of the very flower and fruit of the human race? It is in vain for theologians to make special exceptions in their case, claiming that they are Christians without knowing it, that they have accepted the essential Christ, or that, in some unseen way, the atonement has been applied for their benefit,—a jugglery with ideas which serves only to bring all religion into contempt. There is only one honest ground to be taken, that salvation with all souls, great or small, depends, not on belief, but on character. And, possibly, one of the reasons why the God of all goodness is allowing so many persons of the George Eliot stamp—Dickens, Emerson, Longfellow, Harriet Martineau, Darwin, Montefiore, and the like—to grow up models of excellence in the very midst of agnosticism, heresy, and natural religion, at any rate, one of the results being accomplished by it, is to drive the world away from its old harsh dogma of a blood salvation into the larger and diviner truth of a saving character.

But, whatever may be said or thought about the future of a soul like hers in the spirit world, there can be no question, agnostic as she was, about her future in the world which is now and here,—the most significant thing of all, perhaps, about her career. She has shown that unbelief is not necessarily a lost element in man's affairs; shown all honest unbelievers that, failing to catch on to the car of individual immortality, there is another vaster train ready to take them up. Her name is written on the world's “Book of Life” with the angel pen of genius and of service, her spirit a part of its kingdom of heaven, her impress upon earth as indestructible as its atoms or its stars. And, realizing the wish expressed in her own noblest poem, she will inspire millions of others to work for its realization,—

“Oh, may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end in self;
... Be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,—
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.”

JOHN C. KIMBALL.

THE POEMS OF TWO WESTERN UNITARIANS.

II.

Three qualities impress us especially in Mr. Gannett's poetry, as we have it here (in the little book noticed last week),—the keen sympathy with nature, the constant thought of the immanence of God in nature and in men and women, and the tendency to seize and fashion a curious idea.

“Their wonder plays on questions great,
All vision and surprise,”

he says of the children; and he is himself such a child. He is quick to catch the fortunate meaning of a name, as in the beautiful poem “Theodore,” written for the Parker Memorial dedication in 1873,—in connection with which should be read Mr. Hosmer's tribute to Channing. He loves a strange analogy, and he is full of surprises. He gives us very many verses which make us say at first, How singular!—to add

immediately, How beautiful! and lay away a thought which cannot be forgotten. Perhaps the most striking illustration of what is here meant is the poem "Jesus Who?" It is impossible to quote from the poem, since the meaning only appears from the whole; but it works out a singularly fine and religious conception. The beautiful poem, "The Hills of the Lord," beginning with the bold Emersonian lines,—

"God ploughed one day with an earthquake,
And drove his furrows deep,"—

is a less surprising poem of this surprising class. "The Negro Burying-ground" is the touching story of a tattered troop of newly freed negro children chanting their newly learned alphabet over a little grave:—

"The A, B, C, that the lips below
Had learned with them in the school to shout,
Over and over they sung it slow,
Crooning a mystic meaning out.

"The A, B, C, D, E, F, G,—
Down solemn alphabets they swept:
The oaks leaned close, the moss swung low,—
What strange new sound among them crept?

"The holiest hymn that the children knew!
'Twas dreams come real, and heaven come near;
'Twas light and liberty and joy,
And 'white folks' sense,' and God right here!

"Over and over; they dimly felt
This was the charm could make black white,
This was the secret of 'Massa's' pride,
And this, unknown, made the negro's night.

"What could they sing of braver cheer
To speed on her unseen way the friend?
Th' children were facing the mystery Death
With the deepest prayer that their hearts could send."

And then, in two characteristic closing verses, Mr. Gannett shows us how the story is a parable, and relates it to our common human life:—

"Children, too, and the mysteries last!
We are but comrades with them there,
Stammering over a meaning vast,
Crooning out guesses of how and where.

"But the children were right with their A, B, C;
In our stammering guess so much we say!
The singers were happy, and so are we:
Deep as our wants are the prayers we pray."

Mr. Gannett's warm and delicate sympathy with child-life constantly appears. The truly poetic heart must, indeed, have warm sympathy with the child, as Whittier has so beautifully told us. Mr. Hosmer herein is not behind Mr. Gannett. A very sweet and Whittier-like hymn is his for Children's Sunday, with the lines,—

"To us beneath the noon-day heat,
Dust-stained and travel-worn,
How beautiful their robes of white,
The freshness of their morn!

"O little ones, ye cannot know
The power with which ye plead,
Nor why, as on through life we go,
The little child doth lead."

Mr. Hosmer also gives us a beautiful translation of a beautiful German poem of Karl Gerok's, "The Children's Service."

Mr. Gannett's quick sensibility to nature is manifest in almost everything which he writes. His *Year of Miracle* was, perhaps, the finest illustration of it which we have had. There is no hymn of his into which the stars, the lilies, the snowflakes, the dewdrops, green pastures and still waters, or the "niches of the hill" do not somehow come. It is some experience or effect in nature which is again and again his point of departure or text for his poem. "The Sunny Side," "Sunday on the Hill-top," "The Cathedral," "Summer Chemistry," "Where did it go?" are poems born in this way. He loves to remember their birthplaces,—Blue Hill, Bald Cap, Crow Nest, Ossipee. But his thought is almost always of the nature of nature, of the power behind

within,—of the chemistry of nature. There is always a questioning and wondering.

"What does it take
A day to make,—
A day at the Bear Camp Ossipee?"

The sky and pasture and crag and sunshine and sunset and the varied human factors are beautifully analyzed and synthetized.

"Add this to that, and thou shalt see
What goes to summer chemistry,—
What the God takes
Each time he makes
One summer day at Ossipee."

The hills are ever "dreaming of their past" to him; and he reverently waits, if, perchance, they may dream aloud.

"Eternities past and future
Seem clinging to all I see,
And things immortal cluster
Around my bended knee.

"That pebble is older than Adam!
Secrets it hath to tell;
These rocks,—they cry out history,
Could I but listen well.

"That pool knows the ocean-feeling
Of storm and moon-led tide;
The sun finds its East and West therein,
And the stars find room to glide.

"That lichen's crinkled circle
Creeps with the Life Divine,
Where the Holy Spirit loitered
On its way to this face of mine."

These last two are very striking lines, and strongly remind us of the famous lines prefixed by Emerson to "Nature." Nature, the world, is to our poet one vast cathedral. His poem, "The Cathedral," expresses it all:—

"Nighed in the mighty minster, we,
Beneath the dome of radiant blue:
Cathedral hush on every side,
And worship breathing through!"

These lines, written for a special place and hour, are true for him everywhere and always. It is the spirit of Wordsworth and Emerson that speaks through all his poems of nature,—the thought of nature as the vestment of God.

The divine immanence,—the over-soul, the upper, deeper self, so beautifully hinted at in "Recognition," the "spirit-sky" that opens with the voices of surprise, "the peace at the heart of Nature," the "Strength eternal, by whose will the hills their steadfast places keep,"—

"The Silence, awful Living Word
Behind all sound, behind all thought,
Whose speech is Nature-yet-to-be,
The Poem yet unwrought!"—

this thought of the divine immanence, this thought of God, is the dominant, pervasive thought in all of Mr. Gannett's poetry, as in Mr. Hosmer's, and in his view of nature and of human life. The thought, with reference both to nature and the soul, is nowhere perhaps put more simply than in the little hymn entitled "The Secret Place of the Most High":—

"The Lord is in his Holy Place
In all things near and far!
Shekinah of the snowflake, he,
And glory of the star;
And secret of the April land
That stirs the field to flowers,
Whose little tabernacles rise
To hold him through the hours.

"He hides himself within the love
Of those whom we love best;
The smiles and tones that make our homes
Are shrines by him possessed;
He tents within the lonely heart
And shepherds every thought;
We find him not by seeking long,—
We lose him not, unsought."

These lines, like all of Mr. Gannett's and Mr. Hosmer's poetry, and like all the sermons and every-day words of all these typical Western Uni-

tarians, show how thoroughly the thought of Emerson has become domesticated among us. We have not lately had in America an offering of religious poetry intrinsically better than this modest little volume. It is especially to be commended for its good fibre, for the strength of its seriousness, for its reserves, and for that true feeling which keeps tenderness from ever degenerating into the sentimentality which has characterized too much "liberal" poetry. But more, almost, than the intrinsic interest of these hymns and poems is their representative interest; and this it is which leads us to notice them at so great length. It is not fifty years since Emerson stood to Boston Unitarianism and to Harvard College for irreligion and every dangerous tendency. Now there can be no thinker, Boston Unitarian or other, who does not see that it is Emerson above all other Americans of the century who must be called the "God-intoxicated man." There are great sections of American Unitarianism to-day in which one constantly detects the suspicion that these leading Western men, in their freedom, in their readiness to welcome all good thought and fellowship all good men, in their "trust in humanity, heathen or Jew," in their emphasis on ethics and the commonwealth, are on questionable ground, tending in dangerous ways, tending especially—this is the definite form the suspicious oftenest takes—whether the doctrine of the divine immanence, the thought of God, shall become unreal or inoperative. Where this thought decays, where it fails to speak, to imply itself, to make itself somehow valid and a force, there most sober men feel—and we think rightly—that religion, or what attempts to do religious work in the world, fast becomes thin and arid, spasmodic and galvanic, uninspiring and unsustaining. But men are forever failing to see where the thought is speaking truly in the circle of to-day, where it is speaking poorly in the circle of yesterday. To-day, however it may be in other provinces of our liberalism, it is surely true in our Unitarianism, broadly speaking, that what is most radical is most religious. Among these Emersonians of the West, it would be impossible to name two men more entirely identified with the larger faith—with the new departure in Unitarianism, if it may be spoken of so sharply—than the two friends who sing to us together here. Mr. Gannett has been the most instant and untiring pleader for the integrity of the congregation and for a simply ethical basis of fellowship. Mr. Hosmer was the preacher of the sermon before the Chicago Conference, in which this basis was urged, perhaps, most distinctly and formally. It is these men who demand that the burden of no speculative belief at all, not the belief in God, shall be laid upon any who would be of the congregation, who show us, when they open their souls to us, as here, that they cannot think at all without thinking of God, and that this thought of God has no dry husk of dogma left about it, but is a vital, throbbing, omnipresent thing, transfiguring the world, sanctifying beauty, giving omnipotence to conscience, and induing all life and all science with depth and definition, with promise, grace, and joy. We think that there is a connection between these two things.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

MIND AND FAITH CURE.

The number of intelligent people who believe in "mind cure," "faith cure," "Christian science cure," "metaphysical healing," etc., is large and apparently increasing. These terms are used to distinguish methods of treating disease in which there is evidently an essential truth and a common principle. As to the benefit received from such

treatment, much of the testimony is of a character that entitles it to consideration. True, claims are made by the practitioners, who are interested parties, and by the patients, who are persons generally unaccustomed to regard exactitude of thought or precision of statement as of much importance, which fail the moment careful examination is made; and the wonderful cures proclaimed, when the truth is known, are at once divested of all that made them appear miraculous, or exceptional even. Yet, after making allowance for exaggeration and misrepresentation, wilful or unintentional, there remains a residuum of truth sufficient to prove that, underlying all the methods which give prominence to the power of the mind in the alleviation and cure of disease, is an undeniable and important principle, a better understanding of which may yet lead to most beneficent results.

Many of the theories and speculations of the mind curers are wild and crude, and belong to primitive rather than to modern thought. Others have connected with their method in a way, in some cases to make most incongruous and grotesque theories, portions of the great philosophical systems which have long been discussed by thinkers. They are so contradictory and often so superficial and undigested as to give rise to the presumption at once that between them and the essential principle observed in producing the practical results there is only an assumed and imaginary connection.

For instance, Dr. W. F. Evans, author of *Healing by Faith*, adopting the theory of pure idealism, says: "The world and all the things it contains, including the body of man, having no thought in themselves, do not exist in and for themselves, but exist only in us, and, as Schopenhauer has truly said, are to us only what we *think* and believe them to be. As thoughts and existence are identical, a change of thought must necessarily modify our existence. . . . Disease, having existence only in the mind on a sensuous plane, is so far, like all our sense-perceptions, a fallacious appearance, and not the *reality* we suppose it to be. . . . But you will ask me if the corn on your toe is not as real as the toe itself. To this, the answer is that neither of them has any real existence, except as a *thought* on the lower range of the mind, and a false belief; and neither of them is any part of the real Ego, or self. . . . When I raise my arm, the reality of the movement is a modification of the mind." Scripture is freely quoted by Mr. Evans, to sustain this theory. On the other hand, Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb, who has given much attention to the subject, is satisfied that there is but one substance, and that this is not primordially mind, but matter; and she cites numerous passages from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, to prove the materiality of the mind. Dr. Arens, author of *Old Theology in its Application to the Healing of the Sick*, has another theory. "The soul," he says, "is the reflection of the highest thought of God, and is similar to it in outline, although opposite to it in quality. . . . Matter is the visible appearance or coarser fabric of the soul, and is not known or recognized by God." The soul sprung from God. In the soul arose "mental or material thought"; and, "through this changeable material thought, the soul produced a changeable material fruit, which is the absence of Spirit, and which the soul realized as matter-substance, and thus it became a living creature,—soul and body,—and called itself Adam." All these theories are supported by appeals to the Scriptures.

Others claim that we are surrounded by invisible intelligences, by spirits, and that it is by their intervention and aid that are effected most of the

cures ascribed to faith and prayer and to other influences by Christian scientists and metaphysical healers.

Laroy Sunderland, for several years a Methodist preacher, famous for his powers as a revivalist, who, after leaving the ministry, attracted still wider attention by his lectures and experiments, who was honored by election to membership in the London Society of Science, Literature, and Art, wrote: "When I experimented upon my 'converts,' I found that, ignoring Christianity and using my own idea, the same phenomena appeared; and never since have I for one moment doubted that the human mind is always controlled by ideas,—true or false, it is the same. . . . It was during my twenty years in Methodist revivals that I became convinced of what all will find true by and by, and it was this; namely, that no God, no Jesus, no Holy Ghost, no miracle worker, ancient or modern, has or can have any power over the sick, save and excepting that power by which the miracle worker is invested by the faith and confidence of the patient (Matt. ix., 21, 22)."

Dr. Sunderland, whose recorded cures are as remarkable as any we hear of to-day by the mind or faith curers, laid the greatest stress on the feelings and ideas induced in the minds of the patients, either directly by the operator or by any influence that attracts the attention and awakens an idea in the mind of the susceptible subject.

The common fact is, whether the patient bows at the tomb of a saint, or sits with a mind-curer, or takes "bread pills" from a regular physician, that the mind is impressed with an idea, has more or less faith in the means employed, and that the mental condition of the patient exercises marked influence over the body,—a fact which has not been sufficiently regarded by physicians generally, who attribute to poisonous drugs a curative value which they do not possess while undervaluing too often the importance of bringing to bear upon certain classes of disease real or imaginary mental influences, instead of relying so much on the efficacy of pills and powders.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

Of the Thanksgiving proclamation of Gov. Currier, of New Hampshire, issued November 11, the *Dover Daily Republican* says that it "is one of the most remarkable that was ever issued in New Hampshire. . . . No wonder many clergymen refused to read it in their pulpits, and some who did read it did so under protest. It recommends every one to do as they please, and says not a word about holding religious worship. A genuine agnostic, or Bob Ingersoll himself, as governor, would be perfectly reconciled to sign such a document."

THIS terribly wicked document, which was so offensive to "many clergymen" and to journals like the one named above, reads as follows:—

With the advice and consent of the Council, I hereby appoint Thursday, the 26th day of November instant, as a day of thanksgiving, recreation, and rejoicing. In this, we are following in the footsteps of our fathers, who were accustomed to celebrate the in-gathering of the annual harvest with festivities, amusements, and religious ceremonies. I recommend to the people of this State to observe the day in such a manner as shall be for the best good of themselves and of the community in which they live: to rejoice in the peace, plenty, and happiness that everywhere surround them; to give thanks for all the gifts which they are daily receiving from the Giver of all good; and so to conform their lives and actions to the laws of their being that they may re-

ceive the blessings that naturally follow in the footsteps of obedience.

THE following, with other questions and answers, appeared in the *Christian Union*, under the heading of "Inquiring Friends":—

What book from an unfriendly stand-point states the objections to the Bible on scientific grounds? Name two or three books, written by men who know both science and the Bible, which answer such objections.

J. A. F.

SCRANTON, PA.

We do not know of any book which gathers together the scientific objections to the Bible. Among the best scientific defences of the Bible may be mentioned *The Origin of the World*, by J. W. Dawson, *Sketches of Creation*, by Alexander Winchell, both published by Harper & Brothers; and *Testimony of the Rocks*, by Hugh Miller, published by Robert Carter & Brothers.

Is this a sample of the information the "friends" get, when they inquire of the *Christian Union*? If so, they had better save their postage-stamps. Of the numerous works, some of them by Christian writers, which state the objections to the Bible on scientific grounds, this editor does not know of even one. After reading this "answer," we are not surprised at the recommendation of Hugh Miller's old work, *Testimony of the Rocks*, to one who wishes to see science and the Bible reconciled, and, in the same paragraph, Dawson's *Origin of the World* and Winchell's *Sketches of Creation*.

For The Index.

THE BOOK OF LIFE.

[Suggested by a crystal enclosing a drop of water.]

O generous Mother, kind and wise,
Whom men do Nature call,
You mean not that the Book of Life
Be read alike by all.

In some on creamy vellum leaves
A gentle tale is told;
While others shine in gorgeous hues,
With clasps of solid gold.

In russet leather some are bound,
With pictures dark or fair;
Some are romances strange and wild,
And some are books of prayer.

Some, by your handmaid Art illumed,
Like missals quaint and old,
To generations yet unborn
Their story shall unfold.

In some a stately poem's found,
In rhythmic measure grand;
While others seem but written on
The ever shifting sand.

And, when we think the Mother wise
A story old tells o'er,
If we the pages closely scan,
There's always something more.

Heredity may stamp them all,
But still there'll intervene
Leaves upon which surroundings print
Pictures before unseen.

These mighty powers confine the Will,
Though to all seeming free,
As drops of water prisoned in
A crystal's heart may be.

So far it goes, but cannot pass
That adamant wall
Of pre-arranged restrictions which
"A Providence" some call.

MARY BAYARD CLARKE.

NEW BERNE, N.C.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

"What Social Classes Owe to Each Other."

A paper read before the Young Men's Union of the Society for Ethical Culture. New York, Oct. 8, 1885.

BY ALFRED JARETZKI, ESQ.

It is so much easier to let things work out their natural course, to wait for the interposition of Providence to correct existing abuses, or, if you are not of the Church, to rely upon the underlying tendency of things to evolve what is right,—it is so much easier, I say, to lie back and wait than actively to interfere and reform that an easy-going, let-alone policy, borrowed from the English school of political economy, is very much favored in matters of social duties by what is termed the "solid element" of our people; while the social reformer, with his day-dream of a not distant millennium and his plans for alleviating human misery and lessening vice, and his other many projects of reform,—all requiring some spirited action to be taken by our citizens,—is looked upon askance, and classed with sentimentalists, poets, radicals, and other annoying personages.

Our "solid men" point with satisfaction to the high state of civilization of this the nineteenth century, to the immense superiority of the present over all past times, and, with an air of contentment, say to the reformer, "Let us alone." It is a great policy,—this let-alone policy,—much commended by statesmen, lawyers, and philosophers. It is often called Conservatism; and its advocates are dubbed the wise and prudent men of the community,—the men whose weighty counsels save the State from rushing headlong into anarchy and revolution.

But, in this eulogy, they forget that it was these same prudent and conservative men who put Galileo to the rack and who scoffed at Columbus, who stoned Garrison in Boston and fought

Gladstone in England, and who have always opposed, with tooth and nail, every humane and beneficent reform that the fertile mind of man has devised for the welfare of his suffering fellow-man.

It were not necessary now to recur to the narrow-mindedness of these so-called Conservatives nor to pay a well-deserved tribute to the reform spirit of this age and of past ages, were it not that prominent men of our time—often, too, men whose own words and acts are a glowing refutation of their charges—most unjustly denounce all social reformers, and fail to see how anything may be accomplished for the welfare of man, except in the particular way they indicate. If the social reformer is at all abashed by the vehement opposition of men otherwise very liberal, and is thereby inclined to doubt the correctness of his reasoning and to disparage the testimony of his moral sense, let him remember that distinction in one department of knowledge does not necessarily imply distinction or even soundness in another, and that history fairly teems with examples of men whose broadness in one sphere of human activity has only been equalled by their utter bigotry and opposition to all reforms in some other branch.

Some such reminder as this I found necessary to fortify myself with, when I began to read and to question the doctrines of that excellent little treatise of Prof. Sumner, entitled *What Social Classes owe to Each Other*.

Prof. William G. Sumner is very properly considered one of the foremost political economists of our country, if not of the world. His clean cut and carefully considered arguments on the tariff and on the silver question have given him a prominent place among the reformers of our time; and his recent political utterances have shown—if, indeed, any further proof were necessary—that he is as fearless and independent as he is a sound thinker. Yet, when the learned Professor leaves the field of political economy, which is peculiarly his own, and enters upon the discussion of some of our vexed social problems, in which ethics must be accounted an important factor, he loses that authority which he exercises in political economy, and, in a measure, *because* he is prominent as an economist.

It is true that sociology and political economy are much alike, or, more correctly speaking, that political economy is but a branch of sociology, and that the fundamental principles of political economy are but the maxims of the other and broader science. Both are, in a measure, exact sciences; both are and should be based upon certain discoverable facts and laws; and both,—and this is what annoys Prof. Sumner, and leads him into the use of extravagant language and broad statements that he cannot justify,—both suffer much from the wild vagaries of visionaries and revolutionary demagogues.

Yet, in spite of their many points of similarity, the difference between the two sciences is very great. Political economy deals merely with the circumstances attendant upon and the laws that govern the production of wealth, and the relations of man to man in the interchange of commodities or values. Sociology, however, deals with *all* the relations of man to man in society, with the laws in subordination to which society assumes its different aspects. In the former, the broad general principles or laws that are found to underlie the science may be looked to for the solution of all problems, and for that purpose these principles may be arbitrarily applied: the moral sense should not affect the settlement of the currency question, and sentiment is wholly out of place in determining whether industries should be fostered to enrich

A at the expense of the rest of the community. But, in the other science, situations often present themselves where to allow these unrelenting and inflexible laws to work out their natural results would be cruel in the extreme, would be against the strong dictates of conscience and of our innate sense of justice. In such cases, Prof. Sumner would have us leave the matter to the inexorable laws of competition, of struggle for existence. I cannot admit that the loud and not-to-be-mistaken voice of conscience is to be disregarded, that the long-cherished belief of man's duty to man is a sad delusion. This may seem to some sentimentalism, but it is a sentimentalism so deeply implanted in our natures that it is bound to prove a force at such moments.

The arguments of the learned Professor against man's interference with the laws of Nature, and his reasons for maintaining that the best interests of society will be served by allowing these laws of competition, of struggle for existence, and of survival of the fittest to work out their legitimate results, are very ingenious: aye, they are more than ingenious. They breathe the spirit of manly independence, and preach the lesson of self-reliance in a way that commands our respect. But see the legitimate outcome of the policy of non-interference. Even in the fairest race—and in the race of life many are very sadly handicapped—there are the weak and the unfortunate. These your *laissez-faire* philosophers would have you leave, as they drop off by the wayside. They do not say this in so many words, but they fail to recognize any duty that we owe to the weak and the unfortunate. They have nothing to say against voluntary charity by individuals, when properly administered; but they dispute the doctrine that we owe anything of our store to the less fortunate in life's struggle, and most sweepingly condemn any legislation that forces one man to aid another.*

God and Nature, so Prof. Sumner argues,† have ordained the chances and conditions of life on earth once for all; and we cannot get a revision of these laws. If we would learn to live happily, we must investigate the laws of Nature, and deduce therefrom the rules of right living in the world as it is. This means repeated labor and self-denial. Men have a right to *pursue* happiness, not to get it. And, if they fail to get it, they cannot claim the aid of other men; that is, the labor and self-denial of other men to get it for them. A man who can command another man's labor and self-denial for the support of his own existence is a privileged person of the highest species conceivable on earth.

And the Professor concludes with the following,—a neat bit of epigram and irony: "Poverty is the best policy. If you get wealth, you will have to support other people; if you do not get wealth, it will be the duty of other people to support you."

Epigram is a pretty figure of rhetoric, though it sacrifices truth to force; and irony is a very powerful weapon. But both epigram and irony will not save the above kind of argument. It is not only grossly utilitarian,—of which I will say more anon,—but it is opposed to the plain tendency of our time and civilization. An application of the "let alone" principle followed out to its legitimate results will illustrate this very well.

A few weeks ago, a young boy, but nineteen years old, was arrested in this city, charged with committing highway robbery. The young scamp, with several companions of his own age, had stopped, at the point of a pistol, a brewery man on his delivery route, and had stolen a keg of beer

* Sumner's *What Social Classes owe to Each Other*, p. 19.

† Ibid., p. 14.

and a few dollars in change. For this—the judge was lenient because of his extreme youth, and as it was his first offence—he was sentenced to ten and one-half years' imprisonment in the State prison. If he lives, he will be thirty years old when he comes out of prison,—a young man in the prime of life, with immense power for right or for wrong, and well worth, in either case, the attention of his fellow-men. What will become of him?

Under the ordinary conditions of prison life, he will come out at the end of his term with a deeply rooted feeling of resentment against society. For ten long years, he has been held at bay, confined behind iron bars, made to work for the State that has deprived him of his freedom, reminded at every step of his degradation, with plenty of time to brood over his fancied grievances against society, and with little opportunity to become a better man; and then he is set free. Is it a wonder, then, if he goes out into the world smarting under his long suffering and eager for revenge? His hand will be against his fellow-man, and that of his fellow-man will be against him. But let them alone, says Prof. Sumner,—let them alone to the laws of Nature, the immutable laws of Nature. And we let them alone, and the released prisoner will probably continue his career of crime. Society may suffer at his hands for some time before he is caught and convicted; but, eventually, he will be overcome by society, and safely lodged in jail again. Now, all this is very silly. Society is losing time and encouraging crime. If there is to be war between society and the criminal, let it be war to the knife; and the sooner finished, the better. They managed things better a hundred years ago. Then they would have hanged the fellow in the first instance, and thus got rid of him forever. Our forefathers evidently believed in the law of the survival of the fittest,—and with a vengeance; for, in the one hundred and sixty years ending with the death of George III., they added *one hundred and eighty-seven capital offences* to the criminal code, and between the years 1810 and 1845, in Great Britain alone, put to death upwards of fourteen hundred persons for crimes which have since ceased to be capital. If its own protection is all that society is seeking, and if the criminal does not care to investigate the laws of Nature in order to learn how to live happily, if he is unwilling to exercise self-denial and to labor, and if he is not entitled to the aid—i.e., the self-denial and labor—of others, why, then, our forefathers were right, and capital punishment is the best and only effective remedy for crime. Then, too, Romilly was a mere sentimentalist; and his boasted reforms were but impertinent interferences with the much vaunted "laws of Nature." But if, perchance, Romilly were right, and his reforms of the criminal law were not merely measures of expediency, but were demanded by the growing moral sense of the community; if there is a prevailing feeling—advancing with the spread of knowledge and the awakening of the moral faculties—that the criminal is not to be choked off, but is to be reformed, that the low and the vile, the outcasts and pests of society, are entitled to society's best efforts to reclaim them, and there is that within us which recognizes this duty of man to aid his fellow-man, and its voice is too loud to be disregarded,—then Prof. Sumner is wrong; and the poet, orator, and sentimentalist, whom he so often ridicules, is right. And he is right. Of course, the laws of Nature, spoken of by Prof. Sumner, exist, and are far-reaching and controlling in their effects; but these are not the only laws of Nature. There is a higher and nobler and more commanding law—the higher moral law—that, with the others, works in harmony toward the perfection of

mankind; and of this the learned Professor says nothing.

The doctrine of Prof. Sumner, already discussed, is further developed in the following line of argument: In the Middle Ages, he says, men were united by custom into associations, ranks, guilds, and communities of various kinds. These ties endured as long as life lasted. Consequently, society was dependent throughout all its details on *status*; and the tie or bond was sentimental. In our modern state, and in the United States more than anywhere else, the social structure is based upon contract. Contract, however, is rational: it is also realistic, cold, and matter-of-fact. In a state based on contract, sentiment is out of place in any public or common affairs. And, further, a society based on contract is a society of free and independent men who form ties without favor or obligation, and co-operate without cringing or intrigue. A society based on contract, therefore, gives the utmost room and chance for individual development, and for all the self-reliance and dignity of a free man. A society of free men, co-operating under contract, is by far the strongest society which has ever yet existed.

And, as a natural conclusion from all this, Prof. Sumner adds: "The only social improvements which are now conceivable lie in the direction of more complete realization of a society of free men united by contract. A free man is a sovereign, but a sovereign cannot take 'tips.'"

It is but justice to Prof. Sumner to say that his argument presupposes the absence of all fraud and violence in the making of contracts between man and man. No court of equity would be found more ready to deny the validity of any contract obtained by fraud, actual or constructive, than Prof. Sumner is; nor is there any one who is a more zealous advocate than he of proper legislation in that direction. So, too, we must admit that this idea that each man is a sovereign and should contract with his fellow-man as high contracting powers do, asking only that which they can extort and expecting no favors, is noble and inspiring. But it is as visionary and sentimental as the ideas Prof. Sumner ridicules. The idea of a society based strictly on contract, with a rigid enforcement of the contracts and with a complete abolition of "tips," so called, has two objections: First, society is so constituted that all of its members take "tips" to a more or less degree. I mean that few men are strong-minded enough to renounce the advantages that birth, fortune, an extensive family acquaintance or alliance, or any other circumstance entirely beyond their control, gives them in the way of a start in the world, and enables them to fight its battles better—to make more favorable contracts, if you will, than those who have not these advantages. And we do not expect that they should give up these advantages, nor do the best interests of society require such renunciation. We all bow before a man whose steadfast devotion to purpose rises superior to all adverse circumstances, a Lincoln

"Whose life in low estate began,
And on a simple village green;

"Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breathes the blows of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star;

"Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mould a mighty state's decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne;

"And, moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire."

Him, the noblest type of manhood, we admire;

but none the less the man who is favored by birth, by fortune, by any other circumstance, and who turns these advantages to proper account. He is none the less a free man because he accepts these good turns of fortune; and so he is none the less a free man who is given an education by his fellow-men, and an opportunity to play a part in the struggle of man toward perfection, and who uses these opportunities, and is himself ready in turn to extend the same advantages to those who come after him.

I fail to see any difference between the help given to man through the prudence, economy, and wisdom of parents and friends, and the opportunities presented by the prudent, wise, and beneficent measures of the State. In both cases, the recipient takes "tips"; and, in both cases, his proper use of them is a test of his manhood.

In the second place, Prof. Sumner is wrong, because the higher life is not a question of living up to one's contract obligations, using these words in their ordinary meaning. If life were a question of contract, and of contract solely, why, then, every man were justified in extorting terms of most pecuniary value to himself in all his contracts, provided only he commits no actual fraud,—no matter what the consequences may be on the other contracting party. This is, indeed, as Prof. Sumner calls it, "realistic, cold, and matter-of-fact." Aye more: a single practical illustration of the effects of applying such a doctrine will show that it is repugnant to that infallible criterion, our moral instinct.

My illustration is from the customary sanitary regulations and requirements as to the plumbing, light, etc., in large tenements occupied by many families. If the letting and hiring of tenements be solely a question of contract, and sentiment be out of place in all such contracts, why, then, all these sanitary regulations are tyrannical: they force a man to part with some of his labor for the benefit of his fellow-man, they put a restraint on the precious right of man to make the best contract he can, and they are arbitrary interferences with the great law of competition. You should not interfere, say the *laissez-faire* philosophers: these things should be and will be regulated by the law of supply and demand. If a man can pay only \$8 a month for rooms, he must select out of the rooms offered for that price those that are most healthful. And, if none of those offered have sanitary improvements, why he must wait until—in the competition of landlords vying with each other to secure tenants—such sanitary advantages are offered for that price. It is true that in the long interim, until competition forces the landlord to make repairs, the tenants must live in an atmosphere that breeds every form of disease, and many will die; but then, in this struggle for existence, which is our life, the weak—in this case, the \$8 per month men—must go to the wall. Besides, as Prof. Sumner says, "we must have few men, if we want strong men."

In this age of reason and of mercy, of the Geneva Cross and the Peace Society, it is hardly necessary to say that such doctrines cannot be tolerated; that man has other obligations than those of contract; that "cash payment is not the sole nexus of man to man."

If the aim of man were merely the welfare of the individual, and life were but a struggle for existence, with a sharp competition among the struggling, and those who came out first in the competition were deemed to have lived the most successful lives,—the competition being, of course, governed by laws passed by the majority,—then Jay Gould's transactions in Wabash should be recounted as the great exploits of a great man,

and Bismarck with his standing army of a million to enforce his demands, and Vanderbilt with his purse of many millions to pay for his demands, should be deemed the proudest achievements of our century's civilization. But these are not its proudest achievements. The goal of the human race is perfection, not individual aggrandizement,—the elevation not of one man, but of all men. The forces of nature, the higher moral law that curbs our passions and prompts our nobler acts, and the intelligence of man that brings the forces of Nature into subjection to do his bidding,—all work in harmony and unison to the accomplishment of this grand purpose. Any act that is in harmony with them is right; any act that tends to disturb this harmonious action is wrong. And duty is merely a question of doing right.

If this be true,—and it is true,—then the correct interpretation of the law of the survival of the fittest is, not that the weak perish and the strong alone survive, but that the weak should be strengthened, and that, thus made strong, they may survive. It is on this principle that we reform our criminals, whereas our forefathers hanged them; and that mothers no longer kill their weak or deformed offspring, but with careful training and attention, and the aid of science, bring them up to be sturdy members of society.

In conclusion, I might say that I have probably not done justice to Prof. Sumner's book, which is full of wise suggestions and wholesome truths. In his zeal to expose the fallacies and evils of that socialistic twaddle about the rights of men who do nothing for themselves, except put out "claims" against society, he has allowed himself at times to fall into the error of asserting, or seeming to assert, that social classes owe no duty to each other. In this, he is at fault. Nor is it yet sufficient to say, as he does, that "we owe it each to the other to guarantee rights," when you mean by "rights" contract rights.

There are many and pronounced duties that classes in society owe to each other. The limits of this paper do not permit any enumeration of them; nor is it my purpose to state, any further than I have done, what broad principle, if any, includes them all. I might say, however, that Prof. Sumner very nearly reaches the solution of the question when he says that "our aim should be to increase, multiply, and extend the chances"; in other words, to give a man every opportunity to better himself.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

Editors of The Index:—

As the friendly notice of "The New Education" in your last issue makes no distinct mention of two of its conspicuous and important features in moral and industrial education to which I wish to attract the attention of all who have faith in human progress and interest in its practicable methods, I beg leave briefly to present these two ideas. Whether they are new or old is of no importance. Experience shows that the essential novelty of an idea is the greatest hindrance to its recognition and just appreciation.

The first of these ideas embraces a psychological philosophy of education, based on the principle that, as intellectual culture is not character culture, and does not contribute very much to manly and womanly development, because it does not develop the emotions and the will, the eye, which is the avenue of intellectual culture, has been too much depended upon, to the neglect of all that cultivates the emotions and the desirable elements of character.

Intellect is based on perception, emotion on feeling, and will or energy upon action.

Education (as we have had it), by cultivating mere perception,—especially perception, not of interesting objects, but of uninteresting symbols, which we

find in books,—is an enfeebling and tiresome process, which requires to be enforced by authority or tyranny, and has but meagre results; while the methods that give symmetrical development by rousing the emotions and energies are attended with pleasure and delight to the pupil, which is the invariable characteristic of true education, and justifies the proposition that *no child should ever be sent to school*. A school that is not sufficiently interesting to make the pupils eager to attend is a decided failure, whether the fault be in the teacher or in the erroneous methods and limited facilities.

The emotions, which education generally neglects, are the sources of nearly all that is lovely or makes life worth living; and, hence, their cultivation is far more important than any intellectual education could possibly be, even if it were a true philosophic culture, strengthening the power of independent thought, *which it never is*.

Emotions are based upon feeling, and are themselves a higher species of feeling, combined with impulses to admirable acts. That which is to stimulate or cultivate the emotions must have in itself a sensational or feeling element. The sense of hearing happily combines feeling with perception; and, hence, it is the channel through which our emotions are most effectually reached. Every tone of the voice possesses emotional influences, and rouses human feeling with irresistible power in song or in passionate and eloquent utterance, in which the subtle power of the speaker's voice is far more effective than the words that he utters.

Music, apart from words and ideas, has supreme control over human feelings. The harmonies of sound are irresistibly charming. But the same mathematical, harmonific relations exist between the vibrations of colors as between the vibrations of sound. Yet the music of light, constructed like the music of sound,—on mathematical principles,—has never been more than a scientific curiosity, because light appeals to the intellect only, and has very little effect upon any feeling.

Hence, I have endeavored to enforce the doctrine that we should rely far more upon the ear as the channel of education, and that music, which is capable of rousing every human faculty, should be so used as to cultivate the amiable emotions, and keep the pupil habitually under the influence of his better nature,—not only by instrumental music, but chiefly by his own voice in song, which has ever been the most potent agent for maintaining religion in the popular mind, notwithstanding the embarrassing and gloomy influence of the theology with which it has been associated. A brief song every hour, of one or two verses, with such words and such tunes as produce the best effects, would do away with all necessity for disciplinary punishment or unpleasant exercise of authority. Appropriate or eloquent declamation will add much to our character culture, but nothing can compare with song as an ethical influence.

The will and the practical energies, upon which depends the question whether life shall be a success or a failure, have little systematic culture in schools at present. They are to be cultivated by action; and, at present, they get their cultivation mainly on the playground, in which they are associated with no elevated motives. They are to be properly cultivated into a controlling power only by incessant performance of duty. The duty to be performed is the main duty of life,—the production of something useful,—useful work,—by which we cease to be a burden to others, as we become capable, not only of sustaining ourselves, but of sustaining those who depend upon us, and contributing to the public welfare.

He who has not learned this is necessarily a pauper, or dependent on others for his subsistence, is of no use to society; and it were better for the world that he had never been born. But in what system of education that is fashionable is this prime duty, and necessity attended to? How often does education (as it has been) simply unfit the pupil for all usefulness, impairing alike the stamina of body and mind, and, while aiming exclusively at intellectual culture, succeeding only in cramming, without developing the capacity for original thought?

All education, no matter what may be the destination or the wealth of the pupil, should be largely industrial, should train the pupil in skilful industry and in a variety of useful arts, by which he will not only gain a vigorous mental discipline, which

literature alone cannot give, but will be fully prepared to begin life as an honorable, self-sustaining citizen. I say *honorable*; for industrial training gives the backbone of moral character, without which it is too limp and sentimental to be of much utility in the trials of life.

When industrial education is combined with the moral culture through the ear and voice just mentioned, the result to be expected is the development of a more honorable and virtuous manhood than the world has ever seen; and of this I think I have given sufficient proof in "The New Education." For these are not speculative hypotheses, but philosophic truths that have been already illustrated in the moral and industrial culture and reformation of countless thousands, many of whom have been rescued from a life of crime.

I have referred to the institutions in which this moral regeneration has been and is in progress; and I have asked why are our legislators and our educational conventions so torpid on this subject, when it is so clear that we are ourselves responsible for every criminal that is reared hereafter. The responsibility rests upon teachers, upon college presidents, upon educational journals, and upon our legislators. It rests upon the entire press, which is the leader of public opinion.

The reform is beginning, and is in healthful progress all over the civilized world; but its progress is slow, and perhaps slower in this country than in England and on the continent. It requires the burning eloquence of some devoted apostle to bring home these truths to the leaders of society.

The first objection will, of course, be the cost, which, according to old methods, would be considerable. But the objection is fallacious, for it has been shown that the *best possible education* may be so obtained as to cost far less than the existing failure. I have called the attention of the National Educational Association at Saratoga to the most remarkable educational experiment ever made,—that of the Rev. Ezekiel Rich, of New Hampshire, which was reported by him forty-seven years ago to the American Institute of Instruction, when meeting at Lowell. This experiment, which ought to crown the name of Mr. Rich with a higher honor even than belongs to the memory of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, demonstrated that it is practicable by methods never before thought of, and not in use at present, so to combine intellectual, moral, and industrial education, that a school of youths between the ages of six and sixteen years may support themselves, and at the same time acquire a moral and intellectual education as well as useful industries *without expense to their parents*, all expense being defrayed by their own labor.

This would seem, of course, Utopian to those who know nothing of the true system. But it is no mere plan or theory: it is a *successful experiment*, which might be repeated upon a national scale, if we had the proper teachers, and which promises to a rational mind the speedy redemption of humanity, as being within our reach.

Laying aside the financial question,—the wonderful cheapness of this method,—it has been demonstrated in many thousand instances that a combined moral and industrial education will put an end to pauperism and crime. To which I would add that it will put an end to the dangerous struggle between ignorant unskilled labor and organized capital, by developing a diversified skill among the people which will enable the artisan to attain independence by more skilful and profitable labor,—will thereby increase the number of employers while diminishing the amount of unskilled labor, and will make the closing of manufactories a matter of less importance to the skilled and thoroughly cultured artisan, who can readily turn to other employments when any department is overcrowded; for no man should be considered practically educated who was not the master of at least five profitable occupations.

The political party which shall champion this reform will be sustained by the people. But I have no time for its diffusion beyond the publication of its facts and principles.

Will not *The Index* show its zeal in practical religion, of which this is the best embodiment, by taking up this question, which, in its magnitude and its interest, surpasses all other themes that have interested the press?

JOS. RODES BUCHANAN.

BOSTON, 29 FORT AVENUE.

"EMERSON AND THE ABOLITIONISTS."

Editors of The Index:—

I have just been reading *The Index*, and am moved to speak of two articles in it; and you may make what use you please of what I say.

First, in relation to what Mr. Potter says of Emerson and the abolitionists. That Mr. Emerson was not a *professed* abolitionist is no more proof that he did not "sympathize" with abolitionists "in spirit and truth" than that he was not a *professed* Transcendentalist (as you rightly say) or even, after 1838, a *professed* Christian, which was because he gave himself no nicknames whatever; and, as he said to me, that, if any one at that time "would preach Christ, he must say nothing about him personally." But I can aver from personal knowledge that, as far back as the publication of Lydia Maria Child's awakening book, before he knew the present Mrs. Emerson (who was always an ardent professor of the doctrines afterward published by Garrison in the *Liberator*), Mr. Emerson was uncompromisingly an abolitionist. I used at that time to go to Concord whenever his Aunt Mary Emerson came up from her home in Maine, and took rooms in the little town, so as to be near him; and her intense interest in Mrs. Child's book made the subject a constant topic of conversation. But at that time, and, indeed, up to the time of the Rebellion, he persisted also in the attitude of critic and philosopher of life. Yet in one of his lectures, given a night or two before the first meeting called in Faneuil Hall on occasion of the murder of Lovejoy, when it was "bad form" in Boston society even to name Lovejoy or that for which he was the first living sacrifice, I remember what a thrill went through the audience, because Emerson named him as such, in a tone that seemed to preclude contradiction. But it is true that his first public activity was just after Webster's 7th of March speech, 1850; and when he joined other inhabitants of Middlesex County to electioneer for Mr. Palfrey to go to Congress, because he had just emancipated the slaves of his father's estate at his own cost. I myself heard the remarkable lecture he gave at that time in several towns. It began with a lament over Boston, which was showing itself so recreant on the subject of equal rights of man; for, as he said, he had thought Boston was the last as well as the first stronghold of liberty. It had become a necessity, he said, that the scholar should leave his books, and make a special duty of enacting first principles by coming down into the arena of practical politics for their application. This was in the time of his first manner; and I never shall forget the musical cadences of that lament, and his arraignment of the slavocracy that had spread its paralyzing power over the sacred places we had supposed to be invulnerable. I depend on memory, and wish I could do justice to the splendid passage in which, apostrophizing this malignant power, he asked why it had even stolen from us our Webster, whom he pictured as being harnessed as a draft-horse to draw the car of slavery. He depicted the scene as Spenser depicted the car of Lucifer, straining his magnificent figure to the uttermost. It was the only passage of rhetoric I remember in all his utterances; but it had not the thinness of ordinary rhetoric, rather the fulness of poetry, reminding one of Burke's outburst upon Marie Antoinette, abandoned by the chivalry of France. Practically, I think Mr. Emerson *never* showed himself the least backward in utterance respecting slavery. He always spoke of it as if "it went without saying" that it was "the sum of all villainies."

When the Sisters Grimké first came on from the South, I met them as most honored guests in his house, where I, too, was visiting at the time they spoke in Concord.

But Mr. Emerson respected the law of the division of labor in his actual life; and, while he respected and most cordially recognized the legitimacy of the action of Mr. William H. Channing, Mr. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, John Brown, etc., he felt it wisest to keep in the traces of his own temperament himself, and availed by act, as well as by expressed thought, that "he serves all who dares be true." To be "true" was with him to be transparent of the intuitions proper to one's own intellectual constitution.

Yet Mr. Emerson's sensibility of heart was as great

as the clearness of his intellect. He prized the dry light of reason, but he was not chilled in heart by it. At the time of the enforced removal of the Cherokees, he published in the newspapers a letter to President Van Buren, which he afterward characterized as "nothing but a shriek," and again lamented that the politicians of the hour were so outrageous as to compel the poet to such discordant shrieking. The last thing I should ever have expected from one of the faithful was the charge made by Dr. Bowditch of any lack of sympathetic humanity in Mr. Emerson. There was nothing that gave me such profound confidence in Mr. Emerson's mind as the equal life of his heart, which he always unconsciously manifested. I say unconsciously, for he used to say he had only a cold eye for truth. Mrs. Emerson remarked to me once, after one of these disclaimers: "Mr. Emerson's heart is attuned so high that it reminds me of those who cannot hear the voice of the locust, which is said to be inaudible to some high-pitched ears. He has too much real sentiment to be sentimental in words."

ELIZABETH P. PEABODY.

DR. BOWDITCH'S THEORY.

Editors of The Index:—

Absence from home had caused me to lose *The Index* of December 3, containing Mr. Potter's admirable reply to the view taken by my friend Dr. Bowditch in regard to Emerson's attitude toward anti-slavery and the early abolitionists. I had just taken my pen to reply to Dr. Bowditch when Mr. Potter's article reached me; and, although that article so well covers the ground, I think it not useless to show, by larger extracts than Dr. Bowditch has made from the Ode to W. H. Channing, that the strongest passage which he quotes from it not only admits, but requires, quite a different interpretation. After hearing William Henry Channing's eloquent disunion speech, Mr. Emerson wrote:—

"But who is he that prates
Of the culture of mankind,
Of better arts and life?
(Go, blind worm, go,
Behold the famous States
Harrying Mexico
With rifle and with knife.

"Or who, with accent bolder,
Dare praise the freedom-loving mountaineer?
I found by thee, O rushing Contocook,
And in thy valleys, Agiochhook,
The jackals of the negro-holder.
The God who made New Hampshire
Taunted the lofty land with little men."

These things being so, he proceeds,—

"What boots thy zeal, O glowing friend,
That would indignant rend
The northland from the south?
Wherefore? to what good end?
Boston Bay and Bunker Hill
Would serve things still.
Things are of the snake!

"The horseman serves the horse,
The neat-herd serves the neat,
The merchant serves the purse,
The eater serves his meat.
'Tis the day of the chattel,
Web to weave and corn to grind,
Things are in the saddle,
And ride mankind."

Nothing can be plainer than that, in these lines, Emerson is chastising, not the abolitionists, but the North. His disapproval of disunion proceeds from the conviction that it would do no good while the mass of the Northern people remained so nearly akin in spirit to the South.

Mr. Emerson was always a temperate man, but he joined no temperance society. That he joined no anti-slavery society, then, implied no alienation of spirit from Garrison and Phillips, while his constant upholding of justice and righteousness gave full assurance that his heart and his influence were with them; a conclusion justified by the fact that, in 1835, he invited Harriet Martineau to his house after she had lost caste with the Church, the press, the commerce, and the respectability of the North by joining the abolitionists.

Then, finally, in the noble "Boston Hymn," he declared his assent to the very most unpopular of the anti-slavery doctrines; namely, that the slave-

holder had no title to be compensated for freedom given to the slaves. He said:—

"Pay recompense to the owner,
Fill up the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay HIM!"

Garrison, Phillips, and Parker always honored Emerson, and never complained of him. I think we may safely acquiesce in their judgment.

C. K. W.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE IDEA OF GOD AS AFFECTED BY MODERN KNOWLEDGE. By John Fiske. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. pp. 173. Price \$1.00.

The little volume which contains, with a preface. Mr. Fiske's paper on "Theism and Pantheism," read before the Concord School of Philosophy last summer, is a sequel to the *Destiny of Man*, the two forming an outline, the author states, of a theory of religion which he hopes at some future time to present "elaborately in a work on the true nature of Christianity." Mr. Fiske endeavors to show that the world of phenomena is intelligible only when regarded as the multiform manifestation of a Power that is in some way inconceivable to us,—anthropomorphic, or "quasi-psychical" and "quasi-personal,"—"though it is impossible to ascribe to Him any of the limited psychical attributes which we know, or to argue from the ways of man to the ways of God." "It is in this sense," he says, "that I accept Mr. Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable." He is careful to add, "How far my interpretation agrees with his own, I do not undertake to say." On another page, our author says, "That deity *per se* is not only unknown, but unknowable, is a truth which Mr. Spencer has illustrated with all the resources of that psychologic analysis of which he is incomparably the greatest master that the world has ever seen; but it is not a truth which originated with him or the demonstration of which is tantamount, as Mr. Harrison would have us believe, to the destruction of all religion." Mr. Fiske declares that to every form of theism "an anthropomorphic element is indispensable," and that, on the other hand, "to ascribe what we know as human personality to the infinite Deity straightway lands us in a contradiction, since personality without limits is inconceivable. But, on the other hand, it is no less true that the total elimination of anthropomorphism from the idea of God abolishes the idea itself." We are not justified, he thinks, in using "such an expression as 'infinite personality' in a philosophical inquiry, where clearness of thought and speech is above all things desirable. But I do hold most emphatically that we are not debarred from ascribing a quasi-psychical nature to the Deity, simply because we can frame no proper conception of such a nature as absolute and infinite." Mr. Fiske rejects the design argument, and would not "inquire minutely into the character of the divine decrees and purposes"; yet he sees in the universe an orderly sequence of events, with a meaning which appeals to human intelligence and indicates a purpose. Jesus is referred to as "the Great Teacher who first brought men to the knowledge of the true God." The work is marked by Mr. Fiske's usual breadth of thought and strength and elegance of expression; and if, as a piece of reasoning, it is defective, as we think, at several points, its merits are sufficient to entitle it to the careful perusal of those interested in the subject discussed.

B. F. U.

THE POET AS A CRAFTSMAN. By William Sloane Kennedy. Philadelphia: David McKay. Price 25 cents.

In this brochure, Mr. Kennedy, who is an ardent admirer of Walt Whitman's erraticisms in the poetic line or lines, sets out, à la Don Quixote, fearlessly to demolish the threatening poetic windmills. He makes war particularly on the old petty rules of poesy which condemn "artists like Longfellow and Browning and Whittier to set the poetical palette with such scanty pigments, breathing the soul through the embouchures of so barbarous an instrument, so heavily handicapped by the old greaves and cuisses of rhyme and metre." He further remarks: "Poetry has outgrown her time-honored singing-robes. The old heroics are heroic no longer. The pentameter cracks under the weight of the nebular hypothesis, and even the Greek hexameter

would not bear the burden of Hegel's thought." We should judge that Mr. Kennedy wishes "poetic license" to be indefinitely extended, when he says, "Henceforth, the greatest poetry can never be cramped by petty lines of monotonous length, and by see-saw rhymes." Much of the so-called poetry of Shakspeare and Milton, he affirms; would be more acceptable, if "run smoothly on in the prose form instead of being hacked up into lines." He rather admires Whitman's long lines. "The world," he says, "has grown longer breath'd and greater thoughted, and asks, for the expression of its deeper epic and dramatic emotion, a line longer, weightier, more plastic, and admitting more of picturesque irregularity." We are glad Mr. Kennedy has come to our aid in explaining where the poetry in many of Whitman's long untrammelled lines lies. Such, for instance, as the following, which occurs on page 216 of his *Leaves of Grass* :—

"Iron-works, forge-fires in the mountains or by the river-banks—men around feeling the melt with huge crow-bars—lumps of ore, the due combining of ore, limestone, coal—the blast-furnace, and the puddling-furnace, the loup-lump at the bottom of the melt at last—the rolling-mill, the stumpy bars of pig-iron, the strong, clean-shaped T-rail for railroads."

Now, that line, with many another similar one, sounds to our uncultured poetic taste like the prosiest of prose writing; but we acknowledge it is long, weighty, plastic, and picturesquely irregular, but not inspiring, as we expect all true poetry to be. Alexander Smith, himself a poet of no mean ability, defined poetry in his "Life-drama" as "the grandest chariot wherein king-thoughts ride"; and we confess our inability to detect the "king-thoughts" in much of Mr. Whitman's lines. Mr. Kennedy's arraignment of the poets of to-day is very readable, full of original thought, bristling with quaint similes, and independent in its conclusions. S. A. U.

THE BOY TRAVELLERS OF SOUTH AMERICA. By Thomas W. Knox, author of *Boy Travellers in the Far East*, etc. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1885.

Mr. Knox's previous volumes have been so widely circulated and have met with so much favor that the best possible recommendation of the present volume is to say that its method is the same as that of *Boy Travellers in the Far East*. The author has not relied exclusively upon his own knowledge of South America, but has had recourse to the writings of many others who have been there before or after him, and to works of history and archaeology which have added greatly to the fulness and the interest of his work, especially in such a field as that afforded by the land of the Incas. But a basis of personal acquaintance gives to his work a livelier sense of reality than was possible in his *Voyage of the Vivian*, where he made frank confession that he had got all his knowledge from the writings of actual explorers. South America has the advantage over some other countries that Mr. Knox has written about of being a less hackneyed subject. Of intrinsic interest it has certainly no lack. The device of "two youths" is one that makes the volume more attractive, and Dr. Brownson is an excellent vehicle for conveying historical and archaeological information. The illustrations are an immense addition to the beauty and the value of the book. The colored illustration which serves for a frontispiece would be considered very charming, if it were not the fashion of the time to speak of chromos with contempt. This one is certainly very far from being contemptible. Perhaps it is worth while to mention that the ascent of Chimborazo has been twice made by Whymper. It is a little strange that this fact should have been missed by Mr. Knox, who asserts the inviolable seclusion of the mountain's top. J. W. C.

MEN, WOMEN, AND GODS, and Other Lectures. By Helen T. Gardner. With an Introduction by Col. R. G. Ingersoll. New York: Truth-seeker Company. pp. 159. Price \$1.00.

So long as large numbers of people continue to regard the Bible as a divinely revealed and authoritative standard of truth and an infallible rule of faith and practice, books will be written opposing this belief by exposing the errors and immoralities in this so-called revelation and the absurdities of the claims based upon it. Miss Gardner's work is one of this kind. It consists of three lectures,—the one from which the volume takes its title, "Men Women, and

Gods," "Vicarious Atonement," and "Historical Facts and Theological Fictions," to which is added an appendix containing quotations from Buckle, Lecky, Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, and other writers. The work, written in a style that is sprightly and sarcastic, contains some interesting facts, and meets some of the popular claims of orthodox Christians quite effectively. The author is a young woman who has the capacity for intellectual growth and culture; and, in a few years, we have no doubt she will take a more calm and judicial view of the subject, will see that the Hebrew Scriptures considered as the literature of an ancient people possess great excellences and a unique interest for us to-day; that, in a just estimate of their value, the blemishes such as she points out would have no such prominence as is generally given them when they are cited, and justly, too, in opposing the preposterous claims of theologians; and that Judaism and Christianity, with all their defects, have been like the other religious systems which are praised in this book,—necessary expressions of thought in the intellectual and moral evolution of the race. B. F. U.

ECHOES OF MANY VOICES. Fragments of Song and Sentiment, Wit and Wisdom. Edited by Elizabeth A. Thurston. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. pp. 162. Price \$1.00.

This is the eighth in the "Spare Minute Series" of D. Lothrop & Co. It is, as the compiler says, "a medley of sense and sentiment, fun and philosophy"; and it has been collected with the hope that its readers may find something within these pages "to amuse, to cheer, to soothe, to bless, and to uplift." The writings of over two hundred well-known authors, old and recent, have been ransacked, to bring forth to light these nuggets of wisdom, wit, etc. Among the recent writers quoted from, we find the names of F. E. Abbot, Matthew Arnold, Dr. Bartol, Charles Brooks, Geo. W. Cable, J. W. Chadwick, Lydia Maria Child, Emerson, Higginson, Holmes, Charles Kingsley, Longfellow, Lowell, Theodore Parker, Ruskin, M. J. Savage, Tennyson, Thackeray, Dickens, Walt Whitman, and others. The selections are in prose and verse, and are all brief. It would have been an improvement if the editor had ranged each subject treated of under an appropriate heading, instead of scattering sayings in regard to "Immortality," "Love," "Truth," etc., through the whole volume.

THE CHURCH AS IT IS: or, The Forlorn Hope of Slavery. By Parker Pillsbury. 1885. For sale by Parker Pillsbury, Concord, N.H. Single copy, 25 cents; five copies, \$1.00.

In the preface to this, the third edition of a little pamphlet, the first edition of which appeared nearly forty years ago, "when the anti-slavery conflict was at its intensest heat," Mr. Pillsbury says: "This is the third of the former anti-slavery tracts lately reproduced in the interest of true and reliable history, now endangered by the strange mendacity or ignorance of our unscrupulous clergy, who insist that they, or their predecessors, were the main instruments in the abolition of slavery, some of them going so far as to declare that Garrison and his faithful and valiant discipleship actually did more harm than good to the sublime achievement." The other "anti-slavery tracts" referred to are: "The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery," by Hon. James G. Birney; and "The Brotherhood of Thieves, or a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy," by Stephen S. Foster.

THE remains of a remarkable "missing link" between birds and reptiles have been discovered by the scientists. A photograph of one of these strange creatures has recently been made especially for the *Century* from the slab preserved in the British Museum; and a careful engraving therefrom, with other curious illustrations, will appear in an article in the January *Century*, entitled "Feathered Forms of Other Days." The author of the article has made a pictured "restoration" of the missing link.

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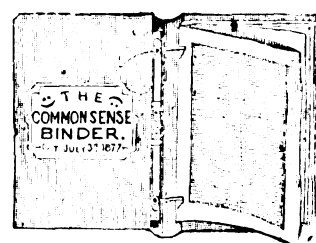
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MR. ROWLAND CONNOR'S "Open Letter to All Unitarian Ministers," an abstract of which may be found in another column, is lively reading. We have seen no allusion to it in any of the Unitarian papers.

THE *Critic* of December 19 contains letters from a large number of well-known artists and art teachers, protesting against the tariff imposed upon works of art imported into the United States, to protect them, against their wishes, from foreign competition.

A YOUNG lady, wishing a letter from Ruskin, wrote him, requesting his opinion as to the best theological works to read, and received this reply: "I have no time to write you at any length, and I take no interest in any young ladies who study theology."

HERBERT GLADSTONE, son of the ex-premier, has written a letter in which he says: "Nothing could induce me to countenance a separation of Ireland from Great Britain. But, if five-sixths of the Irish people desire a Parliament in Dublin, to manage local affairs, in the name of justice and wisdom, let them have it."

THE statement of an investigator into the mysteries of animal life, that "a bee's working tools comprise a variety of equal to that of the average mechanic," is thus supplemented by the *Boston Herald*: "We should say that the effects produced by the operations of this little customer surpass those of an ideal combination auger, centrebit, and bradawl, with lightning perforation attachment."

A FRIEND writes: "I notice in the last *Index* an extract from the *Boston Courier* relative to answer of President Bartlett's (of Dartmouth College) to the students' request for the opening of the reading-room on Sundays. Knowing him well, I will say the reported answer does not sound like him; and I have seen it stated on good authority that, instead of refusing the request, he told the students the matter should be referred to the faculty for their action."

A WRITER in *London Truth*, referring to Canon Farrar's strange assertion that Æschylus, Dante, and Milton are the greatest poets the world has seen, says: "I wonder whether anybody seriously pretending to instruct an audience of educated people ever before put Æschylus before Homer or (more amazing still) Milton above Shakspeare. . . . It may be hoped that the cultured Americans will not suppose that Dr. Farrar's fantastical notions are shared by his countrymen."

MR. MOORE, an Englishman, during a residence in China married a native woman, by whom he became the father of three children. About six weeks ago, the whole family landed at Victoria, B.C.; and, under the Chinese restriction act, Moore, although a British subject, was required to pay \$350 for the privilege of landing his wife and children on British soil. The customs authorities have since refunded \$300 in accordance with instructions from Ottawa. The remaining \$50, paid for his wife's admission to the country, has not been returned; and Mr. Moore has taken legal steps to recover it. What barbarism still remains in civilized countries!

MR. F. B. PERKINS, librarian of the free Public Library of San Francisco, in a pamphlet on "Free Libraries and Unclean Books," says: "A free public library is an educational institution; a member in fact, if not in form, of the system of public schools. Its first requisite is, therefore, that it should be useful,—should do good: its office as to amusement is of very minor importance. The business of teaching immorality it ought not to practise at all. It is no more right that this library should circulate dirty books than that the Lincoln School or the Girls' High School should instruct in criminal practices, profane swearing, obscene language, and vulgar habits."

A COMMITTEE of two clergymen and one layman, appointed some time ago by the Connecticut Congregational Club to consider the matter of Sunday newspapers, made a report last week, stating that Sunday newspapers, being published for gain in defiance of statute law and in violation of the fourth commandment, are an unmixed evil, and that their publication, sale, and reading should be prevented by the use of all proper means. The committee specify among the means to be employed refusal to buy, application of the law, arousing public opinion against the sale of Sunday papers, the use of the pulpit, press, and personal influence to show their demoralizing tendency, especially as a powerful agency operating toward the complete secularization of "the Lord's day."

SAYS the *Commonwealth*: "It must be somewhat discouraging to the good men and women in New York, who have spent so much time and labor for the conversion of the Chinamen of the metropolis to Christianity, to see their handful of converts bowing before the god Joss, whose shrine has been newly erected in Chinatown. It is certainly not particularly gratifying that a heathen idol should be set up for adoration in New York

City; yet the failure of Christian influences to effect the conversion of the Chinese can scarcely be wondered at, in view of the fruit which, to Chinese minds at least, Christianity has borne at Rock Springs and on the Pacific coast. A Chinaman can hardly be expected to take kindly to a religion whose votaries, without the least aggression on his part, burn his house over his head, and shoot him in cold blood."

REV. DR. CHAMBERLAIN relates, among other anecdotes of his missionary life in India, that, when he was holding religious service in a large village, a troop of monkeys appeared, and seated themselves in a semi-circle. There were old monkeys, gray-whiskered and bald-headed, and mischievous youngsters, including baby monkeys with their mothers. All, he says, paid the strictest attention to the prayer. Whenever a young one began his monkey-shines, one of the old men monkeys, of patriarchal appearance and severe manners, would twist the ear of the irreverent little rascal until he ceased his pranks, and, if one of the babies began to make a fuss, the mother would pat him until he was quiet. Mr. Chamberlain says that he could hardly restrain himself at the comical sight, and it was a great relief to him when the assembly broke up. As the people arose to go, so did the monkeys, and silently disappeared in the branches of the trees, deeply impressed, apparently, with the service.

THE *Woman's Journal* says: "Various papers express their suspicion that Miss Cleveland wrote that part of the President's message which deals with the Mormon question. Perhaps she did. Those glowing sentences in praise of social purity would certainly come with a better grace from Miss Cleveland than from her distinguished brother." It is not improbable that Miss Cleveland did write that part of the message. The style is hers, not the President's. But, by whomever written, it contains a sentence which, we regret to say, is the least discriminating and the most objectionable part of the message. It is this: "Since the people upholding polygamy in our Territories are re-enforced by immigration from other lands, I recommend that a law be passed to prevent the importation of Mormons into the country." In the first place, the word "imports" does not, as an exchange remarks, apply to persons, as the United States Supreme Court has expressly decided. In the second place, the proposition to forbid immigrants coming here is unjust, and contrary to the principle of religious liberty. Mormons have as much right as Catholics or Methodists to come to this country. If immigrants or natives practise polygamy, let them be dealt with according to law. Many Mormons are not polygamists, do not believe in polygamy, are opposed to polygamy. The proposition to exclude people because of their religious beliefs, or for their social beliefs, is opposed to the principles and practice of our government. Let all come who wish, regardless of their religious or other views, and then require of them allegiance to the Constitution, and obedience to the laws of the land.

THE PAPAL PRONUNCIAMENTO.

This is the third time we have essayed to write on the Pope's recent encyclical. The first time, the attempt was deferred by the suspicion that the cabled report of it to the *New York Herald* was too brief an abstract to be wholly trustworthy; and this suspicion proved to be correct. The second time, the Catholic publication on which we relied for an accurate transcript of the document had only a portion of it, and caution suggested another week's waiting. And now that we have the whole of the encyclical, as translated for the *London Tablet*, before us, and have carefully read the long document through, the paper seems a much less important manifesto than it did in the *Herald's* preliminary abstract. It is, in fact, a much less aggressive statement of the claims of the Roman Catholic Church than it there appeared to be. Not that the writer who reported it for the *Herald* intentionally misrepresented, but because his succinct presentation of the main points of the address was deprived, by its very conciseness, of those prolix modifications which the pope himself made of all his primary propositions.

In truth, the encyclical is a painfully labored attempt to reconcile the old traditional claims of the Catholic Church with its modern necessities. The subject is the relation of the Church to the State. The old Catholic theory, of course, is that the Church and the State should be one, and the Church that one. Pius IX. had no difficulty in stating this doctrine clearly and concisely. He made no effort in his ecclesiastical manifestos to reconcile himself to the modern world. He declared plainly and bluntly that popular governments, and the current ideas of the age concerning popular liberty, progress, and education, were the Church's direst foes; and the world knew where to find him. These foes he would not conciliate nor compromise with: he would fight them. And, when he could do nothing more, he continued to the last to fulminate his bulls from his self-imprisonment in the Vatican against them. He had the advantage of a clean-cut, logical system of thought concerning the Church and its relation to the world; and, hence, he always made his position intelligible, even if, judged by the light of modern reason, it was often ludicrous. But Leo XIII., though *ex officio* the infallible head of an infallible Church, is personally more open to the currents of modern thought and life, and from the first has manifested a purpose to impress upon the Church a more liberal policy. He is learned, affects philosophy, professes to respect science, and has the sagacity to see that, if the Roman Church is to continue to hold its power, it must somehow be brought into harmonious relation with the mental movement and fresh discoveries of the present age. Yet how to accomplish this and still preserve the old ecclesiastical claims and doctrines is the problem. And it is a problem which it will require even more sagacity than Pope Leo possesses successfully to solve. He may be very wise, very learned, a lover of philosophy, sympathetic toward the science and the humanities of the age; but he can never succeed in the impossible task of building up with one hand what the other hand is as busy in tearing down. Yet it is laboring at such a task as this that he presents himself in this encyclical. It is said that he revised and re-revised it twenty times, so careful was he to make just the needed adjustment and shade of adjustment of genuine Catholic doctrine to the demands of the time. But the work was all in vain. The very painstaking betokens, it may be, the sagacious states-

man, the wise man, but the uninspired man, and not the infallible oracle. Pope Pius was hampered by no such adaptations to the world. He spoke only from the stand-point of the Church itself; and his encyclicals had a directness and snap which at least attracted attention, though the world at large cared little for them. But this encyclical of Pope Leo is such an elaborate specimen of logical circumlocution that the world at large will not even stop to read it.

For those, however, who do read it, this last encyclical will have special significance as coming from a pope of liberal proclivities. He is heavily handicapped from the start with the dogma of papal infallibility. On account of this doctrine, he is in duty bound to uphold the decrees with regard to the relation between Church and State issued by his predecessors in the pontifical chair. He refers to these decrees, including by special allusion the famous syllabus of Pius IX., wherein the papal disapprobation was expressed against free thought and free speech and the free and progressive tendencies generally of the nineteenth century. All these decrees, he says, must stand as the voice of the Church. But, then, they are to be interpreted in the light of a distinction between true and false freedom. The Church teaches and has always taught the true doctrine of liberty; and all liberty inconsistent therewith, of course, is false liberty,—mere license and libertinism. Thus lucid is the interpretation! So, too, with regard to the doctrine (as, for instance, in this country) of religious equality, and the right of every individual to form his own judgment as to religious beliefs: this he declares, in accordance with the syllabus of Pope Pius, to be a most pernicious error. But, then, he soon adds that "the Church does not condemn those governors of States who, for the sake of acquiring some great good or preventing some great ill, patiently bear with manners and customs, so that each kind of religion has its place in the State"; and that "no form of government is, *per se*, condemned, so long as it has nothing repugnant to Catholic doctrine, and is able, if wisely and justly managed, to preserve the State in the best condition." And Catholics are urged to take part in political affairs under whatever kind of government they live,—provided they are compelled by law to do nothing contrary to their religious faith,—"holding this purpose in their minds, to infuse into all the veins of the commonwealth the wisdom and virtue of the Catholic religion." And there is another paragraph which, in like manner, plays fast and loose with the tendencies of the age to mental investigation and research.

In short, the encyclical presents, by reason of its attempt to combine the new and the old, a curious and strange mosaic. Not without a measure of dialectical skill, judged by the standard of ecclesiastical diplomacy, to the eye of the outsider it seems little more than an elaborate bundle of contradictions. What is solemnly affirmed in one paragraph, and buttressed with authorities, is carefully denied in the next. That is, the key-thought of the manifesto is that the doctrine of State and Church, as laid down by Pius IX. and previous popes, is an ideal one, or what ought to be and would be in a perfect world; but, meantime, in the imperfections of the world as it is, the Church must adapt itself to existing conditions, and do the best it can to amend them and establish its supremacy. In spite of its many absurd doctrines and claims, like that of the pope's infallibility, the Catholic Church is in practical matters very shrewd. A condition of things which it cannot change it resolves to accept and make the best of. It is on this theory that Pope Leo has written his

encyclical. It is an effort to adapt the Catholic Church to the free institutions which modern society has won. Time will show whether this can be done without overturning the fundamental principles of the Church itself.

WM. J. POTTER.

ANCIENT WOMAN.

I wish to say a few words, suggested by Mrs. Poole's article in *The Index*, December 3, on "The Social Evolution of Woman." Though Mrs. Poole is perfectly correct in her historic quotations showing the antiquity of laws on the Eastern Continent unjust and oppressive to woman, yet I think she is mistaken in supposing the false doctrine of woman's inferiority to have been the earliest doctrine. She does not go back of the Hindus in what she says of the Aryans. But, in the Rig-Veda, which was not committed to writing until after that movement of the Aryans which resulted in the establishment of Persia and India, we have quite another revelation upon the subject. There is nothing more striking in the Rig-Veda than the status of woman revealed at that early age. Then the departed mothers were served as faithfully as the departed fathers by younger members of the family, or by adopted ones. Then mothers quite as often, if not more so, than fathers conducted the services to the dead ancestry, which took place three times a day, but more especially in the morning, and which consisted of improvised poetry that was as often the composition of the women as of the men. These hymns of the Rig-Veda that were handed down were, it is certain, the latest productions of the original Aryan muse; and many of them owe their preservation to the fact that they were so beautiful as to be learned and repeated by some of the worshippers who were not conscious of so much original genius as others.

The name of the mother of the family in Sanskrit is rather more than less respectful than that of the father, according to its etymology. The name of the father, from which comes our own, through the Latin and Greek, signifies the producer of the materials for living. That of the mother signifies their distributor and administrator, implying more rather than less mental development. So far as we can infer from the facts of their social life, in which the service to the departed ancestors constituted the most important part, we see no inferiority of functions in the woman. It is the women who go out to gather the soma, from which is distilled the wine of life, that constitutes the most important part of what is offered to the dead, carried up by Agni, the chariot of fire, for the food and clothing of the disembodied spirits.

There is a book on the Aryans in the Boston Athenæum, in French, by Renouf, the great authority with respect to the antiquities of the Aryan race. In this is given, among many other interesting things, all the songs and ceremonies of a wedding; and it is very striking to see that the woman, when she gives herself, or is given, to the man, descends, as it were, from association with divine beings, in whose custody she is, and who give her up with reluctance. And the wedding is enveloped, as it were, in what is called the marriage of Soma and Surya (the sun),—the splendid Surya symbolizing the feminine in Sanskrit mythology, Soma representing the masculine principle.

In the Hebrew apologue of Human Life (whose dialect betrays it to be among the most ancient traditions of Genesis), we seem to have the sexes represented as equal in dignity, the woman as helpmeet, necessary to the man, as well as bone of

his bone and flesh of his flesh, potent to make him forget his own individual responsibility to the God of both of them, when she has so forgotten hers in snatching at the one thing forbidden by the love that had surrounded them with a world of gifts. But the object of this apologue was, after all, not to settle any question about the relative dignity of the sexes, which was taken for granted as equal, but to symbolize the play of the negative and positive poles orbiting human life,—the fall on the individual plane, which is not to be retrieved except on the social plane, as is intimated in the prophecy that the victorious *finale* shall be the crushing of the head of the serpent by the seed of the woman, that was, by her abuse of free agency, to be brought forth in sorrow and pain.

Whatever might be the status of woman in Greece and Rome in historic times, their mythology, which is largely "ill-remembered history," gives feminine form to its greatest divinities, symbolizing beauty in Venus, the conservative principle in Juno, and practical wisdom in Minerva, who is begotten of the brain of Jupiter. The fall of the individual man was the first epoch of history. "The corruption of the best is the worst." The fall is only to be retrieved by society, which shall restore the original wholeness (holiness). In short, the redemption will be the equal poise of the sexes; and the "ever womanly" is the first principle in progressive action, as Goethe said. Evolution implies an original involution, which, I think, history has not quite forgotten.

ELIZABETH P. PEABODY.

WHAT CHRISTIANITY HAS NOT DONE FOR CHINA.

It is a generally held opinion that all the best elements of Western civilization are attributable to the influence of Christianity; and, as a corollary, we find the pious sending out missionaries to "heathen lands," with the gospel in their hands, for the purpose of engrafting on Eastern civilizations the grand benefits which we are told are due to the advent of Jesus Christ. It is not my purpose here to oppose or combat this doctrine. I wish simply to call attention to certain phases of the social condition of a people that has never known Christianity and never will,—notwithstanding the army of missionaries at work there,—in order that it may be seen that there is something good outside of Christendom.

Mr. G. Eugène Simon, who was French consul in China during many years, and has studied that country as few foreigners have, has just published here a volume that is full of food for thought.* A few months ago, I had the pleasure of sitting beside M. Simon at a socialistic banquet; and I found the author not less interesting than his book. M. Simon is one of those men that abound in France, and especially at Paris,—men whose minds are completely emancipated from all those religious, political, and social narrownesses that render the average American and English next to intolerable. M. Simon writes as he talks. But I intend to call your attention to only one feature of this many-sided book,—the respects in which Chinese civilization is superior, or at least not inferior, to our own.

L. Aimé Martin has said, "If you would know the political and moral status of a people, demand what place its women occupy." And Herder, in the same order of ideas, says, "There is nothing, I think, which marks more decidedly the character of men or of nations than the manner

in which they treat women." Let us measure China by this standard, and see the result. I know that it is a commonly received opinion that, of all unfortunate classes, Chinese women are the worst. But, if M. Simon's reiterated testimony is to be accepted, even the United States might, in some particulars, imitate China in its treatment of women.

Referring to the important part which the family council plays in the organization of Chinese civilization, M. Simon says: "The father alone may not pronounce a judgment nor celebrate the ancestral rites. The mother, in the absence of her husband, assumes all his duties, except those of a religious nature. She must, however, assist him at the altar. She hands him the offerings that are accorded to the ancestors. In early times, her presence on such occasions was indispensable; but, to-day, a relative often takes her place. But, like her husband, she may preside at the family council, trials, etc. If empress, she may act as regent; and the emperor, even when of age, continues to show her the respect that every Chinaman is bound to show his mother. In most families, the wife has charge of the purse. Not a penny is paid out unbeknown to her. If the husband is to spend the day away from home, she gives him the money necessary to meet his expenses. . . . If women do not inherit, they enjoy certain compensations that are not known elsewhere. Before marriage, girls are treated like boys; and, if they lose their rights in their own family on taking a husband, they regain them in the new family circle. . . . And, when it is borne in mind that the ancestral religion of the Chinese teaches every young man that one of his first duties is to take a wife, it will be seen that the lot of woman is not so bad in China as in other countries. . . . 'Once married,' said a Chinaman to M. Simon, 'we become attached to our wives and our wives to us, and I assure you we are happy. Among every ten thou-and Chinamen, you will not find a hundred, perhaps, who will not tell you the same thing.' " Nor do Chinese women lose their name on marrying. As in Spain, so in China, the family name of the wife is joined to that of her husband. If Mrs. Lucy Stone had been born in China, she would never have had to suffer the social persecution which she has experienced in the United States.

Some of the women's rights advocates of America have tried to convince Christians that both the male and female elements are represented in the Godhead. The Chinese have always held this idea. Their personification of universal humanity is called Fou-Mou,—that is, Father-Mother; and when the emperor, as high priest, performs certain religious rites, he is called the Father-Mother of the People.

The Chinese woman is not ignored politically. In the family council, the male and female members discuss on equal terms the political interests of the family. "It would be more correct to say," writes M. Simon, "that, in China, the family, acting through its natural representative, is the political unit. This representative may be a woman." The only body in China that can be said to correspond to our law-making assemblies is the Academy of Sciences and Letters, of Peking; and women are not excluded from this learned conclave.

The Chinese conception of civil liberty does not compare unfavorably with our much-vaunted Western ideas on this subject. "Many Europeans think," says M. Simon, "that China is, *par excellence*, the land of despotism. Now, I ask what sort of a despotism this is which employs but from twenty-five to thirty thousand functionaries

in a population of over five hundred million souls, and which is defended by a regular army of a hundred thousand Tartars, almost lost to view in the midst of such a mass of human beings?" Let the United States, with its legion of office-holders,—State and federal,—and the great European Powers, with their vast military establishments, respond to this question.

In China, the people are not crushed under taxes; nor does the State run into debt, in order to keep up an unproductive army. These blessings of Western civilization are not found in the Celestial Empire. "It is well known," says M. Simon on this head, "that the revenues of the State amount to about fourteen or fifteen million francs; and they cannot be increased. If the public expenses exceed receipts, the deficit can be made up only by voluntary subscriptions." M. Simon estimates the annual average tax paid by each Chinaman to be only three francs. One of the political maxims of the Chinese runs as follows: "The best government is one that is not seen." The people of more than one Continental nation would shout Amen to this all-wise principle of statecraft.

From what has just been said, we should be led to expect great material well-being among the people of China. And M. Simon informs us that such is indeed the case. He says: "As for myself, I consider the most civilized State to be that where, on a given surface of territory, the greatest possible number of men enjoy in the fairest and cheapest manner the largest amount of well-being, liberty, justice, and security." China, according to M. Simon, meets these conditions. The land teems with people. The cultivation of the soil is practised with an art which would astonish even the president of an agricultural society, and the humble farmer sits down to a table that the European peasant would scarcely dare to dream of. "Nowhere are the people so rich."

The religious liberty of the Chinese is not less remarkable than their civil liberty, their material well-being, and the good treatment of their women. There is no Established Church, so that the grave question of the separation of Church and State, that threatens to divide the Liberal party in England and to destroy the Republic in France, does not trouble the peace of the Chinese people. The religious situation in China is much the same as in the United States: the State remains neutral, and the different beliefs flourish side by side in perfect harmony.

"In no other country," declares M. Simon, "does man profess, I will not say *so much* religion for fear of being equivocal, but so many religions. . . . The government does not interfere in religious questions, except when the latter become mixed up with civil matters or when they encroach upon the secular domain. You read from time to time in the circular letters that the emperor, the viceroys, and the governors are accustomed to address to the people this piece of advice that strikes Europeans as very singular,—'Distrust religions.' On this account, the Chinese nation has often been charged with atheism. But there is no truth in this assertion." The Chinese rulers, doubtless, look upon ecclesiastical matters very much as did Louis Philippe, who once said, "Never put your finger in Church affairs, for you can't get it out again: it is sure to stick there."

The prevalent form of Chinese religion is the worship of one's ancestors. M. Simon grows quite enthusiastic over this national custom. He says of it: "This ancestral creed, far from tying the living to the dead, as it is often accused of doing, is, on the contrary, the very source of progress and the strongest spur thereto; for its most immediate

* *La Cité Chinoise*. Paris: La Nouvelle Revue, 23 Boulevard Poissonnière.

obligation is preparation for the future." But this future is not the future of the Christian Church. In one of the Chinese canonical books occur these words: "The object of worshipping heaven is to spiritualize the earth." The Chinaman believes that, by cultivating his fields and making them produce all that they are capable of producing, he is pleasing God more than by dreaming of an imaginary life beyond the grave. But, at the same time, he does not neglect his spiritual nature. "What do you think of us?" M. Simon used to ask of educated Chinamen. "You don't cultivate your soul," was the reply. "In China," M. Simon goes on to say, "the thing that is worshipped is humanity itself, the spiritual and immortal part,—the soul of those ancestors that our own souls will join in the future. In other religions, the thing worshipped is outside of the conscience: in the Chinese religion, it is the conscience itself. . . . On account of the absence of all supernaturalness in its religious beliefs, Chinese civilization, founded on natural principles, has not only never been afflicted by castes and other causes of dissolution that mark the civilizations of the rest of the world, but it has become so powerful that all the religious, commercial, and military efforts of foreign civilizations to modify it have always resulted in failure. . . . In certain respects, Buddhism was well adapted to the antique Chinese civilization. It prescribes castes, teaches equality, and its morality is very pure. But it required a priesthood. Now, up to the time when this new faith was introduced into the country, China had never had special ministers of religion. Nobody would consent to act as such; and the government was actually forced to release from the prisons a certain number of convicts, to whom were confided the spiritual and temporal duties of the new temples. And, in fact, the Buddhist priests have never ceased to call themselves 'the condemned to death,' nor to wear the yellow hood and robe of the State prisons. . . . If there be a drought, for instance, where do you think the Chinese place the blame? Do they find fault with heaven or earth? No, with themselves. Everybody goes home and fasts. Private persons and public functionaries examine their own conduct and confess their shortcomings." They see that, if they had provided for dry weather when there was plenty of rain by filling their reservoirs, by constructing new ones, by preparing their plants for the evil day, and by improving their wonderful system of irrigation and canalization, their fields would not have suffered.

From what has been said, the reader will not be surprised to learn that there is a great deal of free-thinking done in China, and that the religious observances are looked upon much in the same way as in the latter days of Rome. M. Simon is very implicit on this point. "Do you believe in the efficacy of your religious practices?" I often asked Chinamen, whom I knew well," writes M. Simon. "You embarrass us very much by this question," they would answer. "Sometimes we believe, and sometimes we do not. Often, we laugh at those who go on pilgrimages; and yet it may happen that we will go ourselves. All this is governed by circumstances." . . . Buddhism is still the free and easy religion that its introducers into China intended it to be, and its shrines are little else than exoterics for carrying off the moral impurities that may clog the soul of the individual who, quite independent of his neighbors, seeks relief in this way." M. Simon presents several instances of the free-thinking character of the Chinese, large numbers of whom, it appears, are as pronounced in unbelief as thousands of so-called Christians.

M. Simon, in this eulogy of his favorite people, gives us many other proofs of the fact that all the

best work of man, whether in the form of social customs, legislation, or religion, is not confined to Europe and America; and we are thus able to understand the motive that actuated that Chinese missionary who—if I remember rightly—went to Boston, a few years ago, in order to convince you that the civilization of Confucius is superior to that of Jesus Christ.

THEODORE STANTON.

PAU, November, 1885.

THE PRESS: ITS POWER AND DEBASEMENT.

There is no end of prating of the power of the press, and no one can truthfully deny its incalculable influence; but that it approximates even to the degree of greatest usefulness would be an unfounded claim. In its eagerness for news, in catering to an unrefined and vulgar taste, the press has become prostituted and debased; and, with the facilities of telephone and telegraph, is a sewer into which is poured the effeteness, rottenness, degradation, imbecility, villany, moral disease, profligacy, and corruption of the whole world, in a seething mass of unutterable abomination.

The great metropolitan journals, with world-wide facilities, take the lead in the gossip of villany and prurient rascality; and the smaller fry of town and village closely imitate, like hounds in a well-trained pack. Special correspondents are sent, regardless of distance or expense, to report murders, robberies, debaucheries, hangings, and nameless crimes.

The taste of the public is not only catered to, but cultivated in this direction; and the evil intensifies with the morbid craving it creates for moral and social carrion, and, when the actual fails in supply, the ready pen and debased fancy of the reporter pour forth the reeking column.

Take at random a number of a leading newspaper, and this is the morning's repast it spreads before its readers,—made attractive by heavy headlines: "The Big Hole left in Buffalo's Finance—Virginia's Man—Woman—Attempt to break Jail—A Tennessee Mystery—A Young Woman found Dead—Killed the Wrong Man—The Boston Poisoning—Murder of a Betrothed Wife—Bloodless Duel over a Young Woman—A Young Michigan Desperado terrifies a Community and shoots Two Men—A St. Louis Songstress deserts her Aged Spouse—Rivals in Love fight a Duel—A Mexican Bull Fight—Strangles his Daughter—Sold his Wife—Lynched for Rape—A Regular Mill," etc.

The reporters vie with each other in making their writings sensational, and indulge in wit over the most solemn subjects. Instead of saying a man was hung, they say he was "placed where he could not step on tacks"; and love itself is scoffed. The "able writers" have in short become "end men," harlequins playing the court fool for the pittance of a salary. The "mill" is a prize fight, and the slang account fills two columns of brutal horrors flippantly narrated, with high encomiums on the successful bruiser.

Turning to the advertisements, to say nothing of the "personals," which ought to damn to eternal infamy any publisher whose greed admits them, there are columns of quack medicines and of quack doctors, the inevitable "Friend of Youth," "retired clergymen," and the numberless rascally concerns that are willing to give ten dollars for one. The prestige of a great journal has been paid for, and in its shadow villany and debauchery await their credulous victims.

Through the sixteen crowded pages, one looks in vain for one item of self-sacrificed honor, integrity, or a single moral action. The "mirror of the times" has no surface for the reflection of good deeds or kind acts. It is sensitive only to the

reverse. Its face is red with crime and foul with corruption.

The literary taste of the people is degraded and vulgarized instead of being improved and elevated. The glowing narratives of robberies, murders, prize-fights, assignations, elopements, and nameless deviltry, instead of preventing by example stimulate to imitation, and engender a thirst for crime.

The leading news journals are too unclean to enter the family circle and be read by children of pure and noble taste. The *Police Gazette* exceeds them only by its illustrations. We would say to them: Cast out the "end man," your "court fool," who makes jest of human degradation and misery. Your "funny man" has become worn to threads; and his oft repeated jokes are stale, flat, and unprofitable. Bad spelling and slang dialect will not retrieve his fortunes. If there be a good deed in the world, report it; and, if there is nobility in human nature, give it place and precedence. The power now for evil may then be exerted for good, and the press become all that it claims as the chief instrument in the enlightenment of the people on the great issues of the day, and a leader to a higher civilization.

HUDSON TUTTLE.

COMPETITION, CAPITAL, AND LABOR.

With the increase of intelligence, physical strength yields in importance to mental qualities. When natural selection took hold of the mind, the survival of the fittest meant, not so much the survival of those with the most prognathous jaws as of those with the sagacity and alertness to guard against danger and provide means of safety. The influence of natural selection on man has become less in proportion as he has consciously exercised his powers for definite ends. In uniting for a common object, men have been able to accomplish in a day what might not in a century, if ever, have been brought about by natural selection, preventing, too, incalculable suffering and loss unavoidable in a merciless "struggle for existence."

And yet the competitive principle, which has ever been the essential fact in the struggle for existence, prevails and must ever prevail in the highest intellectual and social conditions. Men now compete in useful arts and industries. Educational institutions compete in methods and efficiency of instruction. Institutions of charity compete with one another in relieving want and distress. The doctors, divided into various schools, compete in the art of overcoming disease, each school trying to prove the superiority of its own method. The churches compete in the attractions and inducements offered to increase membership, attendance, and influence, to Christianize the heathen, and to save souls from hell. Very different these and other similar forms of competition, where the manifest object is to contribute to individual and social well-being, from that heartless and cruel struggle in which those only can survive that seize every advantage of strength and position to crush and destroy their less fortunate competitors.

At the same time there are deplorable evils,—the natural outcome of competition as it exists among us to-day,—as seen in the contrasts presented by the extremes of wealth and poverty, and the present strained relations between capital and labor. Great wealth gives great power; and they who possess it are very liable to employ it to their own advantage and in the interests of the class to which they belong, with but little consideration for the rights or the welfare of the poor. Intemperance, extravagance, waste, idleness, no

doubt, account for much of the extreme poverty that exists; but, when we observe sober and industrious men working for wages on which they cannot live in comfort or decency, and their employers becoming millionnaires in a few years, it requires no large knowledge of economics to see that the reason the products of labor are not more equitably distributed is that capital takes too much and that labor receives too little of the value of the products; in other words, that capital, having the power, takes advantage of it to enlarge its profits by depriving the workman of a part of his just dues. This leads to strikes and suspensions of business and enforced idleness, distress, and loss of independence and self-respect among workmen. It is not strange, under the circumstances, that intelligent wage-workers organize for self-protection, as they clearly have the right to do.

Steam and machinery have enormously augmented the power of production; but there is a strong feeling that capital profits too much, and that labor does not receive the advantages and benefits to which it is fairly entitled from the inventions and improvements of the age. The tendency of modern industrialism is to a division of labor and its employment by large firms and corporations, which, by owning the machinery and paying the smallest possible wages, get all the immediate advantage of the vast productive power that invention has put into their hands. Intelligent workingmen see this, and, contrasting their small wages with the large profits of the companies that are adding millions to their property every year, naturally feel discontented, and often ask why, if the talk they hear about justice is not mere cant, does not a just public sentiment lead to a demand for a more equitable distribution of the products of labor?

For the evils here alluded to we have offered numerous panaceas. One wants a high protective tariff, when the only consistent protective tariff would be a tariff on every foreigner who comes to America. Co-operation is another hobby with some; and it contains, without doubt, a principle that must be brought more and more into prominence, but only in co-existence with the opposite principle of competition. They are the attractive and repellent forces of social life. A condition in which excellence should not be stimulated by incentives and rewarded by advantages would, were it possible, destroy all originality and enterprise. And the incentives and the advantages must be such as appeal to human nature as it is. Whether the condition of the workingmen would be improved if the government should enlarge its functions and assume new responsibilities, as the socialists propose, may fairly be questioned. The government, through the influence of wealth and the love of power and rank, is liable to become despotic, as it is in those European countries where labor organizations are suppressed, and the meetings of socialists are broken up by the police, and where military power, although derived from the people, awes the people into silence,—countries from which come the class of foreigners who indulge in unreasoning tirades against wealth, and advocate a resort to violence to solve the problem of capital and labor,—the problem of the ages,—which American workingmen are intelligent enough to see must be solved by thought, not by explosions of dynamite. And this should be done while the country is young and the social conditions are flexible and modifiable. With age come the hedges of caste and the hard "cake of custom," which make progress impossible, and can be broken up only by revolution.

In a country whose government derives its powers from the consent of the governed, and where every citizen is a voter, the remedy for all evils

that can be reached by legislation is in the hands of the people, if, indeed, they have the intelligence to see what is needed, to subordinate minor issues to a common purpose, to disregard the petty schemes of narrow-minded zealots and the professions and promises of political demagogues, and to unite on sensible and practical measures. Here, where the right to acquire wealth, and to its undisturbed possession when acquired, is recognized by all; where the property is held largely by men who started in life poor,—intelligent men, even of the poorest classes, are not likely to confound the rights and interests of wage-earners with chimerical schemes for putting indolence on a par with industry, and rewarding wastefulness and improvidence equally with economy and forethought.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

ALL our subscribers who are in arrears will confer a favor by sending to this office the amount due, before the end of the present year.

ARE there gods or men who, if they had the power, would not use it to release the poor miners imprisoned in the earth at Nanticoke, Pa.?

A CHRISTIAN minister, having failed in an attempt to change the religious views of George Eliot in her early life, said afterward: "That young lady must have had the devil at her elbow to suggest her doubts, for there was not a book that I recommended to her in support of Christian evidences that she had not read."

MANY readers of *The Index* will be glad to learn that Mr. F. E. Abbot's promised book, *Scientific Theism*, has appeared. It is published by Little, Brown & Co. of this city, and also simultaneously by Macmillan & Co., London. It may be obtained through the office of *The Index*. We have already several orders for it. The price is \$2.00.

DURING one of the Belfast riots, a man was asked by a mob what his religion was. He did not know whether his excited questioners were Catholics or Protestants; but he looked at their weapons, their bludgeons, fowling-pieces, etc., and, after surveying them carefully, answered, "Gentlemen, I am of the same opinion as that gentleman there with the big axe."

THE Industrial Art Teachers' Association of Massachusetts will meet Tuesday, December 29, in the Art Club Gallery. There are three papers to be read, namely: by Mr. Henry T. Bailey, 10 A.M.; by Mr. Walter S. Perry, 11.15 A.M.; and by Dr. Paul Carus, 2.30 P.M. Dr. Carus will also speak before the Modern Language Association of America that is to meet this year at the Boston University, December 29 and 30.

MR. J. P. MENDUM, of the *Investigator*, writes in regard to the third edition of *The Church as it is; or, the Forlorn Hope of Slavery*, by Parker Pillsbury, which he has for sale: "It is an old anti-slavery document which did good service; and it was thought by some of the few remaining workers in that righteous cause that it ought to be republished, that the present generation might read its pages, and understand what the anti-slavery people of thirty years ago had to say of the Church. This pamphlet had passed out of print; but, at the suggestion of our friend Photius Fiske, it has been reissued, he paying \$200 to its republication."

THE Class for the Study of Politics, recently organized by the National Woman Suffrage Associa-

tion, Massachusetts, meets on Wednesday, December 30, at 2.15 P.M., at Mrs. D. B. Smith's, 117 Appleton Street. Members of the Association admitted free. All others, gentlemen or ladies, are admitted on payment of ten cents at the door. The class held in the afternoon has been so successful, and so many who cannot attend at the hour designated have expressed a desire for an evening class, that it has been decided to form one as soon as fifteen persons shall have signified their wish to become members. All such are requested to send their names and addresses to Mrs. H. R. Shattuck, Malden, Mass.

EVEN our most conservative theologians are beginning to realize the sandy character of the foundation upon which the ecclesiastical house has been built, and to tremble for its stability when the winds of reason and the waters of scientific truth shall threaten it more fiercely. It is doomed to fall, and wise men are already beginning to prepare a foundation upon the rock of science for the grander temple of the coming religion. Not upon the foolish myths of an ignorant people shall the ideal church be founded; but science shall be its corner-stone, reason shall cement its blocks of truth, and over all shall rise the vaulted dome of a faith not blind and doting, but resting upon experience, trusting in the future, because believing in the past.—*From the Ideal Church, by Solon Lauer.*

SOME Tory wit makes fun of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme to make every man in England his own landlord by using the government credit to secure for him three acres of land and a cow:—

O Acres three, O happy Acres three!
Promised to me!

(I wonder where exactly you will be,
My acres three.)

When Church is disendowed, of course you'll be
Tithe three, my three.

Rich loam I choose, nigh to my house and handy
(Let Smith's be sandy).

Then you will be, as I am well assured,
Richly manured.

Then why are you but three? Oh! why not four,
Or five, or more?

O Cow! O Cow! that promised art to all
By orators that every district stump,
To free the rustics from the landlord's thrall:
Art thou the same old cow that once did jump
Over the moon? for much I fear, somehow,
That thou mayst prove all moonshine,
O my Cow!

THE *Christian Register* thinks that it was Paul who gave an impulse to millinery, when he said it was a shame for a woman to go to church with her head uncovered. The *Boston Transcript* mentions Paul as an unbeliever in matrimony, and suggests that he "probably understood how much millinery cost, and, while he liked to look at it, he knew too much to put himself in a position which would make him pay for it." The *Christian at Work* is of the opinion that the young tent-maker of Tarsus took him a wife, after the fashion of his people. In proof of this, it is stated that he was an officer of the Sanhedrim. "And, to be such, he had to be a married man, did he not?" Possibly, Paul was a widower when he wrote the words referred to by the *Christian Register*, and had learned by experience the cost of millinery, and wanted to make men thoroughly disgusted with this world, in order to direct more successfully their attention to the world to come.

EVERY reader of *The Index* is respectfully requested to send to this office the names of ten writers whom he or she regards as having contributed most largely to freedom of thought. In a few weeks, a statement will be made giving a list of the writers, with figures showing the results of this effort to obtain the opinion of our readers.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 24, 1885.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

The Dual Aspect of our Nature.

BY EDWARD MONTGOMERY.

The Supermental Consistency of our Being.

Correct reasoning resolves everything revealed in nature into mental states experienced by the realizing individual. It is only by becoming conscious to each of us that anything in nature is felt and recognized. And it cannot be denied that our consciousness is altogether composed of mental states and of nothing else. We unhesitatingly name everything which arises in consciousness a "mental state," as soon as we recognize its purely conscious nature. The first cardinal conclusion of philosophy, then, is that the multitudinous and divers contents of consciousness, which make up everything we find ourselves at all capable of realizing, are one and all of genuine mental consistency. And these ever-varying and shifting mental states experienced by us are all we possess of mentality, all in all we have of conscious existence.

This clearly discerned, the moment has arrived when a glimpse may be caught of the transcendent marvel of conscious being. This vast world we are moving in, and we ourselves with our rich life so full of momentous happenings, all this affluence of seemingly steadfast existence is, so far as our individual apperception is concerned, nothing but momentary mental realization. It is nothing real to our consciousness, save only when being thus actually realized by us. You shut your eyes, and the visible world is gone; you go to sleep, and all your feelings, all your mentality, including the consciousness of yourself and everything else, is completely extinguished for the time being. And where are you meanwhile, when thus gone out of consciousness, body and mind? Of what stuff are you made, when no longer, as usual, existent in sensation, perception, imagination, or thought? Has your being completely vanished out of existence, as it assuredly must, if it actually consisted

of those mental realizations which are at present no more, and which to you were your only awareness of yourself? Or are you, with all your efficiencies and potentialities, still somehow extramentally subsistent? Is, perchance, your veritable existence safely, silently, steadily rooted in the dark profundity of a creative soil, far beyond the resplendent but fitful gleams of conscious realization?

The thorough phenomenality of mental states, their mere representative character and unsubstantial, inefficacious consistency, becomes very salient, when we candidly contemplate how, in the healing forgetfulness of sleep, we securely yield our whole store of living power to the influences which extramentally sustain our being. And do not these very same extra-mental influences continue to keep up in all its integrity the wondrous vortex of activities composing individual existence then, also, when the spell of oblivious sleep is broken, and in the interaction with outside powers the time-arching halo of revealing consciousness gathers form, mirroring in its iridescent and intensive play the deep-grounded reality of the world and our life therein?

Just once let it be recognized to what an all but unlimited extent we have to rest our trust on the unwearied stability and prepotency of extra-mental powers, and nevermore will our too pretentious imagination deem that in its most daring flight it ever can outsoar the element in which it livingly floats; nevermore will it vain-gloriously strive to loosen its reliance on the quickening source whence from fathomless depths it issue all its effulgent gifts into the vivid presence of actual life.

Where this morning is the feeling, the thought, you had last night, before your whole being had sunk away into the dreamless void of unconscious subsistence? You must admit that as the self-same existent, which then was present, it has utterly, irrecoverably, vanished into nothingness. A mental state exists only so far and so long as it is conscious. For what we know as a mental state, and rightly designate as such, is something having actual conscious existence, and not anything whatever outside consciousness. When a sensation, perception, or thought drops out of awareness, when out of the ever-lapsing present it slips away into the all-consuming past, it has lost for good its being as that particular and identical existent. If, ever after, what we call the same feeling or the same thought is re-experienced, it has to be newly issued from its extra-mental source of emanation. It has to be out and out reproduced by the same powers which gave conscious being to the previous feeling or thought. The same efficient powers which then raised the peculiar feeling or thought into the felt actuality of mental presence have accurately to repeat their specific activity, in order to accomplish the same result now or at any other time.

It means hopelessly darkening our philosophical insight with figurative speech, when we talk of yesterday's mental states as if they were still subsisting as the self-same existents which then were making up our consciousness. Thus it comes that our present psychology is almost completely a fabrication of perspective illusions. It lavishly applies to the erection of its visionary structure the bygone material of lapsed feelings and thoughts. It scientifically installs the wholly departed consciousness of yesterday, or of any past time, as an abiding power, making it bring forth and influence in all sorts of ways the real consciousness of the present moment, our veritable here and now. Not before it is adequately understood—what seems a very obvious truth, when once pointed out—that

mentality means nothing more nor less than the all-revealing mental presence, from instant to instant produced and sustained by extra-mental powers,—not before we plainly recognize this utter dependence of mind on non-mental being, will a consistent monistic world-conception be framed. And then, in order to ground on a solid and unitary basis the science of human existence in its dual aspect, we shall have furthermore to become convinced that it is our own permanent individuality and its medium of life which constitute the veritable extra-mental powers that keep up the phenomenal play of our mental presence.

It is quite certain the present mental state possesses in itself no potency to create the following mental state. The present mental state, in its widely comprehensive, far-recollecting moment of actual consciousness, is all in all we realize of our selves and the world. Whence, then, does this ever-replenished fulness of momentary realization emanate? Where is its veritable matrix? Of what nature are the extra-mental powers, of whose doings it seems the faithfully revealing effluence? We have before us nothing but the mental presence, a significantly luminous crest on the brow of onward pressing time. And, like time's own incessantly passing yet safely abiding Now, this clear emergence into conscious splendor of all the bloom of living exertion is being lifted into actual and persistent presence on a mysterious tide of ever-arising, ever-dwindling moments. In which depths of sense-hidden reality lies the quickening source of this exhaustless influx of mental realization?

It is at this juncture that all philosophical as well as scientific interpretation is forced to venture a transcendental conjecture, to reach out from the wavering confines of the ever-dissolving mental presence into a steadfast realm of enduring potency. In order to gain any insight into the connection of the present with the past and the future, we have to pierce beyond the actually given moment of consciousness, and have to link it with bonds of efficiency to some extra-mental source of emanation. Where shall we seek for such a source?

By recognizing that a mental state is not something retaining, as such, its existence when once gone out of consciousness, Hume's artifice and that of the entire association-philosophy become transparent. For how can a present mental state have power over a past mental state which, as such, has utterly vanished out of existence? How can the ever-disintegrated mental presence be reintegrated from a chaos of perished feelings, passed away into bodiless, soulless inanity? If it is efficiently connected with anything at all, if it is associated with aught beyond itself, it must necessarily be with something extra-mentally subsistent. Indeed, it can be conjoined only with the very matrix, whence it itself issued into conscious reality. In every instance of mental manifestation, the mind-producing power must necessarily reside in those extra-mental influences which lift up such mental phenomena from unconscious latency into conscious being.

Now, the most momentous of all philosophical questions is precisely the one here pending. It demands unambiguous information concerning the true nature of the all-efficient matrix, which brings forth the phenomena of the mental presence. On the answer given to this solemn and transcendent inquiry depends now, as ever before, our entire bearing toward life.

Philosophically speaking, there are only two possible answers. Either our mental presence, in all its changeful modes and moods, including the conscious realization of ourselves, our fellow-

creatures, and the rest of the world, emanates directly from a supernatural source of efficiency, whose entirely incomprehensible nature remains unrevealed in such mental creations, and which—to give it a name—is designated as spiritual, or our mental presence constitutes in itself the symbolical though practically reliable representation of the very powers of nature by which it is produced, and whose specific presence and mutations it faithfully signalizes. Thus, we have pure spiritualistic Transcendentalism on the one side, genuine Naturalism on the other. And, if we are to live according to our convictions, as we most assuredly ought, then it is clear that these two world-conceptions have to be considered thoroughly antagonistic to each other in their vital aims. The one conviction seeks, through a deepening recognition of spiritual unity, to extricate our thought-constituted personality from the turbulent world of sense, which, it thinks, we are apt to mistake for veritable reality. The other, on the contrary, seeks to recognize the true significance and import of the perceptual figurations making up the universe and our own individuality as actually revealed to us. And this it does that, by dint of the world-constituted, world-efficient powers incorporated in us, we may worthily represent the gloriously progressive triumph of widely sympathetic sensitiveness and beautifully befitting form—the consensual thrill of attuned harmony, laboriously wrought from a once all-involving chaos of unfeeling strife.

These, in verity, are the two supreme tendencies of human striving, the negative and the positive drift of ideal aspiration; the one drawing away from the alluring engagement with perceptual realizations, the other devoted to the further harmonization of the powers underlying them. All current creeds are symbolical expressions of these paramount strivings. They are their intuitive adumbrations, with crude doctrinal mixtures of their opposite tendencies.

Sympathetically appreciating the noble sentiments by which the religion of Transcendental Spiritualism is kindled in the breast of its sincere votaries, we have, nevertheless, relentlessly to oppose all serious attempts at realization of its anti-vital aims. We naturalistic thinkers are, above all, convinced that the powers which compel our perceptive realizations are themselves veritable and fundamental reality,—a reality whose nature and activities the perceptions clearly signalize. Our method of truth-seeking—the method of all natural science—consists, therefore, in the verification, by actual compulsory presence, of the representative contents of our consciousness. And our method of realizing our ideals consists in the elaboration, by dint of our natural faculties, of the actual sense-compelling powers, in conformity with our ideal purpose.

Surveying the sphere of compulsory perceptions, we find ourselves in possession of an inalienable body, manifest as a subtly organized and steadfastly enduring complex of powers, to whose specific activities is evidently due the sustained and varying flow of conscious phenomena making up our mental presence. This body is discerned as forming part of a boundless system of extra-mental powers, whose perceptive realization we call the world. With this outside world, our body is found to stand in manifold relations of interaction. Furthermore, its organization is discovered to have been minutely moulded in keeping with these relational interactions. Indeed, individual organization and all its activities are the expression of a vitally pre-established harmony between the living being and its surroundings. And the all-containing mental presence reveals,

with self-sounding reverberation from coetaneous depths, the grand centralized sense of this world-wide concordance.

To become quite convinced of the vastly important truth that mentality is the product of organized vital activity and that, consequently, vital organization must ever form the veritable fulcrum for every fruitful attempt at human progress, let us examine the strenuous but vain endeavor to discover mind also in inorganic nature. Such hylozoic tendencies are very prevalent among thinkers of our age, and are as detrimental to personal self-determination and moral responsibility as material automatism. They rest on the false conception that life, and therewith mind, is not the manifestation of a specific activity displayed by a highly complex confluence of non-mental powers, organized and sustained through interaction with other power complexes, but simply the original property of the elements composing the substratum of existence, from whose varied configurations all things are believed to be formed. In fact, for the old atoms of the physicists, this so-called “mind-stuff” theory merely substitutes as world-material atoms of mental consistency.

Clifford has done good service to philosophy by placing in a glaring light (*Mind*, No. IX.), with algebraical indifference to real values, the unconscionable sophism on which he himself and others have to rely, in order plausibly to establish an identity of nature between our mental presence and the powers affecting it, between what we feel and think and what we and other things are made of. To simplify the problem of mental and material connection, and to reach by a short cut the monistic substance, Clifford, in the coolest manner imaginable, takes for granted that we naturally infer as existing out of our consciousness only the feelings of other minds, to which feelings he consequently gives the name of “ejects.” Thus, our individual impression of the external subsistence of such objects as tables and chairs depends, according to this eminently novel view, solely on our knowledge that other minds are likewise experiencing as their perception similar objects.

The untruth of this bold assertion is so patent that we might safely reject without further examination any doctrine based on it. But as Clifford's exposition of mental atomism has, by many thoughtful persons, been considered an all but mathematical demonstration of this doctrine, so highly fascinating at present to the scientific mind, it cannot but prove instructive and relevant to our present inquiry attentively to listen to his argument, and then to expose its fallacies.

Clifford reasons thus: Everything called an object is really a conscious phenomenon within our own individual mind,—a definite percept realized by ourselves. The only existents *outside* ourselves are phenomena within the mind of other beings. By inferring that another mind has also feelings, that some one besides myself is experiencing, for example, a certain percept, we therewith throw such inferred existence out of ourselves, as not forming part of our own being. These “ejects,” consisting of feelings subjective and objective in other minds, are the only kind of reality we have a right to place outside ourselves. And the reason why we come to believe in the outside existence of our own perceptive objects lies solely in the inference that corresponding perceptive objects are existent also in other minds, and are therefore, as such, ejects to us. Thus is formed the impression of the outness of things as not wholly dependent on one's own perception. This externalizing process constitutes the “social ob-

ject.” A chair, for instance, is immediately nothing but a perceptive object within our individual mind; but it becomes an eject and a social object by being inferred as existing also in the mind of our fellow-creatures.

When I perceive a brain in functional activity, all this is my individual perception. But it has been scientifically established that definite changes in this perception of mine correspond to definite changes of feeling within another mind, consequently to definite ejects. In correspondence with every feeling—however complex or elementary—in the other mind, there takes place a change in the perceptive brain within my mind. The complex consciousness, corresponding to the complex activity in a perceptual brain, is built up of elementary feelings. An elementary feeling in you may be concluded to correspond to the action of an elementary brain-molecule in my perception. The cardinal question is, Can such an elementary feeling exist independently of the complex consciousness which it helps to compose?

We can perceptively realize an entire series of graduated existents, culminating in the highest organism, and sliding down the scale through lower and lower forms of life into inorganic nature. Now, if we believe in evolution, holding that the higher forms have by insensible degrees been evolved from lower forms, the whole train of evolution having started from inorganic molecules, we can find no reason for assuming that ejects, or the feelings which we know to correspond to our perception of higher forms of existence, come suddenly into being at some particular point in the line of evolution. On the contrary, we have consistently to conclude that ejects correspond to whatever perceptual activity we behold; that, if a moving atom were realizable to our perception, to such a perceptive atom would correspond an elementary eject, or feeling. Consequently, all existence outside our own perception consists of more or less complex combinations of elementary ejects, or feelings. And, our consciousness being likewise built up of such elementary feelings, there can exist nothing in the world but “mind-stuff.” Everything is composed of mental atoms.

Our aggregational science, which makes everything inorganic and organic result from the mere grouping of atoms and the combination of their elementary forces, strongly inclines philosophical scientists to adopt the above specious reasoning, so lucidly presented by Clifford. We are, therefore, not wasting time in trying to find whether there are any fatal flaws in it, which can be rendered sufficiently apparent to permit mind-stuff henceforth to drop altogether out of philosophical existence.

To get at once into the heart of the problem, let us imagine that we are watching a man's brain *not* at present in functional activity. In conformity with Clifford's fundamental assumption, we have to conclude that this man and his brain have no existence whatever outside our own consciousness; for it is only by means of the feelings in another mind that we are entitled to infer existences besides our own, and here there are at present no feelings stirring in the other mind. Therefore there is no outside existent corresponding to my perception of the man and his brain. Without functional activity, no ejects. And, if no ejects, then nothing.

But, suddenly, the scene changes. Perceptible to our scientific gaze, the observed brain begins to display functional activity. What now, according to Clifford's premises, have we a right to conclude from the change of perception with regard to any corresponding outside existence? Evidently, nothing at all. For the theory does not allow us to

infer outside existence from our own perceptions, and these are the only existences at present in any way conscious to us. We thus fail to reach the very foundation of all outside existence, "the mind of other men," and this not only by questioning the perception of a functionally quiescent brain, but also by questioning the perception of a functionally active brain. If, then, through no means in our possession, we are competent to reach the existence of "other men's minds," how are we to establish a theory of the nature of outside existence in general, solely grounded on the pre-supposed knowledge of such ejective existence? But, if somehow, nevertheless,—how, the theory from a prudent instinct of self-preservation leaves in the dark,—if, in our usual way, we make out that there are feelings in another mind corresponding in their composition to the composition of the motions perceptible in brain function, then we may confidently conclude—what? Evidently, contrary to the expectations of the theory, again nothing at all. For not only the man's gestures and words, by which he expresses his feelings, but also the meaning of these gestures and words,—in fact, all occurrences here extant,—are solely realized as different phenomena within our own individual consciousness, the set of our feelings constituting the gesticulatory motions and the word-sounds being indeed much less inferential, much more immediately externalized by us, than the other set of our feelings constituting their meaning. Here, as everywhere, we have nothing directly before us but our own feelings; and the theory maintains that from our own feelings we can infer no outside existence. Accordingly, the gesticulating and talking man, with all the feelings seemingly expressed by those actions, does not really exist as anything outside our own mind. Indeed, if we were most favorably situated with regard to immediate recognition of what takes place in another being while he is conscious, if we could observe most minutely the brain activity exactly corresponding to his feelings,—feelings, however, which he was not choosing just then to express by any word or sign,—such intimate knowledge could never lead us to infer feelings in any other man's mind, unless, indeed, the definite changes in the brain had been experientially learned to mean definite feelings in the other man's mind, just as his spoken or written words have been learned to mean such feelings.

If, then, according to Clifford's own premises, feelings in other minds cannot be inferred from perceptive occurrences in our own mind, then there can be no ejects, no social objects of any kind, and therewith no mind stuff. Or, in other words, there can be no mentality, nor anything else outside our own complex consciousness.

Clifford set out with only two existents; namely, "my consciousness" and the "mind of other men." It was his purpose to demonstrate, on the strength of this assumption, that mental existence of a more elementary kind than that found in complex organisms can be rightly inferred; in fact, that all existence is made up of mental elements. He wished to prove that external reality, accurately corresponding to our perceptive representations, consists of mind-stuff, this mind-stuff being the actual thing-in-itself. We have just seen how completely he has failed in this attempt.

As it is of paramount import to know positively whether our being is of mental consistency or not, we must not grudge the effort needed to dispel once, forever, the uncertainty. This in view, let us then finally cast a glance at the *quasi-mathematical* formula by which Clifford sought to express the relation as conceived by him.

If I could see what was happening in a man's brain while he was looking at a candlestick, I

should discover a definite brain-motion, which, in a certain manner, strictly corresponds to the candlestick. Now, this visibly realized brain-motion, as well as the candlestick I am seeing, are my own perceptions, and are what we call material phenomena. But in the man's mind there exists a "mental image," his image of the candlestick; "and this corresponds to some external reality." Clifford maintains that this inferred "external reality" bears the same relation to the "mental image" that the candlestick in my consciousness bears to the brain-motion in my consciousness. Now, these two percepts of mine are material phenomena, and are made of one and the same stuff. Therefore, the "external reality" corresponding to the "mental image" in the man's mind is made of the same stuff as his mental image; namely, of mind-stuff.

The hollow mathematical sophistry of this "rule of three" argument is easily exposed. This can be done most strikingly by letting the man, instead of looking only at the candlestick, observe at the same time my brain, just as I am supposed to be observing his brain. Under these conditions, it is quite evident that, if his "mental image," his perceptive candlestick, bears the same relation to the "external reality" as my perceptive candlestick bears to the brain-motion in my perception, it follows inevitably that this "external reality" to which his mental candlestick corresponds must necessarily be his own perception of my cerebral activity; i.e., his own *intrinsic* mental state is itself the "external reality" to which his "mental image" corresponds,—which assertion is unmitigated nonsense.

For The Index.

ROBBED: FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE.

I had a dove whose cooing soft fell sweet
Upon my ear; who clasped with cold, pink feet
My finger close, and leaned his fearless head
Against my cheek;—now, bleeding,
My poor dove dying lies.

I had a babe who six sweet months had blessed
My heart, who knew my voice, and smiled at me,
Who lay upon my bosom day and night,
Who fed from my own life, for whose sweet sake
All life was good. He's gone! They've taken him
Away! My babe! my babe! My flower of joy!
And he will turn and stretch out helpless hands,
And open eyes of blue bewilderment,
And not know in his baby mind what's wrong,
But feel all lost and strange. Ah! pitiful.
My babe! My babe!

Oh, all you lost ones, would that I could gather you!
Oh, all you left ones, would that I could comfort you!
And breathe on you, and warm you with my love.

I had a friend, a tender friend,
My dove and babe in one,—a spirit,
Too, of loftiest lineament.
A fire of holy passion for
The right burnt in her; tender ruth
For sorrow; and, for sin, divine
Compassion; that deep love she had
That makes the gentlest strong to bear,
To do and help. Like some sweet fawn
She moved and looked: when sorrow left
Her free, she grew as gay as spring
Bird's song, nor bird nor song more full
Of grace and beauty; for the soul
Within found fitting outward sign.
In movement, look, and tone, of her
Most lovely presence. But sorrow
Made his home with her, and laid his
Chill hand on her heart, blighting her
Joyous life till all its wheels dragged
Slow. Then weary, and with drooping
Wing, she lay upon my breast.
She lay within my arms, propt by
My beating heart, and resting in
My love. O sweet, rest full and deep,
That love will never fail.

But now
I stretch out empty arms that find
You not, yet know you miss their clasp.
Now they would keep you far, forbid
To me, the heretic, your love.

And I must long to have, and you
Must long to come? Yet have not? Come not?
Who then dares stand between? Our love
Remains the same; our common bond
Of service to all goodness, love,
And truth, doth bind our loves in one.
And shall the ungenerous thought,
The feeble heart, that fails to know
The servant of one king, save when
They wear one livery, bid us part?
Under power? Never! By all that's true,
'Gainst all that's false and feeble, we will
Meet! You know I love the truth
And search for it, and try to serve
Through twilights dim, with stumblings oft,
The far-off shining good. And you
Will still be true to truthfulness
In me. For what is left to us,
Poor seeking souls, if liberty
For soul's growth be denied? The age
For popes is past. Who grants us privilege?
Who dares withhold? Who lifts from us
Responsibility? Who points
The path? Who dictates our ideal?
Save in appeal to our own heart
And brain,—which, being nature's own,
Will surely some time give response
To nature's truth,—I can see none
Who dares claim such authority.
I feel the throb of nature's pulse
Alone, and to her laws I bow
Without me and within.

So, sweet,
My friend, be comforted! (Thou gentlest
Follower of the gentle Christ!) I must
To liberty of Conscience first
Be true; but on her altar I
Can hear no voice that bids me lay
Your love, nor yet the privilege
And dear delight of meeting you.
Rather, I seem to hear her bugle call:
"Be true! And show my beauty and my power
By faithfulness to love and to a full
Respect, betwixt such sundered poles of thought."

M. S. GILLILAND.

ROWLAND CONNOR TO ALL UNITARIAN MINISTERS.

Mr. Rowland Connor, of East Saginaw, Mich., is out with "An Open Letter to All Unitarian Ministers," the occasion of which is an article printed in a Western Unitarian monthly, together with letters from Rev. J. T. Sunderland to Mr. Connor, denying the right of the latter, with his views, to call himself a Unitarian. In this "Open Letter," in which are copied the article referred to,—written by Mrs. J. T. Sunderland,—and Mr. Sunderland's letters, in one of which he says: "Unitarianism has always been Christian; certainly, it has always been theistic; most certainly, it has always stood for prayer, and prayer to One who hears, and in some true sense answers prayer. Of course, without such Christian or even theistic belief, you can do a Free Religious or an Ethical work; and, in doing such a work, I, for one, should bid you or any one else God-speed. I very earnestly hope, however, you will be able to show that you are doing more than a Free Religious or Ethical work. I shall very sincerely rejoice, and many others will rejoice with me, in any assurance you may offer that your position and work are those of Christian theism."

To this, Mr. Connor replies with spirit: "The outrageous presumption," he says, "of the man who coolly invites me to step down and out of Unitarianism, and bids me a God-speed into the regions of Free Religion and Ethical Culture unless I can precisely repeat his theological shibboleth, astonishes me beyond measure." He writes in the form of an open letter, because he wishes "to appeal from Mr. Sunderland to the Unitarian denomination." He has, he declares, for a number of years regarded himself and been cordially supported by his co-laborers as an acceptable Unitarian, though fully aware that his philosophy and theology were not those of Mr. Sunderland, whose opinions about God, prayer, immortality, worship, and the Church, he has regarded as superficial and narrow. He wants to know who gave Mr. Sunderland a right to define Unitarianism for him, and claims, however heterodox his views, an equal right with the conservative Unitarian to represent this system and in accordance with the established principle of the denomination. "I wish," he says, "to protest, once only, as vigorously as I know how, against Mr. Sunderland's assumptive methods

and purposes, and then I will quietly abide by the verdict of my peers." He refuses to take an apologizing attitude for any theological opinion he holds, for to do so would be an admission of intellectual dishonesty. It is sufficient that he proclaims no opinion which he is not obliged to hold. "I know full well the Unitarian policy of silence; but I believe that this policy, if longer continued, will degenerate into a cowardliness which will earn the deserved contempt of the very men who ought to be working most earnestly with us." He abhors theological controversy, and wishes to help end it in Unitarianism. "But this end can come only if the denomination will firmly and truthfully avow allegiance to those principles which already commit it to absolute freedom of inquiry and expression. It will never come if one man or any number of men have authority or assume authority, without rebuke, to call another to account for theological opinions which may not happen to fit a prescribed formula." "I will loyally sustain Mr. Sunderland, or any other man, in his right to his own beliefs as a Unitarian, *provided* he shall not attempt to interfere with my equal right. . . . This is the Rubicon which Unitarians must or must not cross; and, as they do the one or the other, may they expect to inherit the kingdom or wilfully throw it away and give the inheritance to others." The policy Mr. Sunderland would have the denomination pursue, if continued, will give Unitarians a set-back, and prevent its occupying the field which it has the opportunity to enter. This policy fastens "intellectual hypocrisy and moral cowardice on the churches of all nations and ages. It makes hypocrites of our young men, and is sapping the moral principles upon which civilization must rest. But this deteriorating influence is inseparable, as I believe, from any denomination which shall attempt, however honestly, to tie up its members to a belief in any dogmatic creed of the past or any theological formula which any man can write at the present day." Mr. Sunderland, the letter says, is making the acceptance by Unitarian churches and conferences of a creed of vague words the one aim of his official ministrations. His sincerity is not doubted; but Mr. Connor says, "I have no doubt, whatever, that a dismal wreck of Unitarian possibilities will be the result, unless he is kindly but firmly bidden to halt." He hopes that Unitarianism will be faithful to its earlier promises. "But, if Mr. Sunderland's meddlesome activity really represents the wish and spirit of the denomination, let the unwelcome fact be established quickly." Such is the substance of Mr. Connor's "Open Letter to All Unitarian Ministers."

A WELL-KNOWN gentleman of ability and learning, for several years a prominent orthodox minister, writes: "I have been delighted with the Rabbi Schindler's essays on the Messiahship of Jesus, as they have appeared in *The Index*. I have seen nothing in all our radical literature to be compared to them in their adaptedness to open the eyes of a large class of church people, whose minds are impervious to the truth as uttered by such men as yourself and Ingersoll. The most orthodox Christian, if he have a reasonable amount of intelligence, would feel curious to know what a scholarly, nineteenth century, American Jew would think, and say, in regard to the *origin* of his religion, and the *doctrines* it teaches. There is not a sentence in all the essays that could give the least offence to the most thin-skinned theologian who accepts the Jewish Scriptures as a part of his Bible, and the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob as his God, and the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. How could a few thousand dollars be more wisely spent than in printing a large edition of these essays in handsome style, and sending a copy to each of the thousands of clergymen in this country, to the most of whom it would be a new revelation? Such is the inherent force of the truth they contain that, if a reader's prejudices do not rise like a cloud between himself and them, and thus hinder his vision, he would be led along quietly till he came to the conclusion that the rabbi's view is the correct one. Not that I indorse all the ideas and sentiments of the essays, especially what is said of Unitarianism. To me there is nothing deadlier than Unitarianism. It is a century plant. It began its existence early in this century, and the next will see the grass growing over its grave. It is held together simply by its organization, it having repudiated every one of the cardinal

doctrines which would give it a claim to be called a Christian church; and, after this betrayal, like a distinguished member of the Apostolical College, it hails Jesus, and calls him 'Master'! Will not the Boston wing of the liberal party embrace the tempting opportunity to do a great amount of good by circulating Mr. Schindler's essays over the country?"

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CONTEMPORARY EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ENGLAND, AMERICA, AND INDIA. By Count Goblet d'Alviella, Professor of Comparative Theology in the University of Brussels, and formerly member of the Belgian House of Representatives. Translated by J. Moden. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Messrs. Putnam have placed all the disciples of liberal thought under lasting obligations by the early republication of Count d'Alviella's most suggestive and interesting survey of the religious tendencies of the present age. Certain phases of this discussion have already been noticed in *The Index*, when the original articles which constitute the substance of some of the chapters of this book appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; but even these chapters have, the author assures us, undergone "considerable modifications," while those relating to England and India have been completely rewritten.

It is evident at once to the reader that the writer, like his companions in the field of Comparative Religion,—Prof. Max Müller, of Oxford, and Prof. Tiele, of Leyden,—is a man of the most generous culture and the broadest intellectual and religious sympathies. He defines his own position admirably in the Introduction: "Unattached to any church, but in moral and intellectual sympathy with all who, either as representatives of a religious organization or otherwise, are seeking to reconcile religion and reason. . . . I was," he says, "little short of feeling myself a Unitarian when with Dr. Martineau in England, or with Mr. Savage in the United States; a Theist with Mr. Voysey; a Transcendentalist, at Boston with Theodore Parker; a believer in the Divinity of the Cosmos, at New Bedford with Mr. Potter; a Humanitarian, at New York with Mr. Adler; and even a Brahmoist, at Calcutta with the leaders of the Brahmo-Somaj."

Tracing the beginnings of modern rationalism to the Protestant Reformation, he, nevertheless, recognizes the fact that the early reformers were quite blind to the character of the new spirit which they were introducing into the thought of Christendom. "In point of fact," he says of the reformation in England, "the human conscience had merely exchanged tyrants by this shifting of supremacy." Nevertheless, the heaven had been introduced, which would at last result in the recognition of reason as the final arbiter upon all questions of dogmatic belief. "The Reformation could not escape in England, any more than elsewhere, the application of its central principle, which consisted of setting up the authority of the individual conscience." It came to pass, therefore, that, in the development of the latitudinarian tendencies of the State Church, and in those controversies which were continually arising in and among the various dissenting sects, there was a constantly growing appeal to the conscience and rational nature of the individual.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is the one entitled "The Philosophy of Evolution and the Crisis of Theism." The tendency of modern literature and philosophy to introduce the principle of development into everything is traced back of Darwin to its source in Germany; and, by its final elimination of the old notion of special creation from the order of Nature, it is seen to come in conflict with conceptions which had long been held as fundamental to the principle of theism. In Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable, or Absolute, as the "inner or essential nature of force, matter, and motion, of time and space, and even of consciousness itself,"—a conception to which, though "rigidly refusing to define," but treating it as "*Being* and as *Power*," he ascribes "immanence, unity, omnipresence, and unlimited persistence in time and space,"—Count d'Alviella sees the saving feature which harmonizes the philosophy of evolution with the God-Idea.

Following an interesting chapter on "The Progress of Thought in Orthodox Protestantism," in which special stress is laid upon the decline of the belief in

the miraculous in all Christian denominations, and upon the liberal and rationalistic tendencies of the scholars of the Broad Church, we have a clear and able *résumé* of the origin and progress of English Unitarianism, the history of which "is closely connected in England with the progress of free inquiry." Treating Priestley as the leading figure in the earlier period of the Unitarian movement, he outlines its rational advance from his unquestioning acceptance of the validity of revelation, and of the miracles of the New Testament as a supernatural proof of the divine mission of Jesus, to the present time.

Our author evidently does not look for the culmination or concentration of the rational movement in religion in any existing sect or body of the Christian Church. More than half of his book is devoted to an interesting study of movements outside of avowedly Christian limitations; in England, to the work of such men as the Rev. Charles Voysey, Mr. Moncure D. Conway, Richard Congreve, and Frederic Harrison. A generous notice is given of the secular movement, of which George Jacob Holyoake and Charles Bradlaugh are named as the most distinguished representatives. The genesis of Unitarianism in the United States is traced to New England Puritanism, as modified by the principle of religious liberty, first introduced into the Colony of Rhode Island by Roger Williams. The influence of Kant, Jacobi, and the German Transcendentalists on the development of New England Transcendentalism is recognized and noted, and generous tributes are paid to Emerson and Parker as the leading representatives of this movement. Count d'Alviella's discussion of the Free Religious movement, and his numerous and always appreciative allusions to *The Index*, have already been fairly treated in these columns. He gives an interesting account of Prof. Adler's Ethical Culture Society, and notes the tendency of the advanced wing of the Unitarians to coalesce with the Free Religionists, and to adopt their platform of "Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion." The constructive work of Mr. Savage in its relation to the philosophy of Herbert Spencer is particularly described and commended, as also the Cosmian tendencies of Mr. Potter.

In the chapters on "Theism in Contemporary India," "The Social Reforms of the Brahmo-Somaj," "The Eclecticism of the Brahma Dharma in its Struggle with Hindu Mysticism," and "The Syncretism of the New Dispensation," we have the most complete and accurate history of Brahmoism that can be found anywhere outside of Miss Collet's *Year-Book*. Respecting the unfortunate divisions of the Brahmo-Somaj, Count d'Alviella evidently sympathizes rather with the liberal Sādhārān Somaj, which represents, as he says, "the genuine idea of Brahmoism in its integrity," than with the followers of Chunder Sen. He criticises the later eccentricities of the leader of the "New Dispensation" as "full of equivocal positions and dangers," and thinks it possible that he "may yet be raised to the dignity of an Avatar, and his Church become a simple variety of the Vishnu sects." Still, he credits him with sincerity, devotion, and marked ability. His final conclusion appears to be that the reform in Hinduism will come from within rather than from without, and that the liberal Brahmoism "seems most closely to correspond with the present direction of Hindu thought."

In his final summary, our author presents the hopeful view that we are now at the beginning of a constructive period of religious development. The old philosophies appear to be converging "toward a common stand-point, possibly with a view to making a permanent compromise by the adoption of some system which, while it admits that positive knowledge is limited to the phenomenal world, shall proclaim the absolute existence of a transcendent Reality." The eclecticism produced by the universal extension of modern knowledge forbids us to expect the triumph, either actually or nominally, of any religion which has heretofore been dominant in the world's history. Among the lower classes, in such religious conceptions as the belief in spiritism, or the eccentricities of the Salvation Army, we see evidence of a rising "hunger for spiritual food" which existing forms of religion fail to supply. What may appear superficially as the last gasp of a dying religion is rather, to the thoughtful mind, the sign and promise of a rising faith. Yet we cannot hastily conclude in what form this faith will finally express itself.

"With all deference to human pride, be it said, everything in nature is of humble origin, and no one can say to-day whether the unconscious mission of the publicans and fishermen, who grouped themselves around a sweet and mystic idealist on the shores of Lake Tiberius eighteen centuries ago, will not be renewed to-morrow by some band of Spiritualists holding their séances in a recess of the Rocky Mountains; by some gathering of enthusiasts discussing socialism in a back parlor in London; or by some confraternity of ascetics meditating, like the Essenes of old, on the miseries of the world in a jungle of Hindustan."

But, powerless as we are to determine the form of the coming universal religion, we may at least predict that it will centre around those aspects of the Divine which appear to us as Science, Law, Harmony, and consequently Justice. "The faith of the future will have to take note of the movement which has prevailed in the realm of science; it will have to adapt its theology to the ideas of immanence, continuity, and uniformity in the order of the universe. . . . It will have to relegate the contemplation of supersensible things to the second rank, in order to concentrate the activity of society upon the amelioration of the present world." It will have to "react against the apotheosis of force, and to establish on a religious foundation the rights of the individual. It must not only present us with its solution of the problem of evil, but it must likewise provide us with a remedy, so that more justice may be brought into the relations of men."

"If, in developing these indispensable elements of a progressive and harmonious culture," our author says in conclusion, "this faith succeeds in retaining the principles of sincerity, spirituality, and fidelity to duty, together with the devotedness and enthusiasm which have constituted the glory and led to the success of its predecessor, why need we concern ourselves about the name and symbol under which it may be manifested, in order to secure the peace of the human soul and the regeneration of the world!"

L. G. J.

A MORTAL ANTIPATHY: First Opening of the New Portfolio. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.50.

Those who read the first chapter of "The New Portfolio" when it appeared in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* could not have guessed from its charmingly reminiscent style, which has a curiously "Spectator"-like tone, that it was to be the prologue to a psychological love story, which now appears, with prologue and epilogue attached, in this handsome volume under the title of *A Mortal Antipathy*. And none who did not previously know the age of the author would guess or believe, especially after reading the exciting chapters descriptive of a boat-race and of a fire, that he was in need of the warnings thus humorously referred to in the closing chapter. "I am reminded, from time to time, by the correspondents who ask a certain small favor of me, that, as I can only expect to be with my surviving contemporaries a very little while longer, they would be much obliged if I would hurry up my answer before it is too late. They are right, these delicious unknown friends of mine, in reminding me of a fact which I cannot gainsay, and might suffer to pass from my recollection. I thank them for recalling my attention to a truth which I shall be wiser, if not more hilarious, for remembering." But, in spite of Dr. Holmes' seventy-six years, he has written a very charming, if somewhat scientific novel, which deals mainly with the hopes, ambitions, possibilities, joys, fears, friendships, and loves which belong to youth and health, and has drawn his portraits with the hand of a master limner. The "Mortal Antipathy" which overshadows the life of one of his chief characters, an antipathy which is overcome by a somewhat "heroic" treatment, is one of those psychological studies (founded probably on his personal experience and observation as a physician) to which Dr. Holmes seems partial in his stories, as instanced in *Elsie Venner* and other of his writings, and will prove very interesting reading to those who care more for the scientific than the romantic side of such investigations; while the vital charm of the recital will enchain the attention of the mass of readers who care only for the plot and dénouement of a story, regardless of its evidences of scholarship, thoughtful treatment, or scientific accuracy.

S. A. U.

TEN BOYS WHO LIVED ON THE ROAD FROM LONG AGO TO NOW. By Jane Andrews. Boston: Lee & Shepard. pp. 240. Price \$1.00.

There is a wide field of study made very enticing in this book, which is calculated not only to be interesting as a story-book containing only "true" stories, but as an incentive to future investigations in history and science by the child readers of to-day. Before telling who the "boys who lived on the road from long ago to now" were, let us allow the bright narrator of their stories to tell us, as she does in the introduction, what were the way stations on that road, and what was its length. First, the list of stations: "From Now to the Old Revolutionary Days; From the Revolution to the Time of the Puritans, both in England and America; From Puritans to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; From Queen Elizabeth to the Age of Chivalry; From the Age of Chivalry to the Early Saxons; From Saxons to Romans; From Romans to Greeks; From Greeks to Persians; From Persians to Hindus and Aryans." The length of the journey "from now to long ago" included in this description was between three and four thousand years. In her preface, the author states that, "as it has been my intention to trace our own race from its Aryan source to its present type, I have not turned aside to consider other races, perhaps not less interesting." The "boys" are the following: "Kablū, the Aryan Boy"; "Darius, the Persian Boy"; "Cleon, the Greek Boy"; "Horatius, the Roman Boy"; "Wulf, the Saxon Boy"; "Gilbert, the Page," an English boy; "Roger, the English Lad, who longed to sail the Spanish Main"; "Ezekiel Fuller, the Puritan Boy"; "Jonathan Dawson, the Yankee Boy"; and "Frank Wilson, the Boy of 1885," for the benefit of whose comrades this book is written. There is not a dull page in this book. In describing each character, the manners, customs, and fashions of the day in which he lived are vividly depicted. The child life or, rather, boy life, of each period and nation, is explained in a lively and realistic style. As an inducement to the studies of history and ethnology among young people, nothing better could be devised.

S. A. U.

FOILED. By a Lawyer. A Story of Chicago. Chicago: Clark & Longley. 1885.

This anonymous novel seems to contain in its title a *double entendre*; i. e., that the chief villain or villainess of the story was "foiled by a lawyer," and also that a lawyer wrote the story,—a fact that is quite patent throughout the work. The story, which is naturally told, is one dealing mainly with the technicalities of law; and the moral—if there is one—seems to be, "Hear all sides, then decide." The earnest tone of the writer, in conjunction with the particularity with which details are dwelt upon, impresses the reader with a sense that it is a transcript of actual occurrences, or at least an approach to the realistic school of romance writing. Although the tale is exceedingly well told, and the reader's attention held close to the dénouement, yet the case is so exceptional in occurrence that it is felt that only strong personal feeling could have prompted the writing of it; but whoever wrote it, from whatever purpose, is capable of even better work in the future.

THE *Art Amateur* for January is a very practical number, and is full of excellent suggestions to students and amateurs in almost every branch of plastic art. This is good: "The best draughtsmen among our painters are those who practise modelling as well as drawing. Sculpture must ever be the backbone in the graphic arts; and, where it is neglected, the work will be weaker in consequence." And from Inness this: "If I had a pupil in my studio, I would say to him, 'Sit down and paint.' Now and then, I would talk to him and criticise him, and suggest to him what to do; but he would have to work out his own salvation, if he had it in him. If he hadn't, he would simply not be saved." There are lively sketches of the drama and of art exhibitions, and new material for the discussion in regard to the Cesnola collection. Two very telling sketches are taken from Frank Beard's *Humor in Animals*, a title which sounds very attractive. The designs for ornament include some for church decorations, which will be popular at the festive season. Some instructions for "photographing the baby" may be useful in almost every household. We hope the series of biographical sketches of living artists, which have proved so interesting, dare not come to an end. We heartily

wish the *Art Amateur* a new year of continued success. It has the admirable characteristic of steady improvement.

THE almanac for 1886 of the American Turners, just published in German by the Freidenker Company, 470 East Water Street, Milwaukee, contains a number of spirited poems and several essays of great value,—for instance, the memorial tribute, headed "*Ein Gedenkblatt*," to the German patriots of 1848; a collection of popular witticisms on parsons, doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, mechanics, etc., much in the style of our comic valentines; and an account, by the editor of the *Freidenker*, of the service rendered by Karl Heinzen to the anti-slavery cause.

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

GREVY, who was re-elected, last Monday, President of the French Republic for seven years, is in his seventy-third year.

It is now stated that the sentiment in England against an independent Irish Parliament is strong, and that the Tories and Liberals have come nearer together, and will agree in rejecting the proposal of Parnell.

REV. M. K. SCHERMERHORN, the former Unitarian minister, who failed in his attempt to found a theistic church awhile ago, was on a recent Sunday ordained a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal ministry in St. Thomas Church, New York.

In an extremely interesting lecture before the Parker Memorial Science Class last Sunday, on "A Family of Norwegian Lapps and their Herd of Reindeer," Dr. Samuel Kneeland adduced strong evidence in support of the claim that the Lapplanders are of Asiatic origin.

ONE of the headings in the Boston *Herald* of last Monday morning was: "Occult Science. A Boston theosophist teaches the Art of Immortality, Mesmerism, Mind Cure, Science and Astrology. The Doctrine of Planetary Influence Revived." On the same page is a report of the Sunday evening service of Downs, the preacher, who is using the notoriety into which his conduct has brought him to attract the crowd to hear him. "Downs and Coffey services in the Boston Theatre last evening. Three thousand persons for an audience. The pastor sermonizes, and so does the lawyer." Evidently, religion is "booming" in Boston, but Science has been compelled to remove to New York.

Six separate Sunday-schools for the Christianization of the Chinese have been established in New York City; and the leaders of these schools, until recently, supposed their work quite successful. But investigation shows that all, or nearly all,

the supposed converts joined in the late glorification of Joss in the new temple provided for him. The attendants at the Sunday-school seem to have had no other object than getting an education in the English language. "The consul declares, positively, that there is not a single sincere Christian among them, and they do not dream of turning from Joss as their great divinity. A few may mix a little of Christian doctrine with their native religion, but they invariably give supremacy to Joss."

REFERRING to the Brockton strike, the Haverhill *Laborer* remarks that "by far the most important moral of the contest is that which may be drawn from the triumph of arbitration. If a difficulty of the magnitude of that just ended may be successfully settled,—a difficulty where millions of dollars were involved,—it would seem almost final to say that the minor troubles arising between employes and employers elsewhere may not be easily adjusted. We say now, as we have said before, that, if a rational and reasonable spirit of toleration exists between hirer and hired, ninety-nine troubles out of every hundred springing up in the working world may be settled without a strike. We therefore hail the Brockton *finale* as of inestimable benefit in advancing this fundamental principle of the Knights of Labor."

THE New England Cremation Society, incorporated for the purpose of providing the necessary appliances and facilities for the cremation of the bodies of the dead, has a capital stock of \$25,000, distributed into twenty-five hundred shares. The names of subscribers will be received at 61 Court Street, Boston (Room 6). Ten per cent. of the value of each share is to be paid at the time of subscribing; and the balance, when called for, by the council of the society, after the whole of the capital stock has been subscribed. The members of the council are John Storer Cobb, president; Nathan Appleton, Emily J. F. Newhall, Rev. Frederick Frothingham, vice-presidents; John Ritche, treasurer; Sidney P. Brown, recording and financial secretary; Lois R. Frothingham, corresponding secretary; Carl Zerrahn, Frederick S. Cabot, Mary J. Safford, M.D., and Lyman S. Hapgood. The post-office address of the society is Post-office Box 1207, Boston, Mass.

A COURSE of six lectures on the "Development of Poetry" will be given by Virginia Vaughn at 5 Park Street, on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, beginning on Tuesday of next week (January 5). In these lectures, the great poets and principal poetic epochs will be discussed in accordance with a philosophical principle which, it is hoped, will cast light upon the whole subject of literature and art, and rectify the present uncertain, contradictory, and false standards of criticism. Virginia Vaughn, the lecturer, although an American, has been for some years a resident in England, where she has made a special study of the subject of these lectures; and, if we may judge from a preliminary discourse recently given by her at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union

Rooms, they will be of great interest from their large inclusiveness and catholicity of spirit. Tickets for the course, \$3.00; single lecture, 75 cents each.

A WITNESS for the government in the trial of Robert Hertel, charged with fraud and conspiracy in Chicago, when about to be sworn, said that he believed neither in God nor the immortality of the soul, doctrines he could not honestly affirm or deny. Counsel for the defendant immediately interposed an objection to the admission of the witness' testimony. The latter cited the clause of the Constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1870: "And no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege, or capacity on account of his religious opinions." The judge thought "the Constitution of 1870 stepped in to aid this class of persons," meaning agnostics, and directed the witness to be sworn. The defence noted an exception. The question will go up to the Supreme Court, the court remarking that, if the position taken by counsel was correct, a very large number of persons must be prevented from testifying. "Perhaps," remarks the *Boston Transcript*, "the judge queried in his own mind whether there was much difference between the opinion secretly held by the defendant's counsel and that conscientiously avowed by the agnostic witness. These old inhibitions have lingered too long into the light of the nineteenth century."

At a labor convention composed of delegates from the various labor leagues of the State, recently held in San Francisco, Cal., a resolution was adopted giving the Chinese residents of California sixty days in which to leave. The Knights of Labor, at whose call the convention assembled, being unable to control the proceedings, withdrew in a body. The *Golden Gate* comments thus on the folly enacted: "Now, having given the Chinaman sixty days in which to dispose of his traps and take himself out of the country, suppose the aforesaid heathen should refuse to obey the mandate of the labor convention, then what might be expected to happen? Surely, it will take something more than a resolution to dispose of a hundred thousand Chinamen. There are not ships enough in our port, nor is there likely to be for the next year, to carry all of them back to China. It will hardly do to kill them; and, then, they might prove obstinate, and insist that they had a right to live, which would make it unpleasant for those who thought otherwise. And then, again, Uncle Sam might have a few words to say about it. He invited these Chinese here in the first place, under stipulations for their protection; and he is bound to see that they are not unduly abused. He is willing that we should call them hard names, and get the best of them (if we can), in all sorts of business ways; but, when Coroner O'Donnell and his cohorts shall move down upon them *vi et armis*, he will be quite likely to object. And that would place the wild Sand-lotter in an uncomfortable predicament. Let us hope that the honest and intelligent laborers of this country will be guided by wiser councils than those which prevailed at their recent convention."

RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM.

The attempt in New York, within the lines of the staid and eminently decorous Episcopal Church, to introduce a religious revival, has led to the question whether there is soon to be in this country a wide-spread and intense religious excitement, akin to the times of ferment in the churches which elderly people remember in the generations that are past. One thing, however, is noticeable about this Episcopal effort in New York. It lacks the popular excitement which accompanies a revival season led by denominations like the Methodist or the Baptist. The meetings are undoubtedly large, churches are said to be crowded; but the work appears to be done mainly by clergymen. We do not hear of congregations getting excited, and of the "slaying power" prostrating the sinners in convulsive trances. It would be hard to conceive, indeed, of Episcopalians, though they may repeat with æsthetic intonation every Sunday the liturgical confession, "Have mercy upon us miserable sinners," expressing a sense of their undone and desperate condition by rolling upon their church floors.

It is also noteworthy that the discourses—at least, those which have been reported as given in Trinity Church and intended for the business men of Wall Street and vicinity—have been comparatively free from theological dogma. Doubtless, appeals of a different sort were made in other localities to less enlightened audiences; but, to the thousands of business men that have crowded Trinity Church at noon, the sermons, especially those by Rev. Mr. Aitken, of England, have been mainly of a practical character. They have dealt well-aimed blows at vices which infest the business and fashionable circles of all great cities. Excepting an incidental phrase here and there, and possibly an underlying assumption, not brought into prominence, that the Church alone holds the remedy, a liberal thinker would not find much to object to in these sermons. Such preaching is, certainly, greatly needed, and may do great good. But it is doubtful whether it has the elements of what has popularly been regarded as a religious revival. The Episcopalians call their work, not a revival, but a "church mission," following in this the example of the Catholics; and, like the Catholics, they are able, through their ecclesiastical machinery and usages, to keep the emotional excitement of their congregations in check.

The time, indeed, is probably almost past when a religious revival of the old-fashioned sort can seize upon the feelings of any very large and overwhelming number of the American people. It is nearly thirty years since such a religious excitement swept through the United States. The last revival of historical note was just subsequent to the great financial collapse and panic of 1857. So generally was it participated in by the churches of all denominations that even liberal Unitarian societies were, in not a few cases, so far moved from the sober and even tenor of their ways as to hold special conference and prayer meetings on weekday evenings. It was not difficult, nor was it unphilosophical, to trace a logical connection between the wide-spread religious excitement of that time and the general business disaster and peculiar severity of its consequences. A religious revival, more or less marked, has quite commonly followed or attended such a period of financial catastrophe.

The collapse of material interests, the apparent failure of this world's hopes and the vanishing of its goods, has quite naturally set people to thinking, according to their theological training, about their future spiritual welfare; and—a point of no small importance—it has also given time for such think-

ing. The majority of the American population seventy-five and a hundred years ago had but two resources for occupation; namely, to get a living (and to lay up as much of this world's wealth beyond that point as Heaven might grant) and to save their souls. Ordinarily, the former was much the more pressing occupation; but when, for any cause, this pressure was abated or made of no avail, then they directed their released faculties with the same zeal to getting religion and laying up treasure in heaven.

So much of the nature of law had this conjunction become between a dull or collapsed business and an awakened interest in religion that it was predicted by many persons that the extensive financial disaster of 1873 would be followed by another general religious revival. But, for some reason, this prediction was not fulfilled,—at least, not at all to the extent expected. There were local excitements, where there were leaders to promote them, but no general spontaneous outburst of popular emotion. The crowded Moody and Sankey meetings came in certain cities; but they were designed, arranged, and promoted by very well-calculated machinery. There was no spontaneity about them. They served, in fact, to draw off and discharge through the mechanical apparatus of Mr. Moody's contrivance whatever emotional electricity might have been lurking in separate churches and communities, ready to break forth in a local revival. People went from their own churches and towns to the Moody and Sankey meetings instead of "reviving" at home.

And hence, for this and other reasons, since the great revival of '57 and '58, there has been no such general and spontaneous religious commotion as then agitated the country, but only local, spasmodic, and somewhat mechanical ebullitions of religious excitement. These local revivalistic exhibitions come with more or less regularity in certain denominations every year. Given an emotional, impulsive speaker, an excitable temperament in the hearers, lagging social interests, a rather dull season in business, a theological belief that requires one to know just the moment when his religion began and the feelings that attended the process, and given withal a narrow and unenlightened mental concentration on the one problem of soul-saving, and you have the conditions for starting an ordinary religious revival. For an extraordinary one, something more is needed,—something to arouse that contagious magnetism of a common sympathy which spreads from person to person, from neighborhood to neighborhood, from town to town, until a whole people (so far as their theological education will admit) seem to be melted together with one emotion and one purpose. Sometimes, the cause of the sympathy is obvious. Again, it is more hidden and difficult to explain. The revivalists themselves attempt no other explanation than by calling it the miraculous outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Such a revival was that which was produced under the preaching of Whitefield in the last century. And that which followed the financial catastrophe of '57 had similar characteristics, in respect to the extent it absorbed popular sympathy.

But such an exhibition of wide-spread common sympathy is not necessarily confined to the phenomena of religious revivals, nor is any miracle required to explain it. People who are old enough to remember that sudden and wonderful "uprising" of the North, when the secession-rebellion fired on Fort Sumter, know how the heart of a community may be changed from a condition of apathy and quiet to a most intense and active enthusiasm. In a day, a wave of patriotic emotion swept through the country, which, through

the unselfish purposes it begot and the noble spirit of devotion it summoned into existence, might not unworthily be called a revival of genuine religion. It was a veritable Pentecost in this rational nineteenth century, and in the unromantic American Republic. Of a different type of emotion, but similar in its contagious spread through great multitudes of population, was the common national sympathy which was evoked by the murder and long prostration of President Garfield, and, in this present year, by the sickness and death of Gen. Grant. In such historic events, it is easy to trace the cause of a powerful national emotion which may have profound and lasting effects.

The most efficient cause, doubtless, why a religious revival of the old-fashioned sort is not easily aroused to-day is the growing doubt and disbelief in respect to the old system of evangelical theology. The fear of hell is vanishing. Sheol is not nearly so good a word for the revival preacher to conjure with. The doctrines of the fall of man and the atonement on Calvary have had much of the old force taken out of them. Common-sense men and women, of all sects, are coming to see that this world is one of life-long struggle and education, and not a scene for sudden conversions in the trance of a prayer-meeting. Yet there is nothing irrational in the belief that there may yet come some fresh awakening of religious thought, suffused with emotion, which will be so presented to mankind as to call forth a new and common devotion, on the part of great multitudes of people, to the higher interests of human life. The humanitarian side of religion furnishes a field for the most heroic enthusiasms and activities, and in unselfish devotion to truth and human welfare there is that nobility of action which always attracts what is noblest in the human heart.

WM. J. POTTER.

FIRST PRINCIPLES IN BELIEF.

I.

Since man has been man, he has questioned himself and his surroundings. The half-clad wanderer in buried forests had a catechism for the spheres as holy and earnest as any philosophy that originates with modern culture. What is that gracious fount back of endeavor which makes man one with trees and rivers and the grave planets that spin overhead? What is that influence manifest in conscience, in muscle, in heart, in hope,—that sign, as it must be, of some satisfying justice pervading the universe? There has been no age exempt from such appeals. Existence leads inevitably to them. Except where life could have been all brutal or without sight and hearing, we know the travelling spirit to have thus spoken with eternal persistence. Behind every act is the actor. Beneath every pretence is the pretender. The poems that exalt, the orations that impassion, the homilies that give importance to humble effort, would be unintelligible if human life was not their inspiration. Whatsoever men do can be traced deeper than the simple doing. For ill or good, the steps of career cast their shadows. Nothing can escape the analysis. We cannot pause when we have witnessed expression. Whence the waters? To what do we owe the sweet songs of poets? Where arose the impulse that led the soldier to the parapet? In newest childhood, intelligence begins to see that life is more than lip and eye. Hence, the never-satisfied questions. Hence, savagery's resort to murder, and civilization's refinements.

Though all men vaguely understand that something contains us that we cannot comprehend, few men are free to unexpected invitations. If we

endeavor to give riper than common explanation to human existence, we are met by objections whose reason we might disdain, but whose restraints we must respect. Fatherhood confronts us with tradition, and reads us a lesson from revered books. Motherhood appeals against our intellectuality. Life, we are told, is sacred only in one aspect. Therefore, it means much to my neighbor and nothing to me. The springs of action flow for the favored, and leave the strangers to their thirst. Nature is not in the service of all, but acknowledges only a partial duty. Being, in short, has a credal enthronement. Act expresses everything as expository of ritual, and impeaches simple justice that insists upon the sufficiency of its own credentials. Honor misnamed is no longer honor at all. Thus, Buddha, despite the interpretations of generous thought, was less the medium of righteousness than the humblest Christian who walks our streets. Homer, brought to the same court, was inevitably parted from truth, while Milton was necessarily its partner; and, over stream and mountain, words of seership and moral power have in the past borne but one name and been fed by but one motive. Jesus, introduced to this train of reason, was isolated in history. As a great orthodox oracle has informed us, Nazareth gives us the only instruction that goes back of life to its inspiration. Christians, touched to divine power by a certain charm, are alone in their gift of conscience and knowledge of unseen substance. From much noble thought and treasured sentiment, the conclusion of the Caucasian race, so far as we may mass it, has been that the universe is narrow, and that the great inspirer stopped far short of broadest measure in his labor of love. At the outset, no one can avoid these assumptions of instituted thought. We meet them even in our own latent prejudices; and, when we shudder in the dark, we bear witness to their active presence.

I wish, with such touches as seem needful to me, to describe my grounds for not sympathizing with the current view of man's position among men. I feel that whatever reason lies fathomless behind the show of phenomena is *single* and rational. I know nothing that suggests the divisibility of material and spiritual things. No power amenable to probability exists that could parcel out Nature and produce life of merest inanity. The law that breathes in the perfume of the rose trembles in the songs of Burns, and dwells where science holds converse with the mysteries. Had we nerves to scale the hills or vault over Mars, the gift would come of a complot of the elements, never of an insanity or partiality of natural energy. The miracles of our Bibles, the phantasms of ascetics, the fables of the mythological eras, the ghosts of imagination, the visions of starved women, the wonders of Lourdes, hold no secrets, when light peers deep with its thousand eyes. True, men who dwell in perpetual thought of a violation of reason, as the single assurance that sanity rules the spheres, can accept all incoherences as proper food. But, against the blunted theory that so shocks our reverence for the universe, another, that ascribes both the moral and material life to the spirit of order, gains credence, and lures even the unwilling. While science has opened one book, men have closed another. The universe is seen to grow vastly, when viewed as all-embracing. We need no longer have a German or a French or a Chinese hypothesis of love. We feel these to be inefficient, and lose our differences in the infinite seas. As society is greater than the individual, so is the cosmos vaster than one of its forces; and, as the individual stands in stronger light when much is known of his fellows, so do the parts that form the worlds more truly reflect the grandeur of

their law when viewed in the broadest sweep. Because I see this evident unity, I find the ancient belief repugnant to truth. We handle the remains of departed faiths much as souls who are at a loss over discovered antiquities. Wise men in such predicaments distinguish between the active and cabinet values of their possessions. The past had its meaning: the absurd claims of Bourbons cannot hide that; and, in the fulness of its fine confidence, the present, borne on a tide that has known no interruption, insists upon its right of succession.

Men, to-day, are troubled by what they conceive to be the threatenings of religious license. They show much concern lest the new order should build without foundation. But they are not so anxious to prove the basis of their own claims. From antagonists they demand reason. When retorted upon, they presume "custom" and "establishment" to answer for the faith they defend. Bred in grooves, they see no possible paths that have not had their personal espousal. Had they never discovered America, America never would have been. Had India not risen above the obstructions of fanaticism, the land of the Buddha would to this day have remained a waste. This, of course, is passion and sect-hate. I do men the credit of supposing such fallacy to be a veritable planting of the worst foot forward. To the thinkers, whom nature accosts in a known language, there is no existing thing that can be detached from its partnership. Nor is this all. Let us reflect that the same springs that explain Jesus explain Confucius. The muscles and emotions that make up the highest are not unrelated to the lowest. Can men confer other conditions than prevail in nature? Is gravity a factor inactive upon Japanese hills? If virtue can only come through one source, what name will you give to the same effects produced elsewhere? It is a reproach to *derived* honor that *chance* honor partakes of identical qualities. While the conception of individuality robs an old system of thought of borrowed plumage, it bestows upon humanity, as a whole, credit which it has heretofore missed. The fear to surrender these obviously infirm sentiments is less owing to the idea of loss than to the idea of loss without recompense. Men are loath to resign their hitching-posts. What may not become of the steeds that are trusted to the wilderness?

We may read the story of physical and mental development to some profit. The earth conveys but a single note. We know the uniformity of experience. Certain conditions father certain results. It is not the code that makes the man, but the personality that produces the code. Law is unalterable, whether operating upon the trees of the forest or the hearts that beat in human fellowship. Science has shown how certain people in remote regions have pursued identical courses of development when separated from any possible intercourse. More than this, science dares to say that this rule must always obtain under like conditions. It is left to the philosophers of disjointure to dissent. In certain practical lines, the wiser notion is taking effect. For example, when men consult over politics, and notice unsuspected fruition, they turn back, and say wisely that this thing was natural or might have been foreseen. When they mention Theodore Parker, they feel that they discover the promise of the giant American in Bruno or Spinoza or Luther. It is, we can grant, impossible to surprise them in certain commonly trod roads. Cause and effect have at last made the tongue captive, and taken their slow course to heart and brain. Yet the impression remains vague. While partly penetrated, we find that the finer operations of the inclusive truth

evade many who suppose they do it highest reverence. Aside from broken paths, in the entanglements of the abstruser thought, prejudice still has its part, and puts up its barrier.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

M. RENAN ON DEMOCRACY.

For a writer who knows nothing of this country from his own observation, and who is in general so amiable and liberal, M. Renan has allowed himself to dogmatize about us in a very harsh manner. Among other things, he has said that the United States have created a considerable popular instruction, and will long have to expiate this fault by their intellectual mediocrity, their vulgarity of manners, their superficial spirit, and their lack of general intelligence. It is somewhat queer that a system of popular instruction should have resulted in a marked lack of general intelligence. But M. Renan presents in himself the curious contrast of a philosophic liberal and a political and social aristocrat united in one and the same person. Shakspeare's Caliban is for him popular sovereignty or democracy incarnated. In his autobiography, or *souvenirs* of his infancy and youth, he says that European society, in tending toward freedom and equality, is at the same time tending toward mediocrity and vulgarity, or, in other words, to what he calls "an American condition of society." "The era of mediocrity in everything is beginning," he says. "Equality begets uniformity; and it is by the sacrifice of the excellent, the remarkable, the extraordinary, that we relieve ourselves of the bad. There is less of coarseness everywhere, but more of vulgarity." Some of our Europeanized Americans also find our republican society mediocre, flat, insipid, and unprofitable, because of the absence here of tall or grand social figures, such as kings, emperors, and arrogant statesmen, we suppose, who concentrate or represent in their own august persons the power and grandeur of entire nations. Europeanized or de-Americanized Americans complain that everybody is middle-sized here, and that even our greatest personages are too much inclined in speech and action to the bourgeois, or grocer, type, affording no satisfaction to that sense of tallness which is so agreeable in Europe. Curiously enough, the august social demi-gods of Europe are apt to be very ordinary, and even homely,—indeed, anything but august in their personal appearance, not at all up to the ideals of what Olympians should be. If we turn from their exterior persons to their minds, they are apt to be as destitute of genius and ability as they are of corporeal beauty and majesty. The occupants of the British throne have been for a century and a half, or rather for two centuries, intellectually considered, the merest mediocrities and figure-heads of state. Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany is a stalwart old drill-sergeant, the merest *meus rex* to Bismarck's *ego*. The late King of Spain was a well-meaning young man, but of no more than ordinary capacity. The King of Italy is a liberal-minded sovereign. He is very well, intellectually, for a king.

Such are the tall or grand figures of European society. Looked at *per se*, they are found to owe their tallness to their positions rather than to any greatness of their own. As long as the nations of Europe will consent that their soils shall be appropriated by the few, and as long as they shall allow their collective power and grandeur to be embodied in a few hereditary personal rulers and domineering statesmen, there will be a glamour about such persons, essentially mediocre though they may be in and of themselves, which will awe the millions of small people who play the part of

born subjects and drudges. Of course, caste imparts to society picturesqueness, and irresponsible authority gives to those who wield it an air of god-like superiority to the men and things beneath them. Privileged classes do not even make a pretence of cultivating the good opinion of their social inferiors. The kindness, good nature, mutual forbearance, and patience under annoyances, characteristic of Americans, have been cited as weak traits of national character. But, in a community where even the humblest citizen has a voice or a vote in moulding public affairs, everybody naturally treats everybody else with some degree of consideration at least, recognizing the fact that the man is the gold, and his social position or rank only the guinea stamp. In its collective capacity, this nation has again and again shown an overwhelming might of character, determination, and indignant energy, before which no obstacle could stand.

Meantime, to return to M. Renan, it is somewhat remarkable that a writer who is a thorough-going liberal in all matters of thought and opinion should contemplate with such disfavor and hostility the tendency of European society toward freedom and equality, as if such a state of society must inevitably be mentally dull and mediocre. Because the people of this country have been thus far, from the very necessities of the case, immersed for the most part in the preliminary business of reclaiming a wild continent and organizing States over its entire length and breadth, and developing its resources internal and external, and thus have been devoted to objective matters rather than to thought, M. Renan jumps to the conclusion that popular freedom and social equality necessarily mean mental ordinariness. It is true that our material grandeur has surpassed our purely intellectual achievements in literature, art, and science; but our achievements in these latter directions have been sufficient to prove that we, too, are

"Of the same stuff, and so allayed,
As that whereof the sun is made,
And of that fibre, quick and strong,
Whose throbs are love, whose thrills are song."

A time will surely come when material interests in this country will cease to be as exacting and all-absorbing as they are now, when the American mind will be at liberty to demonstrate that it is a complex of the minds of the leading races of the world, and therefore a spiritual force, capable of the highest intellectual feats. It is very true that the aristocracy of intellect is the least numerous of aristocracies (and always has been, under all social and political systems). *Per contra*, the aristocracy of wealth is getting to be a rabble in numbers in this country. But there surely must come a time when even the multitude will be lifted to the plane of what are now called the better classes in intelligence, when ignorance and unintelligence will be no longer the rule, even with the masses, but the exception. The civilization of to-day, with its mighty engineers, is democratic to the core. It means well-being of both mind and body for all. M. Renan has been delving all his life in the obscure archives of extinct civilizations, which became extinct because they were exclusive, and left the great masses of mankind in a state of barbarism. The democratic civilization of to-day includes all in its scope, and has the elevation of all at heart. Renan has been so much taken up with the study of the hierarchic, pseudo-democratic, and imperial civilizations of Southern Europe and Western Asia in the far past that he fails to appreciate living communities, whose institutions are thoroughly modern and popular. Instead of recognizing in popular liberty and popular enlightenment the

most advanced steps of civilization and the most hopeful as well as latest aspect of the Time-spirit, he sees in them only portents of mental and moral decline and of a reign of universal intellectual mediocrity and dulness.

As if the universal prevalence of the light of knowledge illumining the minds of all as the minds of only the few have been illumined in the past was a presage of general stupidity and vulgarity! We can already see in this country that the average of popular intelligence has risen so high that men of exceptional ability do not stand out so prominently as they used to do. There is a general intellectual activity and alertness which render leadership, political and other, no longer the necessity it once was. The data for forming correct opinions on all current topics and subjects are now scattered broadcast to the winds, as it were. Let the diffusion of knowledge go on for a century as it has gone on for a few years back, and the *general mind* will throw all individual minds into permanent eclipse, and all men will then, indeed, be wiser than the most highly gifted few have ever been. So that, sooner or later, the fervid visions and dreams of the possibilities of an enlightened, enfranchised humanity, which were indulged by a Shelley and Mazzini, will be realized. Aristocracies do not like ideas. Hence, under all aristocratic systems, ideas and idealists have been subject to repression, as of a revolutionary, explosive tendency. Had it not been for the great French democratic groundswell of 1793, such a revolutionary writer and thinker as Renan himself, with his anti-supernaturalism and heterodoxies of all sorts,—such as the reduction of the so-called Saviour to the mere human dimensions of a communistic dreamer, enthusiast, and reformer,—would have been an impossibility. If he had appeared a century or two earlier with his *Vie de Jésus*, he would have trod the fiery pathway of martyrdom which an omnipotent and infallible Church kindled for the final passage out of life of all idealists in advance of their day and generation. He would not then have been at liberty to admire and eulogize priests and priesthoods in the most fulsome manner, and at the same time utterly to reject their creeds and dogmas.

It is only in these latter days of political liberty, tolerance, and mental enfranchisement that the human mind has shone forth full-orbed, and dared to pursue the clew of reason to its utmost results and consequences, irrespective of orthodoxies and principalities and powers, whether civil or ecclesiastical. It is a species of ingratitude in M. Renan to have enjoyed the perfect freedom of investigation and publicity on what are still regarded as "sacred" subjects, which a period of liberty and equality has vouchsafed to him, and then to turn upon a democratic civilization, and say that, when it shall have been fully established in the leading nations, it will mean mediocrity and vulgarity. Never was there uttered a more palpable and gross *non sequitur*. The age of popular enlightenment and popular freedom and instruction is precisely the age of the greatest advance in science and knowledge. Freedom is the one indispensable condition of the full development of mind,—such a freedom as the civilized world has only just begun to enjoy. Instead of meaning mental mediocrity, it means the human intellect in the fullest enjoyment of all its powers; it means genius at liberty to go to any lengths in the pursuit of truth.

But, after all, M. Renan, with all his merits, is largely an intellectual trifter, dilettante, and epicure. He has no earnest love of or desire for truth. His proper vocation was to have been a priest. He confesses that morality and ethics

are, in his estimation, synonymous with old-fashioned Christian Orthodoxy. His best ideas and theories he found formulated for him by the robust intellects of a more robust race than that to which he belongs. He finds nothing really serious, in life or the world, which is still, according to him, a delightful place for dreamers, theorists, and mental epicures, whose passions and appetites are so well under control as not to bring them to grief. He is ridiculously self-deluded when he asserts that, as a physicist, he could have anticipated the discoveries of Darwin: whereas, his mind was diverted from its original mathematic and inductive bent to philological and historical studies.

Now instead of the era of liberty and equality being the era of mediocrity in everything, such an era, when it shall have become fully established over the civilized world, will mean an era of excellence in everything; will mean an era when the average man will be capable of forming sounder opinions, and of thinking more correctly than the profoundest philosopher was capable of doing in the days of caste and popular ignorance; it will mean an era when the average man will live in better style than ever did or could the king and noble of the vanished days of despotism and social inequality; it will mean an era which will be constantly signalized by ever new and more wonderful revelations of truth; it will mean, in fine, an ultimate and glorious civilization, which will embrace all humanity and the entire earth in its mighty clasp, and will exhibit all men and women so renewed and regenerated, both physically and mentally, both corporeally and spiritually, in the light of reason as to surpass in beauty and majesty of person and acuteness and grasp of intellect the noblest and most renowned specimens of the human race in the days of the partial and exclusive civilizations of the age preceding it.

B. W. BALL.

GEORGE SAND AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

George Sand might have said, "I am a woman; but by my love, which once had the strength of a man's, I feel as a man." "Genius has no sex," is true, if understood metaphysically. By her strangely sympathetic nature, she had entered into the very brain-centres of those who had loved her. We have not yet come to the time when we are so strong in female literature that we may not rate the works of a woman of genius higher from the fact of her having been a woman. The marvelous in many of her writings certainly consists partly in the fact that she was a woman, and consists more than a little in the fact that she felt as a man.

There is a religion of the affections adopted by a few people, based on some natural beliefs held by the ancients, well suited to those of strong feelings, either intellectual or physical, which, in its slow developments, has a tendency to make a man acquainted with himself and his necessities; and, the most necessary of it all, to make him content.

This religion or philosophy is not an outgrowth of the many ideas that have been lately current in Boston, although it has a "Divine Law of Cure," for which human souls stand in greatest need.

This belief was almost, if not quite, attained to by George Sand. She believed, undoubtedly, that the crucifixion of Christ was such an atrocity that, for centuries, the nations had to explain and condone this fact to themselves by the explanation that "he died of his own accord, that we might be forgiven." Our conception of God being no longer such that an unforgiving nature (to carry out the idea of a personal deity) would explain the neces-

sity of a human mediator, the act of the crucifixion stands out boldly as an example of the cruel insanity of men in the presence of a great and, to them, unintelligible spirit; and our only satisfaction in looking at the symbol of Christ upon the Cross will be the words he uttered,—“Father, forgive them: they know not what they do.” So that in moments of weakness following any misunderstanding of others of our better natures, and consequent acts which vex us, we can repeat those words, meaning by “Father” the God which is as much within us as without. In what relation does night stand to day? To prove a submission of our senses to temporary, unconscious self-annihilation. Every one who sleeps undergoes at night, without the thought of it, a process similar to that of Christ, when he bowed in submission to St. John to receive a symbol of purification upon his head. His submission was unconscious, as all his god-like acts were; and, when we sleep,—whether knowingly or otherwise,—we renounce the splendors and hopes of “garish” day. George Sand’s early life may be compared to a drowsy person who cannot find repose. She, a woman, trying to lead the independent life of a man, was certainly not happy. It was not in consequence of her independence, however: it was because she did not know how to be consistent. It was not in her blood. For that, her ancestors, as much as she, were answerable. Therefore, she can never be cited as an example, personally, altogether; while many of her pages offer ideals worthy to be cherished by the rarest souls.

If the *Divina Commedia* had been written last year instead of in the year 1300, we would not admire it as we do. It was the times that made it ideally true, showing us a history of the soul-felt aspirations of a groaning people. If a mountain had recently reared its crest, we could not revere it until the hemlocks had come to cover it with sublime grandeur, and soften its lights and shadows; the sunshine making horizontal lines leading from the earthly to the infinite. If Dante had written many novels for self-sustainment, appealing to the lower natures of his contemporaries, they would have been long before this swallowed up in the gulf of time. The inferior writings of George Sand will doubtless meet with this fate before many years, as the demand for unworthy literature is not increasing. In her writings are to be found bright suggestions of a trinity of the future,—religion, science, and philosophy. Among a large bouquet of roses of various colors and names, kept for many days in the open air with frequent showers washing them as with dew, were once two frail and lovely white ones. One by one the petals of the others fell, while the white roses remained, to look a symbol of that spiritual beauty which can be tainted by no earthly dross. So may it be in our future with the fame of one of the greatest of French women.

C. A. OLCOTT.

INCIDENTS OF THE RELIGIOUS TRANSITION.

The papers state that the English writer, Mr. A. P. Sinnett, author of *Esoteric Buddhism*, is soon to visit this city, “when we may have for a while,” writes the Boston correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*, “a little Buddhist revival in social Boston.” “He and his wife, who accompanies him, are to be lionized by the theosophists here, who, though the movement is yet young, are already represented to be an ‘intellectual force.’ Indeed, occultism is apparently the newest Bostonism; and, Boston-like, those who are delving into it are delving with fervor. There are several

occult societies here, and they embrace some leading people.”

One has but to announce a new system or claim to have discovered an esoteric meaning in some old one, or to make claim to extraordinary powers of looking into the future, or of getting into exceptionally intimate relation with the Infinite, in order to become an object of special interest to a certain class in “social Boston.” It is necessary, however, that the system taught or the claim made shall admit of neither elucidation nor proof, that it shall rest alone upon the authority of its expounder (?), science, philosophy, and intellectual effort being thus dispensed with, and the arcana of Nature being mastered by a “short and easy method.” The mind, kindly relieved by this method of the drudgery of collecting facts and of the strain of reflective thought, is free to expend its energies in other directions. Marvelous usurps control, and finds satisfaction in whatever is incapable of proof and incredible to reason. Almost any obscure expression, if it have reference to the Infinite, and is flavored with a little weak sentiment, may be accepted as a proposition expressing the very essence of true philosophy, different from other philosophy, it is believed, if, indeed, there is the faintest conception of any philosophy at all, because of its “esoteric” character.

This is a period of transition; and those outgrowing one form of superstition or mysticism are naturally attracted to others of essentially the same nature, presented to them under other names. There are multitudes, having renounced the orthodox theology wholly or in part, who are now as naturally attracted to “Occultism,” “Esoteric Buddhism,” “Theosophism,” “Mind Curism,” or any other ism that promises or suggests a short-cut solution of the great problems of being, as young ducks taken from their mother and their native pond are attracted to any other body of water that is within sight. The religious emotions which, through countless generations, have been fed and stimulated by religious faith, if deprived, through change of belief, of the forms to which they have been accustomed, are sure to find expression through other forms; and the less reflective and enlightened the individual, and the less his change has been a growth, the more his need of a form of faith, by whatever name it is called, essentially like that he has cast aside. Fortunate it may be regarded, if these transitions, when due less to the process that produces its results from within than to the direct agency of external forces, are accompanied by no irregular and abnormal manifestation of religious feeling, and lead not to the adoption, under alluring names, of ideas and methods which imply reaction rather than progress.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

A YOUNG lady, as pretty as she is conscientious, trying to inculcate the lesson of charity to all upon the mind of a Chinaman in a Brooklyn school, said: “God loves every one. We should love every one.” The Chinaman looked meekly up into her face, and quietly asked, “Does God love me?” “Yes,” the young lady replied. “Do you love every one?” was the next pointed inquiry. “Yes,” she answered. “Do you love me?” “Y-y-yes.” “Will you marry me?” The teacher, it is said, made no reply, but has since exchanged her pupil for a Chinaman of a less logical turn of mind.

FREDERICK THE GREAT was fond of controversy; but it is said that he sometimes lost his temper, and was known to collar and kick his opponent,—an argument that was more vigorous than logical or convincing. One day, being in a disputatious mood, he asked one of his suite why he declined to give his opinion on some subject, to which reply was made as follows: “It is impossible, your Majesty, to express an opinion before a sovereign who has such strong convictions and who wears such very thick boots.”

E. D. C. WRITES: “I want to call the attention of readers of *The Index* to a new book for children, *Ten Boys who lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now*, by Jane Andrews, published by Lee & Shepard. This book gives a very interesting story of the development of races and religions from the Aryan to the American nations, in a simple, pleasant style. Every child can understand it, and will get from it a truthful idea of past history as a basis for future reading. I regret to say that Miss Andrews is now a great sufferer from pecuniary need and from illness, and her friends earnestly hope that the rapid sale of the book will give her substantial help.”

If the following were from one of Mr. Bradlaugh’s or Holyoake’s speeches, it would generally be regarded, doubtless, as decidedly anti-religious and secularistic; but it is from one of the sermons of Rev. M. J. Savage, who probably regards it as sound Unitarianism: “Business has done more to make the world truthful than all the instituted religions of the past put together. It is feared that religion has not been very potent in this direction. The one thing that was needed to give mankind a sense of brotherhood was that races should know each other; and the one thing that has helped on this mutual acquaintance more than all else is commerce. . . . The world’s business, then, has done more for philanthropy, for justice, for deliverance from oppression, than all other agencies combined. . . . Through a large part of human history, the intensely religious ages have not been distinguished for social purity, for truth-telling, for honesty, for kindness, or for justice. And, lamentable though it be, in no great commercial city of Europe or America is a business man trusted any sooner to-day because he is a church member or is prominent in any religious movement; and this has come about because religion has so generally been other-worldly, or has been put off into dreamland, among the antiquities or the emotions, and has not been regarded as dealing with the real vital laws of God in the world about us and in practical human life.”

THE students of Harvard are again making efforts to obtain the consent of the overseers to allow attendance upon the morning chapel exercises to be voluntary instead of making it compulsory. The committee at large of the undergraduates, in an address to the governing bodies of the University, say that “compulsory attendance upon prayers should be abolished for the following, among other reasons”:—

1. That voluntary attendance upon prayers would necessarily betoken genuine interest in the religious exercises.
2. That the sense of compulsion accompanying the present attendance upon prayers is not conducive to the development of sincere religious feeling, but, on the contrary, produces indifference, if not hostility, to the observance.
3. That the already recognized propriety and justice of not enforcing attendance upon prayers in the case of some whose religious faith is not in harmony with the particular observance tend to show the impropriety and injustice of making such attendance compulsory at all.
4. That the abolition of compulsory attendance

upon Sunday services at church, and the remission of compulsory attendance upon prayers twice a week, already conceded, leave no logical ground for the retention of further compulsion in religious matters.

5. That such compulsion of undergraduates is inconsistent with the entire freedom conceded to students in the Scientific School, and in all other departments of Harvard University.

6. That a large majority of the undergraduates of Harvard College earnestly desire the abolition of compulsory attendance upon prayers.

DENNIS MURPHY, a merchant of Jeffersonville, Ind., died, December 15, at the age of forty-five, from the effects of a wound, thought at the time to be mortal, received at the battle of Balls Bluff. We knew intimately Mr. Murphy, a fellow soldier and comrade early in the War of the Rebellion; was near him when, on the memorable morning of Oct. 21, 1861, he received the wound which, more than twenty-four years later, caused his death; shared with him the discomforts and deprivations of prison and prison hospital life in Richmond; and corresponded and had many delightful conversations with him in recent years. He was a man of sterling worth. His intelligence, his integrity, his moral courage, commanded the respect of all who knew him; while his generous nature, his unassuming manners, his patriotic spirit, made him many friends. Born in Ireland, he was an enthusiastic admirer of America, its government and its people. He was strong in his attachments, and he greeted his friends with the ardor for which his race is proverbial. One of the bravest of soldiers himself, he could forgive almost anything in a comrade easier than cowardice. Although brought up a Catholic, and a stout defender of his faith in many a discussion on the banks of the Potomac, with wider reading and thought, his views changed; and, during the last twenty years or more of his life, he was a radical free thinker. Mr. J. K. Jones, of Louisville, a Unitarian minister, spoke at his funeral, reading extracts from Seneca, Emerson, Marcus Aurelius, Herder, and others. A Jeffersonville paper states that "Mr. Jones added a brief address on the life and traits of the deceased, in which he highly eulogized his character, and bore particularly on the courage which Mr. Murphy displayed in his recent trials. The deceased, he said, had no fears of death." He leaves a wife to whom he was devotedly attached, and for whose sake, especially, he would have been glad to live longer.

OLD AND NEW. For The Index.

Heap high the wassail bowl!
Pile up the logs, let the fire burn cheerily!
Soon the bells with solemn roll
For the dying year will toll,—
For the old year whose feet press wearily
On toward the final goal
Where the old years lie buried drearily.

On with the merry rout!
Pile up the logs! and fill high the glasses!
Let us with glad song and shout
Wassail the gray old year out,
Drink to the health of his soul as it passes.

Peace to thee! Peace and rest,
Old year, grown cold, grievous, and fretful:
Thou hast given of thy best
In unlimited bequest;
We would be true to thee, yet not regretful.

Hail to thee, glad New Year!
All in the flush of thy primal power.
Take thou for thy throne the bier
Of the wight who lieth here,
Take his sceptre and crown for thy dower.

ABBIE F. JUDD.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

The Dual Aspect of our Nature.

BY EDWARD MONTGOMERY.

The Supermental Consistency of our Being.

Mind-stuff refuses to be exteriorized out of complex consciousness, as obstinately, at least, as matter-stuff. Every actually realized fact in nature is a phenomenon within some complex consciousness. Everything beyond such mental subsistence is inferential only. But we all feel justified in assuming that the complex consciousness is borne by beings who perceptually appear to us as complex organic individuals. In the course of our inquiry, it has become obvious that perceptual appearances of this, as well as any other kind, neither signify extra-conscious material existents nor extra-conscious mental existents, neither matter-stuff nor mind-stuff. For the complex of qualities which we call material is a special group of our own feelings, aroused by powers unknown to us, independently of this mental effect of theirs. And of mental consistency, on the other side, are all feelings whatever of which consciousness is composed; and nothing outside consciousness, nothing unconscious, can possibly be mental.

In this juncture, again, the true relation of body and mind clearly evinces itself. What we call our body is a definite group of percepts, awakened in our consciousness with irresistible force by a specific complex of non-mental powers. What we call our mind is our one all-comprising moment of actual consciousness, in which facts of nature are signalized more or less directly or remotely by representative signs, collected and recollected by an extra-mental activity. Common experience, corroborated by scientific investigation, teaches us furthermore that the activity underlying the all-revealing mental presence is a function of that most specific power complex which appears to us as our body, and more especially as that part of it perceptively realized as our nerve-system. Mind is an outcome of organization.

The most telling argument in favor of extending the continuity of life and mind also to the forms of inorganic nature rests on the gradual chemical elaboration of compounds from the lowest inorganic to the highest organic molecule. It is held that complex molecules,—the "physiological units" of Herbert Spencer or "plastidules" of Haeckel,—composing, as is surmised, the material of living protoplasm, have by insensible degrees been evolved from inorganic molecules, and that neither life nor consciousness could possibly have suddenly started into existence at some point or other of this unbroken line of development.

The fallacy of this reasoning lies in the conception of life as a property inherent in circumscribed or chemically occluded molecules. Life is not attached to any static state of matter, but is essentially the expression of a dynamical process. The lowest form of life, the least complex living molecule, consists through and through of a definite cycle of chemical activity. All parts of a living form are held together by chemical bonds, and are thus chemically interdependent. The vital movement, with its rhythmical ebb and flow, is uninterruptedly maintained by disintegration from without, alternating more or less rapidly with reintegration from within. This whole cycle of activity, in which life itself consists, can be witnessed without difficulty. The statement here advanced is therefore no mere hypothesis or scientific inference, but a scientific fact verifiable at any moment by attentively watching the entirely transparent and fluent form of amoeboid individuals.

Usually, in order to assimilate organic forms to those of inorganic nature, the aid of crystalline shapes is brought to bear. A crystal, however, does not consist of a single molecule, whose constituent parts are all chemically concatenated, but of a vast number of separate and equal molecules. And these are not held together by bonds of chemical activity, but form merely a peculiar physical aggregate whose parts maintain a fixed position toward each other, without chemical flow, without intra-molecular disintegration and reintegration. In fact, all essential characteristics of life are wanting in a crystal. Life only begins when a chemical unit comes to reintegrate itself habitually, after having undergone chemical disruption through outside influences. And this specific occurrence gives rise, at an exact point in the scale of development, to a new departure in the nature of the products of evolution.

To determine as accurately the moment when consciousness first makes its appearance, when the chemical throb of disintegration and reintegration is accompanied by a dawn of intrinsic feeling, is a more difficult task. The primitive vital movement, the thrusting out and drawing in of protoplasmic projections by monera and amoeba, is certainly not an event determined by choice, not a voluntary performance. Whether a vague sensibility goes nevertheless along with this automatic activity is not easy to ascertain. The closest observation, continued for years, has yielded me no indication that obstacles are feelingly avoided or contact with anything, however desirable, voluntarily solicited. It all seems the blind play of complex chemical activity. I am inclined to think that, so long as every part of a protoplasmic individual is liable to be shifted out of position to any extent, and apt to be called upon to perform any function incumbent on the position in the chemical cycle which it happens just then to occupy,—that, under such conditions, sensibility, so exclusively the property of a special tissue occupying a special position in higher forms of life, cannot be inferred as already illu-

minating with feeling the morphologically unorganized activity of amœboid individuals. The behavior of such individuals with regard to heat, light, and electricity, can be readily explained without having recourse to volitional direction, and consequently without the intervention of sensibility.

In the course of organic development, the outer surface, which is the chemically highest layer of a protoplasmic individual, culminating in the foremost and molecularly supreme substance of the head, becomes a stable structure, instead of being made up of continually drifting material. This is brought about by prompt intrinsic reintegration, at once and on the spot, repairing the disintegrating effect of outside influences. Such fully equilibrated outermost region of a living individual, its incipient sensory surface, composes a functionally *resisting* structure in comparison with lower layers of protoplasm, which remain functionally *yielding* or motor structures. The chief function of the resisting structure is to respond accurately with its chemical beats to the dynamical beats of the medium. And this accord of intrinsic and extrinsic action, of the vital and the cosmical thrills, must surely constitute the elementary sensation, the first inkling of something felt. In ciliated infusoria, we find surface-equilibration fully established, while the interior protoplasm remains fluent throughout. And, in the movements of these very lively animalcules, discriminative volitional reaction on external stimulation is clearly manifest.

The uniform sensation of primitive life becomes gradually more and more variously specified, through differentiations wrought within the sensory surface in strict correspondence to existing specifications among the dynamical powers affecting it. Thus, through constant interaction with the outer world, its diversely stimulating characteristics—by means of more and more minutely differentiated sensory elements—are inwoven into the general sensibility of the living individual with growing precision of outline and increasing wealth of qualitative distinctions.

From out the brooding gloom and lifeless commotion of insentient nature, living activity slowly arose. Under unremitting travail, with fittest adjustment, it shaped its vital mould, locking up within its structural intricacies all the transcendent significance of creative exertion. And now, as with ever-renewed onset the gaining tide of life breaks against the shore of eventful time, in self-luminous splendor the fulness of its gathered wealth unfurls itself into our one exuberant moment of conscious realization.

Another mistaken notion of the relation of our extra-mental being to its mental functions is entertained by a number of scientific philosophers under the name of psycho-physical monism, or the two-sided aspect. Here the subjective aspect of an objective fact—for instance, the definite feeling accompanying a definite brain-motion—is considered to be only another view of the same natural existent, related to it as the concave side of a curve is related to its convex side. I experience a definite feeling, and this is my subjective aspect of a certain fact of nature. The definite brain-motion corresponding to it is said to be the same fact of nature objectively realized.

This modern attempt at identification of the material and the mental presupposes not only a realizing personality with its unity of apperception, but leaves also unintelligible how this personality comes to regard the same natural fact at one time from its subjective, at another time from its objective side. Moreover, both facts, the subjective feeling and the objective brain-motion, are found to occur, not one after the other, but simul-

taneously. How, then, could one and the same person actually realize at one and the same time both occurrences, the immediate subjective feeling and also the concomitant brain-motion realizable only through sensory channels? When, however, it is *I* who am experiencing the feeling, and *you* who are perceiving the corresponding brain-motion, it becomes quite obvious that the fact in my consciousness and the fact in your consciousness cannot possibly be one and the same natural existent. Nay, these two entirely different facts cannot even be two different mental representations of one and the same objective existent. My feeling of pain and your perception of the concomitant motion in my brain are neither themselves two different aspects of the same existent, nor are they two different mental representations of the same existent. My feeling of pain is a representation of nothing beyond itself, but your concomitant perception is naturally believed by us all to be the representation of an activity taking place in my brain. And it is this represented activity, extra-mentally subsisting in me independently of your perception of it, that is the real cause, the genuine *efficient* or *productive* cause, of my pain. The same extra-mental activity is, however, by no means the efficient or productive cause of your simultaneous perception of the corresponding brain-motion arising in your consciousness. Foreign media, as well as your whole organic being with all its vital sensibilities, are here intervening; and thus the activity only *awakens* in you from outside, through specific stimulation, your own definite and wholly intrinsic perceptive function. The extra-mental activity of a certain part of my individuality, which is the immediate efficient cause of my feelings, is only a remote but definite stimulus to quite different but synchronously corresponding feelings in you.

If we, however, insist in crowding, for confusion's sake, the two aspects into one and the same individual mind, it becomes somewhat puzzling to fix upon a thorough-going distinction between them. Prof. Bain, for example, struggling otherwise into recognition of non-mental reality, but here still swayed by the subjective idealism of the association-philosophy, elevates the distinction between the two different sets of feelings, subjective and objective, as arising within the mental presence of one and the same individual, to the supreme contrast in nature. Within this purely subjective medium of individual consciousness, the subjective aspect, or mind proper, is discovered by Prof. Bain strangely to dwindle away into almost nothing; to dissipate, namely, into those rare moments of extensionless reverie in which we lose the sense of outspread reality, and dwell in feelings of mere intensive subsistence.

Overcoming, however, the ancient prejudice of spaceless mind, and *extending* our mental view somewhat beyond its very centre of apperceptive sensitiveness, it is still only perceptual brain motion, only *functional activity* of the brain, which objectively corresponds to subjective feelings. Psycho-physical monism is at a loss to find a place for the brain itself. The quiescent brain does not enter into its monistic scheme. Is it not clear, then, that it has likewise sought to establish natural unity between subject and object by vainly chasing identity among fleeting phenomena, leaving quite out of account their underlying matrix? What are we to think of a philosophy of mere functional motions, neglecting entirely the functioning substratum? and such a substratum! The truth is, to the *physical* fact, consisting in the perception of a functionally quiescent brain, there corresponds no *psychical* fact, consisting in subjec-

tive feelings. When you perceive my brain without functional activity, I have myself no feelings corresponding to your perception of my brain. I have only feelings corresponding to your perception of the functional activity of my brain. My consciousness, or mind, corresponds to brain activity, not to statical or functionally unmoved brain.

Now, can I rationally believe that my feelings, which make up my consciousness, or mind, and which are found to correspond to mere functional activity, to a mere transiently compelled perception of brain-motion,—that these lapsing conscious moments constitute my veritable being, while the functioning organ itself, compelling its perceptive realization with steadfast and identical power, is forming only an inferior part of my individuality? Must not the functioning substratum, perceptively realized as an enduring existent, be of necessity incommensurably more real than its transient functional manifestations? Contemplated in the light of the present discussion, can there be a doubt left in the mind of candid thinkers who are not confirmed idealists, denying as such altogether the existence of their fellow-beings and everything else outside their own mind,—can there be the slightest doubt left that our veritable nature is a permanent, non-mental entity, of which our mental phenomena are an ever renewed efflux? The brain-motion, the transient functional activity which you are perceiving, corresponds no doubt to my mental presence. But the brain itself, together with my whole corporeal being, which, under exactly the same conditions, you are simultaneously realizing as the very existent which performs the functions or undergoes the motions, is certainly not corresponding to anything mental in me. It obviously corresponds to my non-mental individuality, which is perduringly forming part of the great sense-compelling and interacting order of extra-mental powers.

It is not my own proud, inmost possession, making up for me alone the realizing feeling, the revealing consciousness of myself and the world,—not the self-luminous expanse and ideal fervor of my mental presence,—which has compelling power over you. From mystic depths of consciousness existence, the ever-welling vital and organic source of all my mentality awakens in you, with an imperious potency far transcending volitional control, the overpowering sense of its presence; a revealing flash marvellously fraught with the vivid, perceptual representation of its characteristic features. And if, among these perceptual features, expressive gestures and sounds convey to you a direct knowledge of the feelings I am just then experiencing, it is because you have learned to understand the true meaning of those mere signs, substantiating them in the veritable medium of our common human brotherhood, by dint of the general similitude connaturally obtaining between your being and mine.

So much as any permanent source of emanation surpasses in import its transient outcomes, so much does our extra-mental being surpass the conscious manifestations composing our mentality.

Mind an Organic Function.

It can be scientifically proved with rigorous precision that mind is an organic product, that the mental presence is a function of what we perceive as the brain of an organic individual.

You are watching my organism. If you are not a thorough-going idealist, lost to the realities of this world, you have to assume, as all science actually does assume, that an extra-mental existent is compelling this perception of yours, that an organism is existing independently of your perceiving it. If I were happening to be unconscious

just now, and you could observe the molecular process going on in my brain, you would discover no functional stir there at present. By holding your hand before my eyes, you arouse functional activity. A mental image, a perceptive hand, arises at once in my consciousness, or rather arises to form my consciousness; and, simultaneously, you detect a definite functional stir in the brain you are watching. Every time you hold your hand before my eyes, I perceive the same mental image, and you perceive the same molecular change in the brain. Now, if the perceptive brain in your consciousness is in reality compelled by extra-mental powers, constituting a part of my organism, the definite functional stir in that perceptive brain must, in reality, be compelled by a specific activity occurring in that same extra-mental part of my organism. Each time this activity occurs, each time you bring it about by holding your hand before my eyes, I have a definite mental image. Each time the activity ceases on withdrawal of your hand, the mental image vanishes. We are, therefore, scientifically justified in concluding that the mental image is the effect of the activity occurring in that extra-mental existent which you perceive as my brain.

The same reasoning extended to all mental phenomena forces us consistently to admit that the entire mental presence is a function of our extra-mental organism; that the mutations in the mental presence are due to changes in the organic function; and that, when there is no function, there is no mental presence, no mentality of any kind.

False psychology is erected chiefly on the assumption that mental states continue to exist as mental when they have vanished out of consciousness. To evade being confronted on every turn by so drastic a *contradictio in adjecto* as involved in "unconscious mind," psychology felt induced fancifully to create a special realm, where mental phenomena that had slipped out of consciousness might be allowed to retain their being and identity, and to flow in and out of conscious existence as explanatory circumstances required. It is, however, almost self-evident that, whenever a particular group of feelings passes out of our moment of conscious realization, it has therewith lost its mentality, has lapsed into the vacancy of unconsciousness, and is no more. And, whenever a particular group of feelings issues into conscious presence, it emerges from unconscious depths, from some non-mental matrix.

Consciousness is, therefore, no continuous thread or stream, as maintained by some psychological schools, but rather a lake whose waters flow out of presence into invisibility, and are ever replenished from an inexhaustible source, whose origin lies hidden away in utter darkness. Or it may be likened to a kaleidoscopic display, whose complex figuration is being continually disintegrated and reintegrated. Only the shifting elements of the mental presence, unlike those of the kaleidoscope, dwindle away into nothingness, new ones arising to fall into the succeeding formation.

The mental presence is really, and not only figuratively, the ever-varying sensible agitation of an identically abiding sensitive medium. This sensitive medium, on account of the steady maintenance of its identity amid all the changeable modes of its felt commotions, constitutes a genuine substance. It is, therefore, quite true that a substantial existent is underlying our conscious states, that the phenomena of mind are manifestations of a mysterious entity. Our mental presence is actually the affection and outcome of a transcendental substance of one that even now, this moment, incorporates the result of all times.

And it is the spontaneous vital flow of this matrix of all consciousness, in interaction with its compelled vital stir or function, which yields us our mental states.

The vortex of vital activities, embodying the accumulated acquisitions of former existence and constituting the living individual, maintains itself in ever regenerated completeness. From within the inmost springs of life there arises—not hypothetically assumed, but *visibly* manifest—a spontaneous current of activity, ever reconstituting in its wholeness the full wealth of vital results; a genuine generical current, flowing out with indiscernible might to meet the momentary and transient happenings of individual existence. It is this spontaneous current of transcendent efficiency incorporated in us which on intrinsic and extrinsic commotion becomes self-luminous, revealing in incandescent flashes the endowments of our own nature and their relation to the world at large.

The power to direct the current of life and to shape external nature in accordance with our intrinsic determinations accrues to the organic individual by force of the voluntary control he gradually gains over the entire range of his resources. And this is accomplished by a system of articulate motor signs or, rather, actions, through which he becomes able to summon at will into mental presence a wide sweep of conscious representation. Instead, then, of having to yield to immediate impulses or to more or less accidental stimulations, he thus utilizes in simultaneous mental presence the determining influence of all possible impulses and stimulations, or of such a part of them as he voluntarily keeps in mind. To his consciousness, the impulses and stimulations arising involuntarily are but groups of feelings. And those arising with the help of voluntary signs are likewise groups of feelings. The specific organic activity underlying both groups is essentially the same, and has, on the rest of our organism, the same influence, varying merely in intensity proportionately to the vividness of the process.

The functional activity especially connected with our sentience is limited to that part of our organization which appears to observers as our nerve system. This special system, besides producing during functional activity our own mental presence, possesses, together with the rest of our organism, the power of affecting through stimulation the sensibility of observers, so as to awaken in them the consciousness of that steadfast group of percepts called our body. It is through study of these perceptual compulsions that we acquire an objective knowledge of the being who is the bearer of the mental presence, and are led to recognize the complexity and phylogenetic origin of its nature.

The unitary organism reveals itself as differentiated into two principal parts, an ectoderm and an entoderm. The entoderm furnishes the ectoderm with complementary material wherewith to reintegrate its functionally disintegrated material. The ectoderm itself is found to consist of a contracting and a non-contracting or resisting substance. The organs of contraction are seen objectively to execute movements which have influence over the surrounding world. The resisting substance is objectively seen to undergo only molecular motions, having no essential influence over the surrounding world. We cannot objectively recognize that the functional stir we are perceiving in the central parts of the nerve system is simultaneously yielding conscious states to the subject to whom these organic parts really belong. On the other hand, the subject who experiences

these conscious states is not subjectively aware of the perceptual appearance of the functioning organ; indeed, scarcely at all aware of the very existence of the organ.

In a similar way, the subject who executes voluntary movements is not subjectively aware of the perceptual appearance of the organs which perform these movements. To him, the entire process takes place within his mental presence. And, forming part of this mental presence, a subjective representation of his sensory surface gives him immediate information of the shape and position of his bodily belongings. It is in this central and representative sphere, in the matrix of the mental presence, that volitional activity occurs; that the centripetally propagated or spontaneously arising activities, issuing into the various modes of feeling, stimulate the further activity, which descends unconsciously to the executive organs, whereby is excited the activity perceived as movements in the world of objectively perceptible reality. And these externally visible movements turn out to be very accurately congruous with the central inward predetermination which gave rise to them. This truly marvellous congruity of the subjective forecast and the objective realization is a result of the strict organic interdependence subsisting between all parts of the ectoderm,—an interdependence established by the same influences by which the ectoderm itself was gradually constituted.

Thus is brought about the coincidence of actions only mentally figured by me with those you actually see executed; the exact coincidence of what I subjectively, centrally, feelingly determine, with that which an observer is enabled to witness, as objectively realized. And this he does by dint of sense-stimulating influences emanating from the very organs, from the actual extra-mental existents, which were merely mentally represented by me.

This difference between the sensori motor process, fulfilling itself centrally, and being immediately felt by the subject in whom it occurs, and the objectively perceptible movements, executed in consequence by other parts of the organism,—this essential difference has to be clearly recognized by whoever wishes to gain an insight into the all-important problem of volition. Our central organ is not only a focus of mental realization into which world-revealing beams converge, but also a focus of formative power from which world-coercing influences irradiate.

We are, indeed, fearfully and wonderfully made. Whoever comes to understand the transcendent profundity and creative power of his veritable being will lose all desire to have his mental presence, even in its most exalted moods, irresponsibly detached from the generating potency in which it sentiently dwells and which it symbolically signifies.

THE UNCONSCIOUS.*

BY PAUL CARUS, Ph.D.

The unconscious is an idea of universal significance, which in its full importance has not been understood until lately. Eduard von Hartmann is generally supposed to have for the first time propounded the problem. This, however, is erroneous. The originator of and chief authority on the question is Karl Gustav Carus, the same who is known as a correspondent with and friend of Goethe's. The fact is known to every one familiar with the subject; and Dr. Volkelt, in his essay, "Das Unbewusste und der Pessimismus," p. 79, says: "Fast Alles was Hartmann als

*The substance of remarks by Dr. Carus at a recent meeting of the Metaphysical Club of this city, in a discussion which followed the reading of an interesting paper by Mr. C. P. Cranch, on "A Philosophy of the Unconscious."

Charakteristische Unterschiede des Bewussten vom Unbewussten anführt, findet sich bereits bei Carus."

It may seem as if I were speaking *pro domo*, as Carus is not only a namesake, but also a great-uncle of mine. Nevertheless, it is a matter of justice to state the facts as they are, the more so as the works of Carus are not so much known in America as they ought to be; and even many scientists become acquainted with his ideas second or third hand.

To old philosophers, thinking and being conscious of a thing was identical. Thus, Descartes and Spinoza define thought; and, on this ground, Locke refutes the doctrine of innate ideas. He simply states that they do not exist in consciousness and fancies, having therewith proved their impossibility. It is plain that he, *sub silentio*, supposes the identity of thinking and consciousness.

To Berkeley, nothing existed but the conscious, so the unconscious was excluded from the beginning.

Leibnitz was the first to allow the idea of unconscious thought a place in his philosophy. His monads are endowed with unconscious perception. Accordingly, he did not reject innate ideas: they were to him *la connaissance virtuelle*. Yet Wolff and his school deprived the monads of their quality, and changed them to lifeless mechanical atoms.

Kant nowhere mentions the unconscious, and yet it is of great consequence in his philosophy. If time and space are the empty forms of our perceptivity, which, in our minds, are ready to receive and arrange all the different sensations; then time and space are unconscious ideas, exactly as a *connaissance virtuelle*.

The first who firmly grasped and plainly stated the problem of the Unconscious was Karl Gustav Carus. His chief work on this topic is his *Psyche*; or, *Life of the Conscious and Unconscious Soul* (second edition, Stuttgart, 1851). He commences with the sentence, "The key to the cognizance of the vital questions of the mind's conscious life must be sought for in the province of the Unconscious." Accordingly, he proposes in his book to trace the divine of our soul in its development from the unconscious to the conscious. Consciousness and unconsciousness are rays of one and the same Divine; but the unconscious radiance of the Deity is the inexhaustible well, forming the interminable resources of the conscious. Consciousness is the reflection of the unconscious idea. There is a promethean and an epimethean moment in unconsciousness; a promethean, or unconsciously presaging and foreseeing, and an epimethean, or unconsciously remembering power of the mind. With wonderful exactness, the unconscious idea forms the botanic, the animal, and the human organisms, for the purposes of a distant future; and, if these purposes are attained, the organic formation is completed; and in it, *vice versa*, the original germ may be recognized in its perfection.

The unconscious obeys the mute law of necessity, while the conscious moves in the sunny empire of freedom. Accordingly, the unconscious works, with surety, wisdom, and beauty, in such a way as will never be possible to the free consciousness, not even on its highest summits. Art imitates Nature, yet the artificial cannot be compared with the natural. When conscious thought is doubtful, wavering, now and then erring, the unconscious idea in its *dénouement* never lacks unflinching decisions and deep wisdom. And, as the unconscious has nothing in common with wavering doubts, errors, and failures, so it does not know of any fatigue, and at the same time is free of disease. The conscious life of the soul needs constantly a periodical interruption for refreshment in sleep or death; not so the unconscious, which works incessantly, without coming a moment to a stand-still. The unconscious is not in want of a tedious and painstaking learning, of practice or exercise, in order to attain dexterity and readiness. Easily and immediately, everything is performed and done.

Further, Carus mentions a remarkable quality of the unconscious, which he calls its Embodiment into the Universal. He means the close and immediate connection with which the unconscious is related to Nature at large; and, thus, it appears to be immersed, as it were, into the currents of natural life. Somnambulism and the influence of a mother on her unborn child serve as examples. One may also observe that when, in the minds of artists and poets, ideas for some time are seemingly lost, if they sink into the region of the unconscious, they generally return

to the surface of consciousness clearer, maturer, richer in their relations, and more complete in articulation and accuracy. As long as an artist creates with consciousness, his work fails to bear the stamp of perfection. The weird zest of genius is missing. It appears studied and stiff. "*Redolet oleum*," says the Roman: that means, one perceives the labor and trouble spent in its production. The intention of the artist to produce this or that effect, if noticed, is taken offence at. Germans would quote Goethe's dictum from *Torquato Tasso*, "Man merkt die Absicht, und man wird verstimmt."

You cannot play a sonata to perfection as long as you have to think of the fingering or of the expression in this or that passage. All mechanical requirements must have sunk into unconsciousness, as if they were forgotten: then the effect will be natural, like that of a present inspiration. Nor can you speak a language with fluency as long as you have to think of its grammar.

The influence of the unconscious on the human life is greatest in emotions. All our feelings, passions, desires, and aspirations would be without color and lack the animating springs of their rich and brisk spontaneity, if they were deprived of their unconscious element.

What Carus says concerning love belongs, as Dr. Volkelt expresses it, to the most beautiful and profound of all that has ever been said about this mysterious subject. The powerful charm of love, its doleful bliss, its affection and self-sacrifice, bordering on self-humiliation, result from an intimate amalgamation of the conscious and unconscious. Love necessarily presupposes that also the unconscious of our souls is strongly taken hold of. It is a mystery which in love is felt, by true poets understood and represented, yet very seldom appreciated or thought of by the scientific inquirer. The passion of love rests on a desire which is deeply rooted in the unconscious region of our soul. It longs for finding and possessing the individual, which completes, psychically amplifies, and perfects one's self.

Finally, concerning the relation of the soul to God, Carus declares the duty of a thinking mind and the highest boon that conscious spirit may partake of is to return to the profound depth of something that is to us unconscious. According to him, all attempts at reducing and correlating the absolute mystery of the Deity into the concrete, the attenuated, and corrugated idea of a personification are so many examples of the human mind's errors, from which spring the discords and crimes of fanaticism, religious wars, and persecutions. Wherever men worship the omnipresence of the unconsciously ruling divine Spirit, there is clemency and religious tolerance. The more personal, concentrated, pointed, and egotistic the idea of the Deity and its relation to the world is conceived, the more rigid and zealous the devotees of this God will prove toward people of another faith, and the more egotistic will be their claim to owning the sole truth, and the steadier their confidence in the infallibility of their personal convictions.

These statements are, to the greatest extent, quotations from Carus' chief work, the *Psyche*. I do not intend to animadvert here either upon his views or the way in which he presented them. The latter, there is no doubt, is open to criticism, as he treats his subject rather too poetically, although it gives a great charm to his ideas.

The power of the Unconscious in Nature—the growth of the idea in the development of plants, animals, and the human body—has been pointed out in another book of Carus, in his *Physis*.

Of special interest is a smaller essay of his, "The Symbolic of the Human Form," in which Carus gives a fine application of his philosophy, showing the power of the idea unconsciously working at the formation of the human body. The structure of every limb answers the purpose of its existence, and is the expression and symbol of an idea.

Carus' works are a mine from which philosophers and scientists of second degree have largely purloined treasures without telling whence they were taken. One of them is Eduard von Hartmann, who is generally called the Philosopher of the Unconscious, as if he had invented or discovered the unconscious. Another philosopher, if he is a philosopher at all, is Delzarte, who drew upon these vast resources. Let us rather call Delzarte a teacher of oratory and acting, for such he was; and, to be just, as far as I know, he was

one of the most excellent that ever existed. His pupils call his method Delzartean philosophy; but Delzarte, I suppose, never did so himself. If we take him as a philosopher, he is certainly a poor one.

And, with regard to our subject, we have to add that neither Hartmann nor Delzarte escaped the curse which almost always accompanies the borrowing of ideas of others; for plagiarism is also an art, and only a few, if any, are masters of it. Both corrupted the original beauty of the ideas thus appropriated. Hartmann mixed the Philosophy of the Unconscious with his dreary pessimism, and even that bears a distracted and disfigured shape. I do not think that Schopenhauer would have liked it. And Delzarte confounded the judicious explanation of Carus' "Symbolic of the Human Body" with a kind of cabalistic mysticism, in which the number three seems to take the place of natural causation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Editors of The Index :—

In *The Index* of the 10th instant, I have read with much interest Mr. W. J. Potter's remarks bearing the above title, and referring to a reputed utterance of President Eliot, to the effect that "the religious education of the young should go hand in hand with secular education," and that "the State should provide religious instruction in accordance with the wishes of the parents." Mr. Potter, as I understand, dissents from both of these claims.

Now, it seems to me absolutely right and proper that our system of public instruction should neglect no legitimate branch of education, and that the training of our religious feelings constitutes such a branch, and should go hand in hand with secular education. The development of every part of human nature reacts upon that of every other part. And the religious faculty, by which I understand that phase of emotional life which is excited by the action, upon the individual, of the undivided unity of the universe, certainly appears to me to constitute as essential a part of human nature as the faculties of reasoning and of action.

On the other hand, nothing appears to me so preposterous as the demand that the State should regulate religious education in accordance with the wishes of the parents. The so-called religious teaching which parents and churches usually insist upon is not, in fact, religious at all, but metaphysical in character and dogmatic in spirit. Against metaphysical instruction, I can see no objection. Indeed, it should most decidedly form a part of every system of education, provided only that it be brought forward under its own proper colors. Dogmatism, however, has no rights which the teacher should respect, and is as improper—nay, even immoral—in the teaching of mathematics or botany as in that of religion. Nor are parents ever consulted as to how they wish either mathematics or botany to be taught to their children. There is no Presbyterian geometry or Catholic algebra.

As it seems to me, the most important aspect of the question has failed to attract either Mr. Potter's or President Eliot's attention. This is the consideration of the method of education. The State, in its public school system, should not only be at liberty, it should be in duty bound, to teach anything and everything which may be of importance to the harmonious development of the child's faculties, and fitted for its years. But it should be rigidly limited as to its choice of educational methods. The use of the authoritative (dogmatic) method, no matter to what branch it be applied, tends to destroy all powers of thought, and should be as strictly interdicted in grammar as in religion and metaphysics.

Some years ago, during my last visit to Europe, a German journalist and author of note, who had had considerable personal acquaintance with some of the leaders of the Jesuit order, called my attention to the fact that the schools of this society had no objection to the inculcation of scientific facts, provided the teachers were scrupulously careful to base all instruction upon the great name of some authority, and never upon the personal investigation and reasoning of the pupil. The pupil might follow Newton, provided he accepted the law of gravitation because the great Newton said so,—provided he believed it, and did not think it out for himself!

But is not this the enslavement of the mind conducted as a fine art? And, if it is, why should not Liberals make a fine art of the mind's liberation? Let them say boldly: "We not only concede—nay, we even insist—that religious instruction be given in our public schools; we will permit that Catholicism, Methodism, or Pantheism may be taught, provided all their doctrines be inductively and deductively felt and thought out by the child, and not forced upon it, upon the authority of any dead or living teacher whatsoever!"

CHARLES FROEBEL.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE GRAY MASQUE, AND OTHER POEMS. By Mary Barker Dodge. Second Edition. Cardinal cloth, in gilt 12mo. Price \$1.25. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

The opening poem, of which the disguises of love are the theme, and which gives its title to this volume certainly, is neither the longest nor the best contained in the author's modest collection. Her range of subjects is wide, and her style varied; and she sings sweetly, harmoniously, and clearly in many keys. The grand and sublime mysteries of life and death seem to have taken strong hold of her thought; and she recurs again and again in such poems as "Best," "Life," "Unsolved," etc., to the various phases of the queries which such subjects invariably suggest to thinkers. But, though these questions haunt, they do not distress her; for she prefers to take the easiest solution possible, as when she says, after some of these questionings,—

"Sweet faith! Happy faith that upbears
The soul through each questioning stress
Till Wisdom all question forswears,—
The problem unsolved, answerless."

And in another place,—

"Whate'er inures, fools only fight with fate:
Philosophy propounds an easier way,—
Be still, my soul, and wait,
A better day
Will come, or soon or late."

Mrs. Dodge is exceptionally pleasing in her ballads, such as "The Curse of Calgarth," "A Frozen Crew," "A Legend of Freitenberg," "Loco," "The Mirror of Steel," and "General Gordon." None of these poems are of great length, as is evidenced by the fact that nearly one hundred and fifty poems are contained within this volume of two hundred and eighty-five pages. Although the tone of most of her poems are decidedly devotional, yet they are not circumscribed by any sectarianism, but are always broad in view, uplifting, and morally healthful. S. A. U.

THE POPULAR SPEAKER. Comprising Fresh Selections in Poetry and Prose, Humorous, Pathetic, Patriotic. For Reading Clubs, School Declamation, Home and Public Entertainments. Containing the Selections published in "The Reading Club," Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16. By George M. Baker. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price \$1.00.

While a number of these selections are from well-known standard writers like Shakspeare, Macaulay, Bryant, Moore, Whittier, Mrs. Sigourney, Wendell Phillips, Ruskin, Holmes, Lowell, etc., the majority are selected from very recent writers, waifs of wit and wisdom drawn from the floating literature of the hour, and so generally appropriate as the expression of the pathos as well as bathos of emotional speech and expression of to-day, such as are found in the writings of Joel Chandler Harris, George Peck, Robert J. Burdette, James W. Riley, W. S. Gilbert, T. B. Read, Marion Harland, and Edgar Fawcett.

REPORT AND CATALOGUE OF THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT OF THE WORLD'S EXPOSITION. Held at New Orleans, 1884-1885. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co.

This very full report and catalogue is edited by Julia Ward Howe; and its two hundred and thirty-five large, closely printed pages by their very bulk give strong evidence of a new recognition of women as workers in many differing departments of necessary work. It is a book which every thinking woman should possess, as an incentive to herself and a reference conclusively to settle many disputed questions in regard to the capacities of the sex.

For the benefit of the owners of the *Carlyle-Emerson Correspondence*, Ticknor & Co., Boston, have just published a thin supplementary volume containing

some twenty letters that were missing when the first volumes were put forth. They also publish for new buyers an enlarged edition of the complete correspondence. Perhaps the best account of the new letters can be given by transferring to the columns of *The Index* a few of the characteristic passages of Carlyle:—

"Great inquiry [writes Carlyle from London] is made for the *Miscellanies*, Frazer says; though he suspects it may perhaps be but one or two men inquiring often,—the dog!" (p. 4.)

"Popular Sumner is off to Italy, the most popular of men,—inoffensive, like a worn sixpence that has no physiognomy left" (p. 6).

"My horse Yankee is never yet purchased, but it shall be; for I cannot live, except in great pain, without a horse. It was sweet beyond measure to escape out of the dust-whirlpool here, and fly, in solitude, through the ocean of verdure and splendor, as far as Harrow and back again; and one's nerves were clear next day, and words lying in one like water in a well." (p. 13.)

[Writing to Emerson from Newby, Annan, on the Atlantic Coast.] "You, too, have been at Nantasket; my Friend, this great, rough, purple sea-flood that roars under my little garret window here, this, too, comes from Nantasket and farther,—swung hitherward by the moon and the sun" (p. 30).

"I have often thought what W. Shakspeare would say, were he to sit one night in a 'Shakspeare Society,' and listen to the empty twaddle and other long-eared melody about him there!" (p. 51.)

[After a journey to Ireland.] "Daniel O'Connell stood boldly before me, in his green Mullaghmart Cap; haranguing his retinue of Dupables: certainly the most sordid Humbug I have ever seen in this world" (p. 60).

"They tell me you are about collecting your poems. Well, though I do not approve of rhyme at all, yet it is impossible Emerson, in rhyme or prose, can put down any thought that was in his heart but I should wish to get into mine. So let me have the book as fast as may be." (p. 63.) W. S. K.

WE are in receipt of the December and January numbers of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's *Magazine of American History*. Among the more interesting topics discussed in the December number are: "The Convention of Massachusetts," by A. W. Chason, accompanied by portraits of Fisher Ames, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams; "A Tribute to Gen. George B. McClellan," by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, with a frontispiece portrait; "Thanksgiving Day, Past and Present," by Col. Charles Ledyard Norton; "A Chapter of the Mexican War," by Gen. E. P. Scammon; and "How we ran the Vicksburg Batteries," by W. S. Ward. The January number gives an excellent portrait of Gen. John A. Logan; an interesting article on "Paul Revere," by E. H. Goss, with numerous illustrations; "A Tribute to Vice-President Hendricks," by Hon. James W. Gerard; an article by Gen. Logan on "Slavery in America: Its Origin and Consequences," with other excellent historic papers.

The signs of promise of this popular magazine were never so conspicuously observable as at present. Each month marks an advance, and shows an increasing interest among the people of America in history and its literature. Among its contributors are such writers as Hon. George Bancroft, Theodore F. Dwight, Col. Higginson, Gen. Charles P. Stone, Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, Rev. George E. Ellis, John Esten Cooke, and many others.

THE December or Christmas number of *Wide Awake* equals one's high expectations of this model magazine for young folks. This year, two "plastic sketches," in three color-tones, modelled for the magazine by the Messrs. Low, of the Chelsea Art Tile Works, make the Christmas number an art treasure; and, to accompany these unique illustrations, there is much instructive gossip about "tiles" in Miss Harris' article, "Fire-place Stories," which has eighteen pictures. Among the many writers who contribute to this excellent number, exclusive of the names of the first-class artists whose efforts enrich nearly every page, are E. S. Phelps, Nora Perry, Mary E. Wilkins, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Margaret Sidney, Mrs. Treat, Mrs. Frémont, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, and others.

LECTURES.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

An elderly couple at Indianapolis, a few days ago, died from suffocation by coal-gas, because they religiously declined to do any work on the Sabbath, so much even as was necessary to adjust a fallen stovepipe.

PROPERTY questions are likely to prove the greatest obstacle to Irish reforms. The English papers are not backward in reminding their readers that \$1,000,000,000 of Irish property and \$500,000,000 of Irish mortgages are substantially owned by Englishmen.

C. F. ELLIOTT, in an article in *Unity* entitled "Must a Unitarian be a Christian?" says, "To our philosophy, it appears that Unitarianism is not distinctly Christian; and, however much policy would dictate that we should claim the name, we believe we should not yield to any idea of policy, but be honest with ourselves."

AMONG the names of Americans which fill the death-roll of 1885 are those of Gens. Grant, McClellan, and McDowell, Vice-Presidents Colfax and Hendricks, Senator Frelinghuysen, Gov. Talbot, Charles W. Slack, Elizur Wright, Robert Treat Paine, Maria Weston Chapman, Helen Hunt Jackson, Richard Grant White, B. Gratz Brown, Emory A. Storrs, Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Prof. John C. Draper, John McCullough, Dr. Rufus Ellis, Cardinal McCloskey, Rev. Irenæus Prime, Rev. Stephen H. Tyng. Among the distinguished dead of other lands may be mentioned Victor Hugo, Sir Moses Montefiore, El Mahdi, "the false prophet," Gen. Gordon, Col. Burnaby, Dr. Leopold Damrosch, and Alfonso, the late King of Spain.

BUT few, perhaps, who served in the Union Army during the War of the Rebellion have been forgotten by the pension agents, who, in the kindness of their hearts, without any solicitation whatever, write the soldiers that, having examined the army records, they are of the opinion that pensions can be obtained for them, etc. The word "pension" during the next few years is likely to cover no small amount of fraud. This is a

subject toward which our legislators could direct their attention, to the advantage of the people whom they represent. The country's disabled veterans should be generously and gratefully cared for, but the government should protect the people from robbery carried on in the name of patriotism and duty to the soldier.

At the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held in this city last week, valuable papers were read on different subjects. The most interesting session was, perhaps, that of the first evening when methods of teaching foreign languages were discussed. Prof. Jageman, of Richmond, Ind., was in favor of dispensing as far as possible with English in teaching. Dr. Paul Carus was of the opinion that it is unnatural for the student to forget that he knows one language in order to learn others. He would have the knowledge of the one tongue utilized and made a help, and not allowed to be a hindrance in acquiring other languages. He was opposed to teaching in the merely "natural way," which would, he said, make an American student in German speak German-English like the Pennsylvanian Dutch.

THE *Nation*, commenting on Senator Edmunds' bill providing for the seizure of the property of the Mormon Church because of the practice of polygamy by its members, and the advocacy of polygamy by the Mormon clergy, justly observes: "Apart from polygamy there seems to be no more objection to the Mormon Church than there is to any church in which the clergy are very powerful and the people very ignorant. Polygamy is now a legal offence; and it has been the practice of the United States hitherto, and a very wholesome practice it is, when legal offences are committed, to search out and punish those, and those only, who commit them, by due process of law. The prevention of offences by the seizure of property, whether belonging to corporations or individuals, such as the Edmunds bill contemplates, is, we believe, something hitherto unknown in our jurisprudence or politics, and might prove a most unfortunate precedent. If the Mormon Church as a corporation has no legal or proper standing, it ought to be wound up in the usual way, and its property distributed among the parties in interest. Its seizure and administration by government trustees would be a proceeding which we trust Congress will never sanction for any purpose whatever."

MR. VANDERBILT, it is said, once made a present of \$100,000 to the New York Central employes for refusing to join in a strike. A better security against strikes seems to be that of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which in 1880 gave \$100,000 as the foundation of a life insurance fund for its employes. Members pay from one to four dollars per month, and receive from fifty cents to \$2.50 per day during temporary and from twenty-five cents to \$1.25 per day during permanent disability from accident. At death, if from accident, the legal heirs receive from \$500 to \$2,500; if from natural causes, from \$200 to \$1,000. Free surgical and medical attendance is furnished the

members. The association numbers twenty thousand. Since its organization, it has disbursed over \$1,000,000. In 1882, a saving and building fund was added, which places within the reach of all employes the benefits of the most liberal saving banks and the best conducted building associations. Wherever practical, material for the building of houses is furnished at the lowest rate, and transportation is put at one-half the regular rates. During the past year, a "pension fund branch" has been added to the association, by which the unexpected interest of the original endowment of \$100,000, augmented by an annual donation of \$25,000 from the company, is used for those who, "having served the company for ten consecutive years, and having reached the age of sixty, are relieved from service, or who, having reached the age of sixty-five, choose to retire from the service." The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company evidently has some regard for the social and moral as well as physical well-being of its employes.

"UNITY" asks whether Prof. Adler's recent criticisms of Unitarianism and of Reformed Judaism are "indications of the uneasiness that characterizes the unsuccessful, or shall we say that this is some of the old leaven of Judaism that has not yet disappeared from Mr. Adler's mind?" Prof. Adler's exercise of the right, in his work as an ethical teacher, to point out what he regards as defects in Unitarianism and Reformed Judaism, as well as in Materialism, which he recently criticised, is to us an indication of his independence and of fidelity to convictions. Were he less independent and conscientious, he might seek to gain adherents from the ranks of Unitarians, the Reformed Jews, and Materialists, by abstaining from criticism of their views, and by reserving his critical powers for the doctrines to which they all, in common with himself, are opposed. But Prof. Adler, after rising above the prejudices and limitations of sect and race, after discarding the authority of Moses and the prophets, is not the man to stifle his convictions in regard to errors, even when they are supported by the authority, real or supposed, of Christ and his apostles, or to withhold his honest opinion in regard to any system or movement which affects his fellow-men. For this he should be honored, not censured. There is no reason, that we can see, why Unitarianism should be exempt from discussion, unless the uncertainty as to what it is and what it teaches be a valid objection. Having now among its supporters and representatives a great diversity of religious belief, from mild Orthodoxy to Agnosticism, it is natural that there should be some disinclination on the part of the Unitarian press and pulpit to define Unitarianism, and to heed the objections of radical thinkers like Adler. But the disinclination has generally been shown by silence. We are glad to see that a broad man like Mr. Chadwick has considered, in a recent discourse, some of Prof. Adler's objections to Unitarianism. Captious controversy is undesirable; but fair and candid discussion is now, as it always has been, of great advantage to the cause of truth.

A WEEK OF PRAYER.

Evangelical Christendom is in the habit of spending the first week of each year in prayer,—that is, the congregations are urged to gather in their respective churches every day in the week, and, if possible, at more than one service, for this purpose; and it is to be presumed that the more zealous members follow the injunction. For each day, a special topic for the prayers is assigned by a committee of the Evangelical Alliance, so that all the congregations may be praying at the same time for the same thing. The theory of the practice appears to be that, by thus combining the supplicatory energy of the churches upon the same point at the same moment, the object of desire is more likely to be gained; or, in other words, that the ear of Almighty Power will be importuned into favorable listening, because of the much speaking. The method is evidently borrowed in part from that species of military tactics by which the whole active force of an army is massed for successive attacks upon one point after another, and may thus be more successful in carrying them than if the same force were divided. The Orthodox idea of prayer, as popularly interpreted, rests on the conception of Heaven as a power to be besieged, and both military and diplomatic methods come into the process.

Now, it is very possible that some quickened zeal and activity do come into the churches through these meetings, especially if they are well attended and vigorously conducted. The effect is essentially the same as that which comes from public meetings for the advocacy of any cause. There is only this difference: that the people, instead of being addressed directly, are appealed to indirectly through their overhearing what is assumed to be spoken for the ears of Deity, and that this kind of appeal moves them emotionally rather than through the understanding. The fervor of one kindles fervor in another. Conviction begets conviction. Any sincere expression of devotedness or of the need of it has magnetic power, and goes from heart to heart. And thus it might naturally be expected that people would go from such meetings with a deeper and stronger impulse for doing those things which, according to their religious belief, seem to them desirable, or, in other words, for *answering* in their own acts the prayers which they have made or heard.

But it is evident that not nearly so much is accomplished by the "week of prayer" as the believers in the instrumentality hope for,—not even so much as might rationally be expected on the ground of the natural excitation of human sentiments just noted. The believers attribute the meagre results to a deficiency of faith on the part of church members themselves. The churches, it is complained, do not avail themselves of the method as they ought. The meetings are not attended so numerous as they might be. Many ministers, even, do not manifest the personal interest in them that is befitting their office. And thus, from lack of vital faith in the real efficacy of the meetings, as the pious devotee laments, the effect of them is lost. "If you only had the faith as of old," he exclaims, "you could remove mountains!"

And this lament of the pious devotee hits the real point of the difficulty, though he fails to draw the right inference from it. "If we only had the faith as of old," he cries; but that is impossible. It is not the old faith that is needed, but a new faith. The appeal should be for a more rational adaptation of religious instrumentalities to mod-

ern thought. The actual results obtained from the "week of prayer" come, as we have said, from the quickening of human impulse leading to enlargement of human action. But the programmes and methods of the meetings are all arranged on the old view that it is God who is first to be affected. He is asked to do for man the things which man desires, and which he is endowed with capacities to do for himself, if they are proper things for him to attain. The supplications are put in the old form, as if there were a Deity in the skies who would change his purposes at man's entreaties; as if the very laws of the universe could be suspended, and its forces set aside by human petitions. In thus adhering to the method of supplicatory petition, the "week of prayer" is a survival of superstition which is entirely out of harmony with both the scientific philosophy and the practical sense of the present age. And, without knowing exactly how or why, a good many people, even within the limits of evangelical churches, have lost their faith in such prayers. Their minds have been so permeated by the spirit of the age that it is impossible for them to have the old kind of faith in the efficacy of prayer. It is as vain to appeal to them to recover that faith again as to urge them to repossess the vanished months of the past year. They know of a human power that can and does remove mountains, but it is not "prayer." It is the knowledge, scientific skill, perseverance, labor, courage, which have succeeded in tunneling the Alps and piercing the Rocky backbone of the American Continent, to make highways for human intercourse and bonds of amity between States. And these people begin to see that it is by a somewhat similar exercise of human capacities that man is to remove the mountains of ignorance, error, and vice that now stand so obstinately across the way of human advancement and happiness; that is, that the greater and nobler objects of human desire are not to be attained by supplicating Heaven or any Deity believed to dwell there, to send them down as gifts to mankind, but are to be won by the zealous and faithful putting forth of human effort for just that purpose. They are to be earned by that kind of "prayer" which is both desire and labor, and will not come in response to any other kind of entreaty.

Yet this is not to say that the modern mind may not find it both natural and elevating to give some expression to its rational desire for a deeper and more active unity between itself and the upward aim and moral import of the universe. The modern mind believes in a universe controlled by law, and not by arbitrary personal will that may be moved hither or thither by the importunity of human supplications. "Prayer," therefore, to the modern mind, if it use the word at all, will mean *aspiration*. It is the natural desire of the human soul for its highest good. It is humanity's longing and yearning for its own ideal perfection. This desire and yearning may clothe itself in words or it may breathe itself out in silence. It may sing a song of gratitude for life and life's joys. It may sigh in sadness and sorrow because of past frailties; it may hope and resolve for something better in the future. It may be a cry for right, and for a higher rectitude and purity of life; an impassioned longing for inward peace, or for harmony of impulse and conduct with that mighty and all-pervading Power in the universe, unknown and yet known, that makes for truth and righteousness. All these "prayer" may be to the modern mind, and the test of its genuineness will be resolute effort to realize its own objects; but *begging* for gifts or favors, supplicating for a change or suspension of any natural law, it cannot be.

If the idea of prayer were thus modernized, and people felt themselves under an obligation to answer their own prayers, the "week of prayer" might be made a very useful instrumentality for promoting human welfare. It would then become an incitement to deeper truth-searching and to more courageous work for the right. It would stimulate the impulses of beneficence, charity, and neighborly good will, and send people out into the world more devoted to justice, temperance, and honesty. Its topics would lose the ecclesiastical and theological flavor they now have, and would be such as immediately concern the every-day interests of human society. Instead of "The Christian Missions in Asia" or "the power of the Spirit to sanctify believers," the meetings of the "prayer-week" would be stirred by such questions as: How can we best promote temperance? How create a higher standard of chastity, and the same for man as for woman? How more effectually meet the problem of dealing with crime? How help each other to lift the burdens of ignorance, vice, poverty, and misery which now crush to earth so large a portion of the human race? And, above all, how shall each individual strengthen and increase his own higher life, and nourish and keep those qualities of character which will make him a beneficent providence to the world?

Faith, indeed, will be an element in the successful solution of such questions as these; but it will be faith that has not so much concern with theological dogmas as with the practical objects sought. It will be faith in virtue and morality as representing the highest import of the universe,—a faith that rises into a passionate love of the right. Such a faith as this lays hold of the very powers of life, and wields them in new creative action. The most effectual faith in God is not that which takes the form of the intellectual proposition that he is a supreme and eternal Person who rules the universe from an invisible throne at its centre; but it is faith in the truth and goodness which declare the highest law for man's conduct, and obligate him to obedience thereto.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SPRINGS OF PURPOSE AND PURSUIT.

Back of all the progress made by humanity so far in the world's history has been the impetus given by individual purpose and steadfast pursuit. These are the forces which have made progress in any direction possible. Various have been the directing springs which have awakened in men a strong purpose, and started them in certain lines of thought and labor, from which they have rarely diverged until the aim in view has been achieved. Some of these springs are so deeply hidden in the consciousness of occasional individuals that we can never correctly guess, or even if we do guess correctly, can never *know* with certainty the impelling impulse.

But, on the other hand, in the majority of cases, the kind of pursuit chosen and the method of going to work to carry out the purpose reveal the springs which animate these workers. We recognize by indubitable signs the men and women whose labors are impelled by sympathy for suffering humanity, by a passionate devotion to truth, by a craving for exact knowledge, by a fervid religious faith, by a rigid sense of duty, by a far-seeing selfishness, or by a burning desire for fame.

Whichever of these motives may be the impelling force, the results to the world at large are apparently about the same. So much impetus has been given in a progressive direction, and in so far the worker has been, whether intentionally or otherwise, a benefactor of his race.

But it does make a great difference, whether he knows it or not, to the man himself what the mainspring of his action is, whether selfish or unselfish; for simple ambition and desire to be talked about by his fellows, to be in a word famous, is a fever of the mind which undermines the moral constitution, and is apt to leave the sufferer from it destitute of mental poise and deficient in intellectual strength.

Yet it seems strange, to one who thinks of it as a mere spectator in a philosophizing mood, to observe the preponderance of this one motive. No other spring of action is so common as this, in whatever direction the thinker looks. Men's longing desire to be in some way distinguished from those around them, to become a point of observation and praise, is seen as surely in the exultation of the savage when enabled to add one more scalp to his trophied belt, in the brutal bully whose tell-tale bruises make him the object of admiring comment by street gamins and his prowess the subject of betting by the patrons of liquor saloons, in the humblest member of a victorious ball club, the sorest-footed pedestrian that ever outwalked his competitors, or the owner of a cup won by boat or bicycle race, as in the actor who has won distinction as a "star," the author whose books are quoted, the artist whose paintings are bought, the inventor whose patents are renewed, and the scientist who is referred to as an "authority." On life's lowest levels as well as on its top-most heights, the desire for fame exercises its subtle, strong force on all human action. And it is good that it does so; for it thus reaches, stirs, and impels where the higher motives are powerless in the lower moral strata. It finds responsive chords in intellects insensitive to finer motives, and so prepares for impulses from the finer springs of purpose and of pursuit.

But it is when it is allowed in cultivated minds to become the master passion, when at its demands the higher faculties of the moral and intellectual nature are subsidized and levied upon for help to perfect its schemes, that we feel constrained to show its low moral standard and its inadequacy as a ruling motive.

The popular longing for fame (a temporary immortality) has sometimes been urged as an argument in favor of the immortality of the soul. But the thinker will see in it, more probably, an argument against immortality, since nothing seems more ephemeral than earthly fame. We talk of Shakspeare's fame as being immortal, yet he died twenty-one years less than three hundred years ago. The span of three human lives could easily reach to his age and time. That is certainly not immortality, as we reckon it. How about the undeniable fame of lesser lights? Who were the best known leaders in thought and literature one hundred years ago? Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, Condorcet, in France; Dr. Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, Hannah More, Frances Burney, in England; Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, John Adams, Aaron Burr, and Thomas Jefferson, in America. These are the names that are still famous; but how many whose names were, perhaps, even better known then have dropped into oblivion in that short space of time? And how many of these even are as well known to the children of this generation as the names of Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer, Howells, James, Mrs. Stowe, Louisa Alcott, and others presently famous, many of whom will be forgotten in less than one hundred years!

Nay, more, is there any reader of *The Index* who has lived to forty years of age, who cannot recall the time when the names of many men and women still living, but now rarely mentioned, were

in all the papers of the land; whose fame seemed to be guaranteed for at least several generations, and their good work generally acknowledged, but whose names, now appearing at rare intervals and on special occasions in one or two journals, strike us with a strange feeling, as if brought face to face with ghostly visions of the past? Jenny Lind, the divine singer; Eugénie, formerly Empress of France, and leader of fashions; Kossuth, the Hungarian hero, whom America went wild over; Fanny Kemble, the lovely girl, who thrilled the English and American public with her acting fifty years ago; Mary Howitt, whose pure, natural stories were the delight of our childhood; Martin F. Tupper, whose *Proverbial Philosophy* was once the rage; John C. Fremont, whose thrilling explorations read like charming romances, and whose fame as a daring adventurer and high-souled man made him, thirty years ago, a candidate for the presidency of the United States; John G. Saxe, popular poet and gubernatorial candidate; William Sprague, War Governor and Senator from Rhode Island, the husband of one of the most brilliant women of Washington; and, last and perhaps least, Dennis Kearney, the sand-lot orator of San Francisco,—these are all still living, with many others, like George Francis Train, who won temporary notoriety in the newspapers, though to-day their names are almost forgotten through the forgetfulness of the public. Yet, in the face of these facts, thousands of men and women of less decided characteristics are desperately struggling to-day, in many different departments of life, with the one poor, inadequate, unsatisfactory aim to become temporarily, in however small a fashion, famous; to gain a niche in the columns of some ephemeral newspaper, or to have their names embalmed in the doings of some society whose existence will be forgotten ere they are dead.

To many who have single-heartedly sought, not fame, but the good of their fellows, truth,—new light,—it is true that fame has come as well; but these workers have not particularly cared for it, have not been dependent on it, would have pursued their studies just as serenely and undauntedly if the whole civilized world had turned against them. The theories of Darwin, Spencer, Haeckel, Huxley, Tyndall, Galton, and Pasteur, have been remorselessly assailed; but these thinkers, not working for fame merely, could afford to keep their tempers, to wait, and to go on with their experiments to ultimate triumph. Contrast with the calm deportment of these the feverish impatience of such fame-seekers as Chatterton, Keats, and Byron, who, with all their wondrous genius, cared more for the fame that genius brought than for the genuine worth of its work; and that passionate demand for an immediate public recognition commensurate with the greatness of their gifts resulted in the death of two of these and the misanthropy of the third.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

LATTER-DAY INSTINCTS.

The new science which Carl Vogt calls "Geographical History" teaches us that within the few centuries of our chronological era the hand of man has produced greater changes in the physical conditions of our globe than all the elemental forces combined have effected during the last fifty thousand years. Rivers have shrunk to brooks; vast forests have disappeared; a climate once confined to the inland plains of the tropics has invaded the coastlands of the temperate zones; new plants, new trees, new nations, have superseded the autochthones. Throughout a territory as large as that of the North American Continent,

the aspect of nature has been so wholly transformed that its former inhabitants might fail to recognize the sight of their birthlands. The vice-regent of the Creator has used his power unsparingly, but at his peril; for the self-avenging laws of nature have occasionally balanced the account by perpetuating some of his innovations. The cloudless sky remains deaf to the prayers for rain. The silent desert refuses to revive. The survivors of our slain fellow-creatures avoid man with an incurable mistrust.

Man himself has undergone a retributive metamorphosis. The indigence of the worn-out soil stunts the development of its inhabitants as well as of its herbs and trees. Some of their higher faculties have been lost by long disuse. Nay, more than one abnormal habit has become an abnormal instinct. Our artificial modes of life have begot hereditary vices, asserting themselves with all the vigor of normal propensities, though partly offset by artificial virtues, or virtues artificially awakened from a thousand years' trance. Millions of our contemporaries are swayed by passions as unknown to the first sons of Adam as the motive power of a steam-engine.

The most persistent of those factitious instincts is the *Stimulant Habit*,—the *penchant* for convulsing the system with more or less virulent drugs. The origin of the poison passion is as obscure as the exegesis of sin, but the period of authentic history certainly antedates the time of its introduction in various European countries. The Greeks and Romans of the early republican era contented themselves with sweet wine (half-fermented must), and generally reserved even that mild stimulant for public festivals. In Latium, viticulture did not begin till a century after the time of Cincinnatus. Greek historians mention the time when the worship of Bacchus—i.e., the use of vinous stimulants—first crossed the Hellespont. Among the peasants of Saxon England, beer-drinking and carousing were still synonyms. "At Ember-eves and Holy Ales," the good man broached his hoarded kegs of home-brew, but was content to wash down his every-day meal with whey. At present, the twelve Caucasian nations number about a hundred million persons, who think a daily stimulant of some sort or other as indispensable as their daily bread. The poison fiend defies all exorcism, though the convenience or necessity of disguise has now and then induced it to change its form. Under the sway of Islam, alcohol has yielded to opium. In France, it has been partly superseded by *absinthe*; in North America, here and there, by tobacco and strong coffee. Through all the great social reforms of the last two centuries, the poison habit has held its own so persistently as to suggest the suspicion of itself being the *metastasis* of an elder instinct.

That prototype was probably the suppressed *love of excitement*. The enforced quietism of our peculiar ethics drove pleasure-seekers from the village green to the beer-shops. The whole history of asceticism shows sadly how often the suppression of harmless amusement has been followed by an increase of intemperance. But the genesis of the poison disease also suggests its possible cure. We cannot hope to fight alcohol with Salvation Armies; but we may divert the influence of its motive principle by guiding it back into its original channels; we may redeem the victims of the stimulant vice by healthier forms of amusement. A gymnastic arena in every township, a free museum or zoological garden in every larger city, would far excel our conventional remedies in curing intemperance by the removal of the cause.

Another instinct which would hardly be recog-

nized in its original form is our modern *Thaumaturgism*,—the thirst for supernatural revelations which, in the latter days of this age of reason, has asserted itself by such astonishing methods. Supernaturalism, as distinct from the promiscuous credulity of ignorance, is a specific product of the Middle Ages, the thousand years' interregnum of reason, when science was almost wholly superseded by thaumaturgic pursuits,—miracle-mongery, mysticism, and the compilation of ghost legends. Soon after the introduction of monachism, a universal ghost craze spread over Europe, like a contagious moral disease, till, as Lecky says, "not truth only, but the very love of truth, seemed obliterated from the human heart,"—to a degree unknown to the darkest ages of pagan antiquity. The science of the ancients was limited by their circumscribed sphere of experience. Columella, Xenophon, and even the elder Pliny retailed scientific superstitions which could nowadays be refuted by the graduates of a village school; but from a *penchant* for miraculism they were as free as from the vice of religious intolerance. The freethinker Diagoras propagated his views, unhindered, from city to city. Lucretius alluded to the myths of the popular creed in terms that would cost Charles Bradlaugh his standing as well as his seat. Xenophanes openly lectured on the suspicious circumstance that each nation attributed to the gods its own passions and physical characteristics. Stilpo attacked the system of public sacrifices with all the *persiflage* of the French encyclopædists. In the second century of our chronological era, the liberal theism of Epicurus had become so popular in Rome that few intelligent magistrates could have been induced to enforce the statute laws against dissenters. Nay, Cicero (*De Divinatione*, II., 50) mentions that a large audience applauded an actor who quoted a passage from Ennius to the effect that the gods were not in the habit of troubling themselves about the concerns of mankind! Plautus wrote a special play to ridicule the belief in ghosts. There were large cities where a Katie King could not have made half a dozen dupes; and there is no doubt that the writings of Jean Bodin, a French "philosopher" of the sixteenth century, contain a larger and more stupendously absurd collection of *supernaturalia* than the whole antechristian literature of Greece and Rome, taken together.

But, after the conversion of Europe, the shadow on the dial of reason moved backward. The triumph of faith was enforced by the cremation of some eight hundred thousand sceptics. The children of thirty following generations were systematically fuddled with mysticism, and when education was at last wrested from the hands of the miracle-mongers, the after-effects of their prescriptions remained. A thirst for miracles had become a hereditary instinct. That instinct has strangely survived the sunrise of civilization. Persistent, yet withal pliant, it masquerades in ever more ingenious disguises,—nay, even in the garb of science. Tauler, the Rosicrucians, Swedenborg, Boehm, Mesmer and his oracular followers, catered to the same appetite, though their methods improved with the growing fastidiousness of their patrons. Our latter-day spooks own the influence of culture. From the Bavarian *Pelzmärten*, who used to astonish the natives by defiling unguarded out-houses and frightening country maidens with his obscene whoops, to the familiar of a perfumed medium, delighting a Boston audience with the posthumous efforts of eminent poets and essayists, there is a wide step in the right direction. The ghosts themselves must congratulate each other on the progressive refinement of their mundane sphere,

though their Protean versatility may alarm many honest rationalists. "Does our civilization, then, afford no safeguards against such revivals of superstition?"

The truth is that, against the influence of a moral poison habit, culture is but an indifferent specific. As Schopenhauer reminds us, even among the schoolmen of the Middle Ages there were shrewd enough reasoners. The trouble was that they contented themselves with drawing their inferences after the rules of logic, without venturing to question the validity of their premises."

That explanation is, indeed, the only key to an otherwise inexplicable riddle: The phenomenon of the frequent and apparently harmonious concomitance of learning and ultra-childish credulity; of men with all the erudition of the four faculties, and often with more than average experience in the affairs of practical life, being taken in by tricks that could be exposed by an unbiassed school-boy, and defending extravagant absurdities with a skill that would baffle the tactics of a veteran barrister. For the thaumaturgists, who seem to have entered the service of science, often wear but the badge of her livery, while they continue to ride their hobby-horse in the roundabout of the enchanted circle. Dismounted, though, such philosophers of the whirligig may prove surprisingly able to follow the straight path of reason; and to make their monomania the criterion of their mental capacities would often be as unjust as to judge the prowess of a bibulous wrestler from his gait under the staggering influence of his tipple. Like the stimulant habit, the ghost mania cannot be subdued by diatribes; but we may modify it by reclaiming its motive principle,—originally the *instinct of wonder*, akin to legitimate inquisitiveness. The suppression of that instinct has driven its votaries from nature to ghostland, but their bias may yield to a stronger attraction; for, in the market of miracles, the revelations of science already begin to outbid the temptations of mysticism.

Our age of co-operation has been accused of stunting the spirit of self-reliance, but has made amends by developing the *instinct of publicity*. The germ of that instinct has for ages existed in the desire of communication, which manifests itself even in the lower animals, but which, up to the latter centuries of the Middle Ages, contented itself with a limited audience,—nay, even avoided the confidence of the masses. Instead of proclaiming their wrongs from the housetops, the political malcontents of former centuries met in secret conclave. Sceptics whispered their doubts from ear to ear. *Procul profani!* was the cry of the Eleusinian priests, preferring to conduct their camp-meetings on a limited scale. In several south European monarchies, the mere mention of court scandals was an indictable offence. We feel moved to drag all such things to the forum of public opinion, after all, in token of our growing confidence in the equity of that tribunal. The frequent complaint that the censorship of public morals is passing from the clergy to the press means, in fact, nothing but that the public is proving itself competent to be its own guardian of moral interests. Thus far, the plan has proved the advantages of giving all parts a hearing, though the motive principle of the instinct is perhaps a reaction against the enforced silence of the intolerant ages. Considering its present rate of progress, it seems not easy to say where the movement will end, nor what the righteous could risk if it should go to all lengths. What harm if the twentieth century should witness mass meetings of Moslems discussing the moral character of Mohammed Ben Abdallah, especially if the practice should teach them to trim the plenipotence of their many-tailed Pashas?

The *instinct of protest* is no longer confined to the Germanic nations. The Mediterranean races, too, have rediscovered the truth that submission to injustice is a sin against society as well as against nature; and the growing intolerance of shams is, next to the reawakened thirst for knowledge, perhaps the most hopeful sign of the times.

Among the west Caucasian nations, the reaction against the tyranny of dogmas has culminated in the development of a daring *instinct of scepticism*. The modern "spirit of denial," which Carlyle bewails as a symptom of disintegration, is, nevertheless, the best safeguard of truth, since its action is self-regulative, and every abuse of its mission tends to call forth a counter-denial. The instinct of doubt has likewise served as a moral antidote of the miracle habit, and is much akin to that vigilance which is the price of knowledge as well as of freedom. And, since reason naturally directs its keenest weapons against dogmas,—more hateful by being both hideous and untrue,—who shall say that scepticism tends to lessen the moral sunshine of our lives? For one consoling hope, it has probably exploded a hundred distressing fears. Any one who has an opportunity to visit the cottages of our farmers and mechanics, and will take the trouble to ascertain—not by Sabbath-school methods, but by private conversation—how much of the belief in the demonism of the Middle Ages still lingers, even among the more *gnostic* members of the representative generation, may satisfy himself that a delusion which once almost crazed the nations of Christian Europe has silently but irrevocably passed away.

It must be admitted that here and there the Spirit of Denial has begun to forfeit the alliance of Liberalism by emulating the intolerance of its adversaries, but a student of ecclesiastical polemics can understand the satisfaction which an agnostic may feel in the ultra-scepticism of his party. When Napoleon the Great was banished to Elba, a wag proposed to give him only half the island and a chance to gratify his ambition by the conquest of the other half. For similar reasons, free thinkers may deem it safer to push their outworks rather beyond the limits of tenable ground. They feel sure that their opponents will avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to recommence encroachments.

But history also teaches that an age of doubt has generally been the harbinger of great social transformations, and even that the omen has often betrayed the tendency of the coming change. The discovery of shams leads to their abolition; and, by pointing out the more grievous discrepancies of semblance and fact, scepticism has more than once indicated the chief needs of the times: a fasting cure for the vice-riots of surfeited Rome; emancipation for the victims of mediæval absolutism.

What consummation of most exigent reforms will accompany the prospective reconstruction of our own age? The "Ascendency of Reason over Arms," predicted by the utilitarian optimists, peace conventions, and abolition of standing armies? Educational Reform? Physical Regeneration? The Triumph of Temperance? Harmonized Interests of Labor and Capital? Women's Rights? Prof. Goldwin Smith's "Blessing of a Credible Creed"?

Scepticism enters a *caveat* against details of augury, and the history of civilization warns us that the seed of reform is of slow growth; but we may at least predict that its germs will not perish from want of sunshine, for the steady advance of science warrants the hope that the development of those germs will be aided by a progress from dawn to the light of a new day.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

SILURIAN THEOLOGY.

We are taught that the evolution of animated beings from lower forms to higher is a slow process,—so slow, in fact, that historic time is not long enough to measure the shortest step in its march. The evolution of Christian doctrine is not so slow. We can mark its progress from barbarism to civilization, from darkness to light. Even in this generation, learning has improved and refined it so much that old preachers can hardly recognize the theology of their own sermons preached in their earlier ministry. At the same time, we find certain popular "divines" who are paid high salaries to act as theological brakemen, and hold humanity back, lest it arrive too soon at the millennium. Geologists tell us that the different and successive ages of evolution are marked by the extinction of some species of animals and the beginning of others. At the same time, they say that some creatures, in every age, have escaped the general catastrophe, and survived into the succeeding epoch. Indeed there are some animals living with us yet, survivors of races which have not advanced a step in the scale of improvement from the days of the lower Silurian even until now. So there are species of Christians, sects they call them, like the Roman Church, for instance, which have successfully resisted the process of mental and moral evolution from the Silurian age of Christendom down to the present day. There are, also, preachers in the Protestant pulpit, survivors from primeval religious chaos, who are trying to reverse the process of the suns, and who hope some day to sing praises to the Lord that chaos is come again.

One of the most popular and best paid brakemen on Humanity's road is the Rev. Mr. Talmage, of Brooklyn. His theology is considered of so much importance that his Sunday discourses are telegraphed to various parts of the country for publication in the Monday morning edition of the newspapers. This telegraphing is done by sinful operators who violate the Sabbath for that purpose. In different papers of Monday, December 28, is printed Mr. Talmage's sermon of Sunday, the 27th. It is called a "Discourse on the Closing Year," and will serve as a fair specimen of the kind of brake which Mr. Talmage is working in a religious effort to stop the cars of human progress. It is a burst of inflammatory rhetoric frightening the soul; an unpleasant reminder of where we shall go to when we die, unless we believe a lot of unbelievable things, which we must believe or perish.

Mr. Talmage tries to stimulate religion by giving pain. He goads his flock like the cruel herdsman, who uses an iron rod. His exaggerated comparisons and strained metaphors worry the nerves of his congregation; and, when he threatens his hearers with that superlative degree of punishment "prepared for the devil and his angels," they surrender and believe, like that Oxford student who was willing to subscribe, not only to the Thirty-nine Articles, but to forty of them, if required. Mr. Talmage compares the pilgrim who has reached the end of another year to the tired horseman who, having made a long journey to the top of a hill, reins in his steed, takes his feet out of the stirrups, and looks back. This is picturesque, and easy enough to understand; but, when he says, "So to-day we come up to the Sabbatic Mount of Privilege," he talks in that meaningless and inflated style which sensational theologians consider necessary when they tell about the "mysteries" of the atonement and the incarnation.

Mr. Talmage took his text from Paul to the

Romans,—“Knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep.” This is a good enough text for the closing of the old year, although better for the opening of the new. Contrary to the doctrine of most preachers of his order, who maintain that it is easy to become a Christian, Mr. Talmage declared that it was very difficult, because “there are so many obstacles in the way of our salvation.” “My yoke is easy, and my burden is light,” said Christ; but Mr. Talmage thinks the other way. According to him, the yoke is hard, and the burden heavy. “Every man,” he says, “who has tried in earnestness to become a child of God has found difficulties.” One of the chief obstacles, said Mr. Talmage, is “the worldliness that surrounds you.” As explained by the preacher in detail, this “worldliness” was that reprehensible activity which consists in earning a living for wife and children. “You rise in the morning,” said he, “you hurry through the morning meal, you go to your office, you open the letters, you answer them, you examine the money market. Your life is a toil and a turmoil. It is very rare that, from eight o'clock in the morning until four or five in the afternoon, save the fifteen or twenty minutes in which you lunch, you have a single thought about the great future. Oh, this tide of worldliness! It sets away from God and away from heaven.”

What is all the “worldliness” just described but the ordinary duty of human life, which, when honestly done, is itself worship, if such a thing can be? Why should a man impair either his “lunch” or his digestion by gloomy forebodings about the “great future”? Are not the cares of the great present enough? The “worldliness” of honest industry in any business does not “set a man away from God”; and it will surely help him to heaven, whether that heaven be in this world or in the world to come.

The “obstacles” just mentioned are of man's own making, and he might avoid them by his own conduct. Instead of rising in the morning, he might lie in bed; instead of going to his office, he might stay at home, dream of the “great future,” and let the great present take care of itself. This is intelligible enough; but why should he be held responsible for “Satan,” and the obstacles which that conspirator places in the way of salvation? Man should not be held accountable for them; and yet Mr. Talmage said to his people, “There are obstacles in the way of your getting to heaven in Satanic and infernal assault.” “The air,” he said, “is full of evil spirits”; and then, with redundant martial metaphor, he explained their mode of action. “They accost you,” he said. “They meet you at the cross-roads. They tell you the wrong road. They try to unhorse your good resolutions, to spike your guns, and to outflank you in every Christian movement.” Now, Satans who accost people at the cross-roads, who direct them wrong, who unhorse them, spike their guns, and outflank them, ought to be punished for inflicting such annoyance; but, surely, the victims of the persecution deserve pity rather than blame. Such mischievous pranks as those ought not to have any effect in keeping people out of heaven.

The importance of religion, and especially of Mr. Talmage's religion, is estimated by the value of a human soul; and the value of the soul is found by weighing it in a pair of scales against the world. The soul goes down with a ten thousand million pounds weight, while the “ponderous world” kicks the beam. “This soul,” said Mr. Talmage, “with the image of God upon it, has been debased, and has become a counterfeit. We have all sinned; and we are all lost, unless divine

grace rescue and redeem us.” He likened a sound soul to a sound currency, and made the parallel plain by an anecdote which is very appropriate now. “Theodoric forbade the debasing of the national coin. They said to him, ‘We can mix something else with it, and it will be just as good.’ ‘No,’ he said, ‘I will not have my face imprinted on a debased coin.’” There is an honest pride in this remark; and the principle of it might be imitated by some Christian nations which are in the habit of stamping the face of the Goddess of Liberty on a debased coin, and giving a religious character to the counterfeit by engraving on it the sanctimonious advertisement, “In God we trust.”

Another obstacle to salvation is “the brevity of time in which we have to prepare for the next world.” Man should not be held accountable for this “brevity,” for he does not appoint the duration of human life. Short as it is, this life is long enough for all the work and all the duties required of it. To maintain the contrary is to reproach the Creator. When men lived to be nine hundred and sixty-nine years old, they were no better than they are now. In fact, they were worse; for it became absolutely necessary to drown the whole race, with the exception of one family. Considering that it required three hundred years to build St. Peter's Church at Rome, Mr. Talmage thinks that the average length of life is hardly sufficient to build “a temple of holiness in the soul.” Imitating the fluent auctioneer who says: “Now, here's a full-jewelled, solid gold, hunter-case watch, eighteen carats fine: how much are you going to give me for it? Shall I have ten dollars for it? Nine? Eight? Seven? Six? Will you give me five dollars for the watch?” so the verbose preacher rattles on about the human soul. He says: “Now, here is a temple of holiness to be built in every man's soul. How long are you going to give us to build the temple? A thousand years? No. Seven hundred? Six hundred? Five hundred? Three hundred? Two hundred? One hundred? No.” In this way, he stumbles along to the bottom, like a man falling downstairs. “Some of us,” he continues,—“some of us will not have sixty years, some of us will not have fifty, and some of us will not have thirty, and some of us will not have twenty years to build this great temple. Oh, how vast is the work, and how short a time there is to do it!” All this repetition is artfully contrived to rasp the spiritual nerves of timid people, and drive them to join the church without any more delay. It is a fault of those vain and eloquent exhorters that they will not search the Scriptures. They prefer the wisdom of their own hearts to the wisdom of the Word. Had Mr. Talmage read his Bible diligently, he would have learned from Solomon, the wise, that “to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.”

In all this rhapsody, we look in vain for any hint of the sublime and practical religion of human love and honesty. Duties done to man are rather an “obstacle” to salvation than a help. There is no appeal to the congregation to take an interest in one another, but there is a dark suggestion that the man who does not take an interest in Jesus Christ is lost. Woe to the man who is careless in regard to his immortal destiny! His mortal destiny, and the mortal destiny of his neighbors, are matters of no concern at all. It is a mischievous thing to set up the interests of Jesus Christ against the interests of all mankind, to teach congregations that to serve and glorify him is all-sufficient for eternal salvation. It is a solemn thing to scare mankind by spiritual terrors away from human duties, and compel them to transfer those duties to the idols of a church.

This is the tendency, if not the declared purpose, of preaching like that of Mr. Talmage. It is injurious to the moral well-being of the world.

With sacrilegious presumption, Mr. Talmage exhibits a lost soul to the congregation as an example and a warning. This lost soul belonged to the partner of a business man then present in the congregation. His crime, in the exact language of the preacher, was this: "That man lived on without any concern about the future world; and, suddenly, he died." There is no insinuation that the man was not a good man in this world, just, loving, kind, and true; but he had no concern about the future world. "Where do you suppose he is?" inquired Mr. Talmage. The congregation started at the awful inference drawn and presented by the question. Seeing their surprise, he said: "Well, you don't like to take the responsibility. I want your opinion as to where he is." It is creditable to the congregation that there was not a person in it who had self-righteousness enough to pass judgment on that poor soul, either by word or look or sign. This did not deter the preacher from making the application of the question and its inference to the present company. "Oh!" he cried, "I wonder if, when we are dead, there will be any awful guessing about where we have gone." No doubt there will be plenty of it; but, so far as Mr. Talmage is concerned, let him be consoled by the reflection that those who shall do this "awful guessing" about him will be people of ill nature and extreme bad manners.

Having made his hearers uncomfortable, Mr. Talmage now mixes God's wrath with his gospel, to give it strength and pungency. That very disagreeable old death-bed, that every one must come to, is lifted up in scarecrow fashion once again; and, pointing to it, the exhorter said: "Oh, if, in the hour of death, you hear the up-braidings of conscience and the reverberations of a broken law and the thunders of God's anathemas, you will wish you had never been born."

This morbid religion, which forges "God's anathemas" and pelts poor mortals with them, until they join the church, has its market value in the temple. Mr. Talmage does not disdain to use it to heighten the value of the indulgence which, like a Protestant pope, he carries in his pocket. He has, in his theological stock, pardons as well as penalties. How shall man escape God's anathemas? By leading a good life? No. By deeds of love and charity? No. By scattering blessings round about him? No. By great service to humanity? No: these all count for little. Service to Christ, in church form, is enough; and Mr. Talmage is trustee of the absolution. "Why not come out to-night," he exclaimed, "and have this matter gloriously settled?"—settled right there in Mr. Talmage's tabernacle. "If there be anything in Christ," he said, "and a bright hope of heaven, why not come and get it?" Get it of him, to be sure. "In the name of my Lord Jesus Christ," he continued, "I plainly offer it,—pardon for all your sin, comfort for all your trouble, help for all your burdens."

This is the false gospel that is leading men astray from the real purposes and the genuine obligations of life, which presents to them an erroneous and an unnatural theory of virtue and religion, which substitutes faith for morals, and weakens the supreme law of the universe by cheap and counterfeit pardons for sin. It enfeebles the mind, and fills the heart with fear of God, until there is no room left in it for the love of men. It perverts the education of the young, and thus hinders the progress of the race to a higher and better civilization. No doubt, many of the preachers of this gospel are honest victims of religious

enthusiasm. They "know not what they do." It is not likely that Mr. Talmage himself has the least idea of the injurious character of his work, for he seems to be totally unconscious of the meaning of his own sermon. After showing the obstacles in the way of salvation, after suggesting over and over again the awful condition of the lost soul, after invoking the "thunders of God's anathemas," he had the coolness to say, "The gospel that I preach is not one of destruction, but a gospel of salvation." The innocence of this is delightful; and what a treat it will be for his congregation some Sunday, when he actually preaches the gospel of destruction!

M. M. TRUMBULL.

SAYS the *Springfield Republican*: "The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is very ingenious and wise in promoting skill and manhood among its employés, and has now established manual training for the five hundred boys employed in its machine shops. Prof. Scribner, of the Stevens' Institute of Technology, is employed to give them instruction in the shops, to change them about from one class of work to another, and to look after their technical education. Instruction in drawing is given after school hours, a library of text-books is furnished, and everything is done to encourage the youth to become skilled workmen. That is what we need in Springfield, not as part of the public school system, but in addition to it, as an education in practical mechanics."

FRANKLIN TYLER, a young man thirty-two years of age, died at his home in Charlestown, on the 26th of December, ultimo. Mr. Tyler, from his earliest childhood, evinced a singularly mild and gentle disposition, which continued to be his chief characteristic to the close of his life, united with which were a strict morality, an indomitable integrity and purity of life in every position which he occupied in relation to his fellow-citizens. Though descended from a long line of Puritan ancestry, he early extricated himself from the trammels of creeds, and became a pronounced Agnostic, as well from observation of the religious life in the community about him as from the natural bias of his mental constitution. Dogmas and *ex-cathedra dicta* had no influence on his mind, and never controlled his judgment. But, though always tolerant of the religious views of others, he firmly held to and maintained his own right to decide upon all such matters for himself. As a consequence of his genial nature, his moral qualities, and intellectual endowments, he invariably won the esteem and affectionate regard of all with whom he was brought into contact; and his sudden death (though he had never been of robust health) has caused his numerous relatives, friends, and acquaintances the sharpest pangs of sorrow, as creating a void which cannot easily and perhaps can never be filled. At the funeral, the discourse was delivered by B. F. Underwood.

For The Index.

THE IDEAL.—A SONNET.

Be not afraid lest in this world the Ideal
Should disappear, or like a flower fade;
For she is not mere fancy's flimsy shade.
She is a glowing presence, true and real.
Still firmly an alliance hymeneal
Joins her to Human Progress, as a maid
Is wedded to a hero, whom his blade
Protects; thus faithfully he shields the Ideal.
Wondrously from this bridal union springs
The life which, breathing through the human race,
In ardent youth shines forth from every face;
It lends to the inventor fancy's wings,
And stirs the poet's heart, who gayly sings
The Ideal's beauty and the Ideal's grace.

PAUL CARUS.

MOUNTAIN—VALE. For The Index.

MOUNTAIN.
The eagles on my crags their eyries build.
VALE.
With orchard carols all my bounds are filled.
MOUNTAIN.
A blast relentless o'er me ever blows.
VALE.
My dwellers zephyr lulled to repose.
MOUNTAIN.
In summer, e'en my peak is white with rime.
VALE.
Late spares my bloom an ever gentle clime.
MOUNTAIN.
Adown my sides, the wintry torrents roar.
VALE.
My streams smooth-sliding lave a reedy shore.
MOUNTAIN.
The sunset tints my heights with golden hue.
VALE.
My sword is longest-pearled with morning's dew.
MOUNTAIN.
Bare to the bolt I lift my granite brow.
VALE.
My green breast scars alone the vernal plough.
MOUNTAIN.
High up above the floral zone I soar.
VALE.
Green blade and leaf I cherish evermore.
MOUNTAIN.
My granite cliffs to purpose high inspire.
VALE.
Plenty and peace my tillers most desire.
MOUNTAIN.
Above my crags, the constellations wheel.
VALE.
Into my hollows, dews of evening steal.
MOUNTAIN.
My blue heights hail the misty sea afar.
VALE.
To light my vistas shineth twilight's star.
MOUNTAIN.
I was the homestead of the gods of yore.
VALE.
Bards ever love to pace my verdurous floor.
MOUNTAIN.
Late on my ridges, rays of sunset shine.
VALE.
My sounds are hum of bees and low of kine.
MOUNTAIN.
The mightiest rivers in my caves have birth.
VALE.
And for their largess thanks to lowland earth.
MOUNTAIN.
Condense I ocean's vapors as they rise.
VALE.
And thus in showers descend the vernal skies.
MOUNTAIN.
My bounty, then, your thrifty yeomen taste.
VALE.
Without that bounty, lowland earth were waste.
MOUNTAIN.
O'er men towers mountain-like some mighty brain.
VALE.
While lies the common mind like boundless plain.
MOUNTAIN.
Which from my summit catches morning's glow.
VALE.
As truth from heights of genius shines below.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 7, 1886.

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

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

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For The Index.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

BY FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY.

A Discourse before the Free Religious Society, Providence, R.I., Nov. 29, 1885.

"The sacred cause of liberty and the rights of mankind" is one and the same everywhere. It under-runs all lines of race and nationality. No people can secure a patent on it or build a Chinese wall about it. It is not the American's cause, the Englishman's cause, or the Irishman's cause: it is Humanity's cause.

Such is the faith in which, such the point of view from which, I approach my theme to-day. And I emphasize this thought at once, because it seems to me to be usually neglected, if not entirely forgotten. By no possibility can you separate the movement of our Revolutionary fathers from similar movements the world over. Emptying the tea into Boston Harbor, tearing down the Bastille at Paris, resisting the tyranny of the Czar at St. Petersburg, and seeking redress of the wrongs of Ireland are deeds which belong to the same family, and bear unmistakable marks of their common kindred. It is nothing less than cant and hypocrisy to celebrate Bunker Hill and build statues to Samuel Adams and his compeers, while refusing even our sympathies to the patriots who, under other names and surrounded by other and less favorable conditions, are contending for precisely the same principles. Whatever others may do, I shall not

"From the tombs of the old prophets
Steal the funeral lamps away,
To light up the martyr fagots
Round the prophets of to-day."

There is another preliminary word which is necessary to a clear understanding of the equities of the case. If the American must not isolate his struggle from the general and universal welfare, neither must the Irishman. If the Englishman

must be made to think of somebody besides himself, so must the Irishman. I attended the recent public meeting of the Land League and its friends, held in this city, and heartily sympathized with most that was said and done there. The principal speaker of the evening, however, marred the effect of his otherwise able and reasonable address by saying some things about England and English leaders which were untrue, and, it seemed to me, calculated to do great harm. Perhaps it is too much to expect that fine distinctions shall be made at a mass-meeting for off-hand speaking; but, certainly, here such distinctions must be recognized and stated. I can well understand that one who has been the victim of the wretched colonial policy of Great Britain, or who has only known her as identified with oppressive circumstances against which he has struggled in vain, should feel only as the subject always justly feels toward his master. But when we take a broader view, as we must to get at the perfect truth, we find that all nations, like all individuals, are mixtures of good and evil, none to be unqualifiedly approved, none to be unqualifiedly condemned. It is true, I am sure, that Irishmen as well as Englishmen have faults to answer for. It is true that England, spite of her faults, has contributed influences to the cause of human rights which should command—and, when we understand them, do command—our unstinted respect and admiration. I do not expect any really intelligent Irishman to dissent from this statement. It is out of the most genuine sympathy for him and belief in his cause that I make it. Another thing. I should be especially sorry to have anything I may say to-day interpreted as any reflection upon, or as giving any encouragement to bitterness of feeling toward, Mr. Gladstone. The complexity of good and bad inheritance which has come to that man politically is something which it is almost impossible to appreciate. He did not make the conditions of modern English politics, and he cannot wholly unmake them; but I honestly believe he has done as much as any man could do, more than most men could do, to ameliorate them. I think he has been high and pure-minded; I think he has had the good of the people at heart; I think that, all the circumstances considered, he stands at this moment pre-eminent for a statesmanship as instinctively honest and progressive as it is intellectually marvellous and enduring. Nevertheless, I find every conviction of my mind and every feeling of my heart on the side of Ireland in its aspirations for freedom. And it is because I would do justice to her that I would also do justice to the great nation which she has naturally come to regard as her enemy. We must rise above the bias of nativity, of section, of race, and remember only that "our country is the world, and our countrymen are all mankind," if we wish to get at the truth. So far, then, as is possible, I am to speak now of the Irish Question,—not from the Irishman's point of view, not from the Englishman's point of view, but rather from the human point of view.

What is the Irish Question?

Up to Jan. 1, 1871, I think we must say it was threefold in its nature. Ireland was then, as she had long been, suffering from the evils which grow out of a State Church, a bad condition of land tenure, and the absence of local self-government. Several years before this time, Mr. Gladstone had arisen from his seat in the House of Commons, and declared "that the time has come when the Irish Church establishment must fall." This declaration had been immediately followed by the introduction of his famous resolutions

looking to this end. A vote had been reached, and Mr. Disraeli's government defeated, and an appeal to the country had been taken. As Prof. King puts it, Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals had taken up the Irish cause in earnest, and the people had ratified the sentence that "the Irish Church establishment must fall." The necessary legislation had followed on the 26th of July, 1869. The Irish Church Bill had received the royal assent, and with the advent of the year 1871 went into actual operation. Word had come to the four millions of Roman Catholics and the one million of Protestants that henceforth on Irish soil all creeds are equal in the eye of the law. This was a revolution for which patriots had labored and the masses had yearned, but whose far-reaching significance, it is safe to say, was at first realized by no man. Mr. Justin McCarthy says that, by disestablishing the Irish Church, Mr. Gladstone proclaimed that the policy of religious ascendancy was banished forever from Ireland, and the reign of religious equality begun; and Mr. A. M. Sullivan claims, in his book on New Ireland, that not only was this much to be desired result accomplished, but for the first time in history the English people were set a thinking, inquiring, reading, investigating, and reasoning upon the general Irish question.

Of course, with the removal by statute of the invidious distinctions which had existed, it could not be expected that immediate abolition of all the evil effects of these distinctions would come. The simple fact was that, from that time on, the church question was eliminated from the problem, and what had been a threefold became a twofold subject of inquiry, as I think it remains to-day. The Irish Question now means the Land Question and the Home Rule Question. There is, however, a distinction to be made concerning these, which will become apparent as we proceed. First, let us try to deal with

The Land Question.

This, in my judgment, is not peculiar in kind: it is only peculiar in time and degree to Ireland. England itself is suffering under the same difficulty, and the time may come when the United States will be. We will, if you please, look first at some of the aggravating circumstances which mark the land problem in Ireland, and then give our attention briefly to some more fundamental considerations which attend it as a universal and human problem.

The little island is chiefly occupied by an agricultural population. The majority of its people, as has been often said, live on the land and by the land. They do not own their farms, however, or any portion of them, being simply tenants-at-will. Tenants of whom? Of landlords, who, in many cases, are absentees from the island, and have no interests in common, if, indeed, any acquaintance with it. These landlords, in all essentials foreigners, represent a title acquired by conquest,—a fact which, while changing in no way their legal standing, does have a sentimental effect upon the minds of Irishmen, as it would upon the minds of any race under like circumstances. Add to this a course of legislation which has always seemed to weaken the tenant and strengthen the landlord, accompanied by forms of misery as abject as, and more general than, any you or I can imagine,—evictions with and without what the world calls just cause,—and it is easy to see how the land has become such a subject of agitation with Irishmen. Imagine, says Mr. James Godkin, by way of making the condition of Irish feeling clear to Englishmen,—imagine that, in consequence of rebellions against

the Normans, the land of England had been confiscated three or four times, after desolating wars and famines, so that all the native proprietors were expelled, and the land was parcelled out to French soldiers and adventurers, on condition that the foreign planters should assist in keeping down the "mere English" by force of arms. Imagine that the English, being crushed by a cruel penal code for a century, were allowed to reoccupy the soil as mere tenants-at-will, under the absolute power of the French landlords. Possibly, one who can realize how Englishmen would feel under such circumstances can see that Irish misery and disorder are due to something besides the unruly and barbarous nature of Irishmen.

Mr. Godkin thus suggests that we only need to make the case our own, to realize its aggravating character. It is safe to say that the race does not exist which, under the same circumstances, would have retained that interest in the cultivation of the soil which, in an agricultural community, is absolutely necessary to contentment and prosperity. The sense of proprietorship in something,—that has been wanting in the lives of the Irish peasantry. And students of civilizing processes know well what that means. I say proprietorship in something. For not only has the Irish peasant found himself on land belonging to another, but he has obtained the use of that land in such a way that all his labor in improving it has been absorbed by that other. Until within fifteen or twenty years, it has been held that the landlord's rights were subject to no qualification whatsoever. To improve the soil came to mean to increase the rent; and if the occupant declined to pay increased rent, however exorbitant, he was likely to be turned out at any moment, for the benefit of a competitor. So, in course of time, the demand grew for some form of fixity or security of tenure. What is called tenant right was more and more talked about,—the idea being that a man should be allowed to remain in possession as long as he paid his rent, and should have some interest in the improvements which his own thought and labor had created. That proposition struck English Conservatism, as I suppose it would strike American Conservatism, as preposterous and fanatical. "Tenant right," said Lord Palmerston, "is landlord's wrong"; and the saying was taken up, and echoed throughout the realm. Nevertheless, under the powerful leadership of Mr. Gladstone, the Irish Land Bill, introduced by him in the early part of 1870, voiced the growing sentiment that tenants had some rights and landlords some duties. The effect of this legislation, as stated by McCarthy, was to overthrow, once for all, the doctrine of the landlord's absolute and unlimited right, and to recognize a certain property or partnership of the tenant in the land which he tilled. Here, again, we have convincing proof, were any needed, of the real animus of the great Liberal leader. I believe he did all that was politically possible under the circumstances to weaken the landlord in his assumptions and strengthen the tenant in his rights.

But, in all these considerations, we do not reach the root of the difficulty. That is deeper than the evil of excessive absenteeism. It is not touched by the establishment of tenant right. And this brings us to a consideration of the world-wide fundamental thought of land tenure. For I hold that the Land Question is bigger than Ireland, and that the world's philosophy on the subject of land is all wrong. The truth is, says Henry George, that the Irish land system is simply the general system of modern civilization, in no essential feature differing from the system which prevails in our own country. You may ask,—I

have heard it asked frequently,—If the landlord can obtain a higher rent of somebody else, why should he not evict his present tenant? If he thinks he will be better off if a change is made, the property is his, why should he not make it? That is practically what may be done in this part of the world, without much regard to your comfort or mine, if we are tenants. The real question, friends, is, How far can that process in equity go? There are people in our own city who refuse to let houses to families with small children. Suppose all the landlords in the city should take that ground: what then? The right of one to do so implies the right of all. And the exercise of the right by all would mean the expulsion from Providence of every such family. No city could long survive such a blow at its prosperity. Are all cities, then, at the mercy of the landlords? Thus, you see, we are brought face to face with a knotty question. What is the nature of the right you or I may acquire to land? May a handful of men own a whole island, and, if they choose drive all the rest of the inhabitants into the sea as trespassers? May the Vanderbilts and Goulds of this nation acquire in time ownership of all our territory, and convert the rest of us into intruders and nuisances? May all the rich men in the world monopolize the entire surface of the earth, and, since they cannot throw all the poor men off into space, take control of their persons and personal property, as the only way of collecting such rent as they see fit to charge for standing-room on this planet? Let us face the logic of our argument. "If one portion of the earth's surface," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands. Supposing the entire habitable globe to be so enclosed, it follows that, if the land-owners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not land-owners have no right at all to its surface. Hence, such can exist on the earth by sufferance only. Save by the permission of the lords of the soil, they can have no room for the soles of their feet."

Again, I ask, what is the nature of the right to property in land? What are its limitations, if it have any? What shall we say of these disastrous consequences of the spirit of our present land system? Ah, you reply, the difficulties you have raised are purely speculative ones, which we are never likely to reach. The Irish people have already reached them. There is nothing speculative about them in Ireland. They are intensely practical, as every English and every Irish statesman knows. The nature of land tenure becomes a practical question,—a question felt in every-day practical affairs the moment the proportion of population to the acre becomes sufficiently great to make it such. We, in the United States, do not realize what a safety-valve to us our large, unoccupied Western lands are. We do not feel here as yet, as Ireland feels, the pressure of a large population, whose occupancy of land and, therefore, whose right to life under the circumstances, are based on sufferance, and sufferance only. Let me give you some figures. The total area of Ireland is 20,327,764 acres. Her population is about 5,412,000. This gives an average of something less than four acres of land per head. The total area of the United States is 2,306,460,000 acres. Supposing our population to be 50,000,000, that gives us an average of something over forty-six acres per head. Four acres in one case against forty-six in the other. It is true that the average land

per head is even less in England than in Ireland, being, if my figures are correct, only about one and one-half acres; but there are other factors of the problem there which have to be considered. If England were as exclusively an agricultural country as Ireland is, or, in other words, if her people were brought face to face with the necessity of land as a means of daily subsistence as the Irish people are, I think it would be seen at once that this proportion of population to area would make trouble. We can realize this by contemplating for a moment our own State. Our total area is about 836,000 acres. Our population by the census of 1870 was 217,353. This makes our average amount of land per head very nearly the same as that of Ireland, something less than four acres. Now suppose that Rhode Island, instead of being a manufacturing State, were an agricultural State. Suppose that our population of over 200,000 were, for the most part, trying to obtain its subsistence from the soil. We should have the land question here at once in all its significance. Our water-courses, our fisheries, and our position as a manufacturing centre, combine to save us in degree from the land difficulties which beset the Irish people. So I say again that, underlying the question of land tenure in Ireland, is the larger question of land tenure everywhere.

Before leaving this branch of our subject, there are some deductions to be drawn which follow inevitably from the line of thought we have been pursuing. Land, like air and water, is a natural element,—furnished, that is, like them, by nature; and, like them, essential to life. Property in land, in the sense of exclusive control and monopoly of it, is no more consistent with equity than such property in the air or water, were this possible, would be. The whole territory of Ireland at this moment belongs rightfully to all the people who are making their homes on Irish soil. The whole territory of England belongs rightfully to all the people who are making their homes on English soil. And the whole territory of the United States belongs rightfully to all the people who are making their homes on United States soil,—belongs to them, not to speculate with, keep from productive use, and finally bequeath to another generation, but to employ for purposes of health, recreation, and happiness, each in such proportion and in such a way as not to infringe upon the benefits of like employment, somewhere and somehow, by every other human being. There is, in my opinion, no ultimate settlement of the land question possible, save upon some such fundamental principle of equity as this. How so great a revolution in our ideas of property in the soil is to come about, I do not know. How the details are to be managed, and just what the details will be, I do not know. It is a question for time and civilization to settle. The world will have to roll on a long while yet, before its inhabitants will believe enough in the religions they have professed even to care to settle it. In the mean time, relief for Ireland must come from some other quarter. England, under the lead of Gladstone, has done about all she can at present do in the way of ameliorating the evils of bad land tenure without thoroughly reforming them. She has done enough to make it true, I think, that, strictly speaking, the land question is no longer an Irish question, but a human question; already world-wide in its significance, if not already world-wide in its necessities. I agree, therefore, with Mr. George that it is the very madness of folly to permit in the land agitation that indiscriminate denunciation of England and everything English which is so common at Land League meetings and in the newspapers which voice Irish sentiment. It is not with the English people, so far as

the land is concerned, that the Irish people have a quarrel. It is with the system which oppresses both, and will, in all human probability, in time uncomfortably oppress us.

But there is still a question of immediate and vital import between England and Ireland,—the question of

Local Self-government.

That is practically the issue in the present parliamentary elections. That it is which gives weight to the movements and intense interest to the personality of Mr. Parnell. We hardly need in this country—at least, we ought not to need—to be taught the value of bringing all affairs of general concern as near home to the individual citizen as possible. The theory on which our national government was framed was that of surrendering to the general authority as little, and reserving to the State or local authority as much, as circumstances would permit. Again, within the State, the thought has been to emphasize the town governments, thus still more localizing the conduct of affairs. So it has come about that Providence conducts its own school system, and Newport its; that Pawtucket decides for itself whether or not it will become a city; and that New Shoreham elects its own senator and representative. So it has come about that Rhode Island has nothing to say concerning the internal affairs of South Carolina, and South Carolina has nothing to say concerning the internal affairs of Rhode Island. Absolute self-government, first; the form which makes it possible for a few to come together and act directly, next; the combination of these latter gatherings into one larger gathering, next; and so on, until we reach the national government; in every case such prerogatives, and such only conceded to the larger body as cannot be exercised by the smaller,—that is our plan. Not always wisely applied perhaps, but always a very wise plan. Under it, the administration of affairs in each locality reflects most nearly the public opinion of that locality. Providence is governed by Providence ideas administered by Providence men. Rhode Island is governed by Rhode Island ideas administered by Rhode Island men. Even the appointees of the general government are usually identified with the immediate interests of the locality for which they are appointed. So much a matter of course has this become with us that it has ceased to be a question for consideration. The great problem for our fathers in framing the United States Constitution—the problem always up as well in the formation of State compacts—was to secure a central government of the required strength, with the least possible sacrifice of local government in its various forms.

Now, Ireland has had an altogether different experience. She has been ruled by executive, legislative, and judicial power, largely alien to herself; and she has experienced all the evils which grow out of such rule. Away back in 1797, Fox declared that Ireland ought to be governed by Irish ideas. And Mr. Gladstone, on his accession to power, seventy years later, undertook that task. But that was not enough, as events have plainly proved. In order to get at Irish ideas and apply them successfully, government needed to come nearer the people, and to be so framed as to be susceptible to the people's pulse-beat. This was seen and squarely announced, forty odd years ago, by Thomas O'Hagan, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He said: "I believe that the system of centralization, as it is developed in these islands, has been partial in its action and mischievous in its results; and that local legislature, for local purposes, conducted by men of the country who know its people, understand their wants,

respect their opinions, sympathize with their feelings, and are identified with their interests, would be of great practical utility to Ireland."

That is good testimony, the outgrowth of practical experience and observation. But England was not ready for the realization of such an idea then. Perhaps I may say Ireland itself was not ready. I think the time has now come when both are ready for it.

What is called the Irish Home Rule Movement is only about fifteen years old. The idea, as we have seen, is older; but the movement was born on the 19th of May, 1870. Let me abridge Mr. Sullivan's description of it.

On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of May, 1870, a strange assemblage was gathered in the great room of the Bilton Hotel, Dublin. There were men of the most opposite parties, men who never before met in politics save as irreconcilable foes. The Orangeman and the Ultramontane, the staunch Conservative and the sturdy Liberal, the Nationalist Repealer and the Imperial Unionist, the Fenian sympathizer and the devoted loyalist, sat in free and friendly counsel. The question was, What can we do for Ireland? The Protestant Conservatives spoke up. In the main, said they, the aspiration for national autonomy is one which has sound reason and justice, as well as historical right, behind it. We will have no part in disloyal plans. We will have no separation from England. But we feel that the scheme of one parliament for all purposes, imperial and local, has been a failure; that the attempt to force consolidation on the Irish people, to destroy their national individuality, has been simply disastrous. We want peace, we want security, we want loyalty to the throne, we want connection with England; but we will no longer have our domestic affairs committed to a London parliament. After long and careful discussion, the members of the conference, forgetting their differences,—yes, even sinking their sectarian in their national character,—resolved unanimously and with enthusiasm "That it is the opinion of this meeting that the true remedy for the evils of Ireland is the establishment of an Irish parliament, with full control over our domestic affairs."

This, as I have said, was the birth of the Irish Home Rule Movement; and it has gone on growing in power ever since. It seems to me an eminently wise and patriotic movement. I admire the skill and moderation with which it has been led. I rejoice to think that Mr. Parnell and his associates, in all human probability, hold in their hands the balance of power in the English Parliament to-day. I know not what may be Parnell's place in history; but this I know,—he has led in the creation of that state of things wherein both the great English parties see that everything which can be conceded to Ireland of Home Rule, which does not involve the destruction of the Empire, must be conceded. That is an inestimable service to his own countrymen and to the cause of justice everywhere. The relation of Ireland to England in the future is to be, I believe, analogous to the relation of the States of our Union to the Government at Washington. To substitute such a political relation as that for one of political dependency and serfdom is the commanding and thoroughly practical Irish question of this hour. I see no reason why American citizens, in their private and notwithstanding their public capacity, may not say so, and rejoice in the fact without improperly interfering in "the internal dissensions of foreign States." No American, thoroughly appreciative of the cause of self-government, and with the fire of 1776 in his heart, can look at this struggle in Ireland with icy indifference. Especially will he

not condemn our adopted fellow-citizens, who, having tasted the sweets of free government here, want to help their brothers left behind to attain it at home. I have not a shadow of sympathy for all the high-sounding talk in this country against the Irishman and his methods. He is often identified with the unruly element in our large cities. Unfortunately, some of our own people are, too. He is frequently regarded as a danger and a curse to us. We have been glad to have him work on our great lines of railroad. We have been glad to have him fight for us. We have celebrated his heroic deeds in song. We have made him general of our army. We could not have dispensed with him in any of these avocations without grievous loss. And when we go across the sea and back only a little way in human history,—when we remember Burke and Grattan and Sheridan and Curran and O'Connell and Moore,—who but feels that we are richer, that England is richer, that humanity is richer, because of these sons of the Emerald Isle? "Our country is the world, and our countrymen are all mankind." We have sainted the man who uttered that thought. The world includes Ireland. All mankind includes Irishmen. That is a truth which under-runs and ultimately overcomes all the "internal dissensions of foreign States." "Gentlemen," said Curran, "it is easier to govern a province by a faction than to govern a co-ordinate country by co-ordinate means. It will be always thought easiest by the managers of the day to govern the Irish nation by the agency of such a faction, as long as this country shall be found willing to let her connection with Great Britain be preserved only by her own degradation." After years of submission and years of struggle, the glory of this hour in Irish history is the prospect of realizing in the British Empire the government of a co-ordinate country by co-ordinate means.

If I were an Irishman, I am sure I should wish to help on the movement. And, being something more than an American, I can but exclaim in the name of "the Irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation," which breaks all chains and dis-inthralls all minds, Thrice hail to the coming day when, in all her domestic concerns, Ireland shall be governed by Irish ideas administered by Irish men!

BOOK NOTICES.

ORGANIC SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY SCIENTIFIC THEISM. By Francis Ellingwood Abbot, Ph.D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1885. pp. 219. Price \$2.00.

"The foundation and immediate occasion of this little book," its author informs the reader in the preface, was his lecture given last summer before the Concord School of Philosophy, a synopsis of which appeared in *The Index*; but its real origin "was two articles published in 1864 in the *North American Review*," one on "The Philosophy of Space and Time" and the other on "The Conditioned and the Unconditioned." An article which appeared in *Mind* in 1882 on "Scientific Philosophy: A Theory of Human Knowledge" forms the Introduction.

The aim of the work is to show that what we know is not simply states of consciousness, as philosophic thinkers generally hold, but "the objective relations of things" that the mind cognizes, not only its own conscious states, but also the outer world, and that human knowledge is twofold, consisting of "individual knowledge, or the mind's cognition of its own conscious states plus cognition of the Cosmos of which it is a part, and universal knowledge, or the sum of all human cognition of the Cosmos which has been substantiated and certified by the unanimous consensus of the competent." Cognition conforms itself to things, not things to cognition; and the mind knows, not only its own modifications, but the objective things revealed by these modifications. There is an external universe *per se*; and its actual relations,

which exist objectively, are known and are formulated in the propositions of science.

The theory that phenomena only are known is rejected; and it is affirmed that science is the actual knowledge of the Thing-in-itself, the *Ding-an-sich*, the noumenon. "The friendship which phenomenism professes for science is a false and treacherous friendship." "Unwilling to attempt openly, however, so formidable a task [as the destruction of the scientific method], phenomenism prefers to assume the guise of friendship, to concede the validity of the scientific method and its results, and then to undermine it secretly by interpreting these results as 'the discovery of new relations between phenomena within the sphere of consciousness.'" The schools of Greek philosophy were founded upon the assumed principle of the objectivity of relations and the intelligibility of noumena no less than of phenomena. While modern philosophy, following in the footsteps of Kant, "has abandoned the old Greek foundation of the objectivity of relations and adopted the mediæval foundation of scholastic nominalism or the subjectivity of relations, modern science still stubbornly occupies the old Greek ground of realism, and by her amazing ever multiplying discoveries has already rendered it an absolutely impregnable fortress for the philosophy of the future." There exists no Unknowable; it is a mere figment of the imagination. Noumenon and phenomenon are inseparable: the universe is both the one and the other. It is a noumenon, because it is independent of, yet knowable by, the mind; and a phenomenon, because it is apparent and actually known, not wholly, but in part. The knowableness of the universe consists in its relational constitution *per se*, which has been to some extent discovered by the "perceptive understanding," whose activity is included in the concepts of experience.

The second part of the work is an ingenious effort to prove "scientific theism," the corner-stone of which is affirmed to be the "Infinite Intelligibility of the Universe," which is "the objectivity and discoverability of all natural truth." An "infinitely intelligible universe must be likewise infinitely intelligent"; and from the two truths, that the universe *per se* is infinitely intelligible and that the universe *per se* is infinitely intelligent, "follows with irresistible certainty that the universe *per se* is an Infinite Self-consciousness." This "Infinite Self-consciousness," it is argued, is an "Infinite Self-conscious Intellect." The system of nature is an "infinite organism." The Evolution of the Universe as "Divine Object" is the work of the universe itself as "Divine Subject"; that is, as the Infinite Life of God in Time and Space, that manifests itself as a Moral Being,—as a Being whose foundation is moral law."

Such is the main thought of this work, which is marked by Mr. Abbot's usual vigor of thought and language and independence in presenting his views, whether he is sustained by "the consensus of the competent" or not, as he certainly is not in the fundamental positions of the philosophy he defends. Much in his criticism of the philosophy that reduces everything to pure subjectivity seems to us just; but we do not see the force of his reasoning against that realism from which he distinguishes his own, which is essentially old, by calling it "scientific"; nor do we see the force of his impeachment of idealism or of realism, as held by nearly all the great scientific as well as philosophic thinkers, as practically opposed to science. Huxley is no less a man of science because his philosophy is idealistic.

The fallacy of this, with a number of the positions and of a portion of the reasoning repeated in this volume, was, we think, clearly indicated by Chauncy Wright, when, several years ago, Mr. Abbot called his attention to them. Our author aims, of course, to be accurate and fair in his criticisms; but sometimes, as in speaking of the "relativity of knowledge," on pages 51, 52, his repugnance to certain theories betrays him into a most unjudicial spirit and misleading statements. Agnostic thought our author treats rather contemptuously, but his main position must prove unsatisfactory to theistic thinkers generally. At another time, we may, since Mr. Abbot desires criticism, examine some of his reasoning. Our purpose now is simply to give some idea of the leading thought of the work.

B. F. U.

WHAT WE REALLY KNOW ABOUT SHAKESPEARE. By Caroline Healy Dall. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price \$1.25.

Within the limits of these two hundred and four

pages, Mrs. Dall has succeeded admirably in condensing and simplifying the Baconian-Shakespeare controversy in terms so clear and statements so precise as to be easily understood by the most obtuse reader. In the preface, it is stated that one purpose of the book was authoritatively to disprove several current misconceptions in regard to Shakespeare,—such as the obscurity of his family, his lack of education, his bad character and vulgar tastes, the ignorance of his writings ascribed to his contemporaries, and his personal standing in society during his lifetime. All these points, with other correlative ones, are met and answered by Mrs. Dall very fully, and, we think, conclusively, from the data gathered by Shakespearean students from all possible sources since the controversy first began. In the course of her investigation of the subject, several new and reasonable suggestions clearing or clinching former doubtful points are brought forward by the author, in support of the Shakespeare side of the argument. Not the least interesting part of Mrs. Dall's work is the brief account given of the personal character of Delia Bacon, the enthusiastic expounder and defender of the Baconian origin of the so-called Shakespeare Plays. "I knew and loved Delia Bacon," writes Mrs. Dall. "She was a woman of the rarest personal gifts. . . . To obtain means to pursue her Shakespearean researches, she gave lectures on history in several American cities, among others in Boston, where men like Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Henry Channing, and many of their compeers, found delight in listening to her. Even now, it is only necessary to close my eyes, to see once more that graceful form which always suggested the priestess of Apollo, to hear again the vibrant voice which penetrated to one's inmost soul. After she had perfected her theory, she never communicated it fully to any one. She seemed to fear that her laurels would be stolen, if she did so. . . . After her most unhappy death,—a death precipitated by sorrow, loneliness, privation, and consequent despair,—I wrote to her brother, and asked permission to examine her papers, with a view to preparing some memorial of a life which, in spite of some mistakes, had been exceptionally noble. Permission was refused; and, as her family had not the slightest sympathy with her later pursuits, it is possible that all her papers have been destroyed. They would, undoubtedly, have been very valuable to literary people; for she was an indefatigable and zealous copyist. Mr. Emerson wished very much to review her *Philosophy of the Plays*. He held the very highest estimate of the critical ability and wonderful insight which her book displayed."

S. A. U.

LIFE OF SALADIN (W. Stewart Ross), Freethinker and Journalist. By Richard B. Hilarsay and George Ernest. London: W. Stewart & Co., 41 Farringdon Street, E.C. pp. 62.

Saladin is the editor of the *London Secular Review*, "a journal of agnosticism and neo-secularism," of which he was formerly junior editor, Charles Watts being the senior editor. This sketch says that "the fiery zeal and soaring talents of the junior editor outstripped the more mediocre endowments and plodding energies of the senior colleague"; and "scarcely eighteen months had elapsed before the partnership was dissolved by mutual consent, and Saladin stood alone at the helm of the good ship *Secular Review*." Saladin is an erratic but extremely vigorous writer and the author of some poems; that are marked by not only strength of expression, but poetic picturesqueness and power. We learn from this little pamphlet that he "made his first entry into a world, whose path he has often trodden with weary, wounded feet, and from whose miry fields he has often risen on the wings of his unbridled Pegasus, in the village of Kirkbean, Galloway, on the 20th of March, 1844." We hope that there are before our brother journalist, across the ocean, many years of useful work, at the end of which a sketch of his life will be of more interest than now, when he has but just entered upon his career.

B. F. U.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE. By M. J. Savage. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street. 1885. pp. 212.

Mr. Savage's latest collection of sermons contains, like former ones, a large amount of good thought plainly and clearly expressed. He has read carefully the works of the advanced thinkers of to-day, and is able, therefore, to give his hearers something more than is ordinarily heard from the pulpit, even the Unitarian pulpit. Mr. Savage has studied Herbert Spencer especially, and assimilated much of his thought, in presenting which, however, he gives it a mild theological coloring, thus making it acceptable to many who would not otherwise receive it, although rendering his sermons less valuable for those acquainted with Spencer's own writings. Still there is no other Unitarian minister in the East who gives his hearers so little theology and so much of the thought of Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, and other exponents of scientific and philosophic thought as does Mr. Savage. He is not in any proper sense of the word a Christian, and the thought he utters is mainly anti-Christian and extra-Christian thought. He is, however, more positively theistic than most of the great thinkers whose views he is helping to popularize. The sermons are marked by clearness of style and a good spirit as well as by breadth of thought; and, although they would be greatly improved by revision and condensation, they are well worth reading.

B. F. U.

OUTLINE OF HISTORY, A.D. 50-1880. By Joseph Henry Allen. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1886. pp. 151. Price 75 cents.

This *Outline* is designed as a manual for class instruction. It is an epitome of the *Christian History in its Three Great Periods* (three volumes), to which it constantly refers; and, as such, it will be found valuable, not only to classes in history, but to intelligent students of history generally, who will appreciate a compact summary from an author whose works fairly entitle him to his reputation as a learned and reliable writer on historical subjects.

We are in receipt of the Swedenborg Calendar for 1886. It is ornamented by a fine portrait of Swedenborg, a picture of his study in his garden at Stockholm, and of the Swedish Church in London, within whose precincts the great visionary was buried. This calendar is published by the Massachusetts New Church Union, 169 Tremont Street.

THE January number of *Lippincott's Magazine* appears in an entirely new dress,—a white parchment-like surface printed in red and black. Two new serials are begun, "A Bachelor's Blunder," by W. E. Norris, and "Taken by Siege," by an anonymous writer. Gail Hamilton contributes one of her vigorous political articles on "Civil Service Reform." Mary Agnes Tinckner on a weird story, with the appalling title of "Palingenesis." Among other contributors to this number are Brander Matthews, Louise Chandler Moulton, Philip Bourke Marston, and Grant Allen; also a collection of George Eliot's criticisms of contemporary writers, selected from the *Westminster Review*.

LECTURES.

MR. CHARLES FROEBEL, whose articles in *The Index* ("The Religious Confession of an Evolutionist," "The Moral Function of Socialism," "The Perpetuity of Life," etc.) have attracted considerable attention, is open for engagements to lecture upon the following subjects:—

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals received lately, from an invalid lady, a letter enclosing a check, which read as follows: "Enclosed find a check for \$1,000, which sum, through you, I offer to the acceptance of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, as a grateful memorial of my dog, who, through fourteen years of seclusion and pain, has been my constant, faithful, devoted friend and companion."

WHEN Mr. Edmunds, in the United States Senate, on the 5th inst., called up the Utah Bill, reported by him from the Judiciary, Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, moved to strike out section seven, and in some very judicious remarks said that, while he approved the purpose of the bill, he thought that "to deprive such of the women of Utah as were not plural wives of the right which they already had to exercise the suffrage was undertaking to place them in the same category with what the law regarded as criminals, and was in violation of sound principle." His motion was defeated.

THE *Herald of Health* thinks that kissing the Bible by jurors and witnesses, when they are sworn, is a very wrong use of the book. It is kissed by all sorts of people, clean and unclean, and soon becomes sodden with grease and foul with filth, and dangerous to the health of those who put their lips to it. "Such a use of it, it seems to us, is unwarrantable. The Bible says, 'Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay; and whatsoever is more than these cometh of the evil one.'"

SENATOR WILSON, of Iowa, last week, reported favorably, from the Committee on Post-offices and

Post-roads, the bill introduced by him to prohibit the mailing of publications containing lottery advertisements. The report states that the postal system "ought not to be degraded to the condition of an instrument for the promotion of crime." The purpose of the bill is to aid the States in their efforts to suppress an evil which they have denounced with almost entire unanimity. "Without some law," says the report, "the insidious temptations contained in the cunningly devised lottery advertisements will continue to invade State, family, shop, office, or other place of business, or of pleasure or public and private resorts, in spite of the efforts which the States have made to prevent it." The committee declare that the bill is constitutional, and quote a decision of the Supreme Court, to show that Congress clearly has the right to pass such a law.

A DESPATCH from New York City to the Boston *Herald* states that "two dozen gentlemen," including "some representatives of the first families in the city," took an early boat for Stapleton, L.I., last Sunday morning, to "witness a cock fight between fowls representing New York and Boston, for stakes of nearly \$10,000." The rendezvous was an old church near the ferry landing. "The chapel door was locked; and, after that, entrance and egress were made through a window which opened on the grounds of a gentleman who had provided a repast for his guests." After breakfast, "the pit was arranged, the handlers took their positions, and the time-keeper called time." The *Herald* despatch, giving a detailed account of this mean and cruel sport, at which no man with the instinct of a gentleman could have been present, whatever his family connections, is headed: "A Cock Fight in a Church. Boston Fowls whip New Yorkers, and \$20,000 changes hands."

BELIEVERS in Evangelical Christianity like to dwell on the consolations afforded them by their faith. To such, "nothing but Christians,"—the words of Mr. John Wetherbee in the *Golden Gate*, on the sad death of his son,—must sound strange. "I am," Mr. Wetherbee writes, "greatly indebted to modern Spiritualism for my resignation, even to cheerfulness; and my wife is also. If we had been nothing but Christians, resting on the 'glittering generalities' of a divine revelation, and not in possession of the actual knowledge by sensuous proof of another life, so sudden an extinguishment, and so melancholy a one,—it being his own act,—and to hear the sad words by a messenger, 'Eliot is dead,' within twenty-four hours of his departure to his daily duties, I do not know what the consequences would have been. Something like a presence said to me, 'It is well.' I owe to my experience in spiritual matters the strengthening support that sustained me, or, rather, I should say us."

THE subject of *Church Door Pulpit* for January 1 is "Criminals and Prison Discipline," an able and timely paper by Rowland Connor, in which the author, after discussing the subject at length,

sums up as follows the reforms demanded: "1. Indeterminate sentences; 2. Abolition of the contract system of labor; 3. The establishment of a discipline analogous to that now in operation in Great Britain and at Elmira. To these three may be added as certainly desirable, if not of chief importance: (4) The abolition of the pardoning power; (5) Provision for the prisoner after discharge; (6) Release on probation; and (7) Divorce between prison management and party politics." Were such a system of reform adopted, there would still be a few criminals, Mr. Connor says, who should be condemned to remain in prison for the term of their natural lives,—those who lack the will, moral sense, or intelligence to keep them from crime. This class, the victims of bad ancestral influences, should be kept under wholesome restraints during life, and be prevented perpetuating and multiplying the ills of a tainted race, as well as preying directly upon society.

PROF. FRANCIS L. PATTEN, in the *Christian at Work*, says that the difference between Mr. Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy* and his *Idea of God*, so far as these books respectively represent his attitude toward theism, "is positive and measurable"; and he thinks it is a "noteworthy fact that one of the most pronounced advocates of the doctrine of evolution, one of the most ardent admirers of Mr. Spencer, has, while still advocating the doctrine of evolution, avowed his belief in personal immortality and the living God." He is thankful, he says, that Mr. Fiske has taken such a step in advance of his previously published beliefs; and, even though what he now advances has been said again and again by theistic writers, Prof. Patten hopes the words of Mr. Fiske, who is without theological bias, will have unusual weight with the atheist and the agnostic. But Prof. Patten does not like Mr. Fiske's treatment of final causes. He does not see how the belief in God can be defended on teleological grounds, when the argument from design is pronounced worthless. If, as Mr. Fiske says, there is "a dramatic tendency" in the universe, and "it is the objective aspect of that which, when regarded from its subjective side, we call Purpose," his attack upon the design argument, it is affirmed, involves him in the inconsistency of defending and attacking theology at the same time. Mr. Fiske's statement, that he stands by all he has ever said against the teleological method as "a means of investigation," amounts to nothing, Prof. Patten thinks; "for neither scientist nor theologian pretends teleology is a method of investigation." "What the anti-teleological scientist says is that science does not read final causes in nature, that teleology does not result from scientific inquiry. The theologian says that it does result, and resulting points unmistakably to God. The theologian says nothing more than this. Mr. Fiske says as much as this. Mr. Fiske is wrong if he thinks he occupies some peculiar place of umpirage between science and theology." Perhaps Mr. Fiske will in some future work notice these and other criticisms of his latest volume.

REFORMATION OF CRIMINALS.

In his address at the opening of the Massachusetts Legislature last week, Gov. Robinson referred encouragingly to the experiment which has been in operation the past year at the State prison in Concord for the reformation of the inmates. Somewhat more than a year ago, the policy was adopted of classifying the criminals. The more hardened offenders and those condemned for the greatest crimes were taken to the old prison at Charlestown, and the new institution at Concord was set apart for the younger and less guilty criminals as a State reformatory as well as prison. The number of prisoners in this latter institution is now six hundred and twenty. Of course, it is too early to predict the success of this particular experiment. But it may be safely said that success is only conditioned by the wise and judicious conduct of the experiment. The plan of classifying criminals, with a view to separating the younger and more susceptible among them from the deleterious influence of old transgressors, is one that at once presents such obvious advantages and rests on so rational a basis that the wonder is that it has not been generally adopted in civilized countries long before now. But the experiment is not an untried one. Massachusetts has only been a little late in adopting it. As to the good results of the plan in other places, there is no uncertainty.

While reading the Governor's address and reflecting particularly upon this part of it concerning the criminals of the State, there came to our table a chance number of a newspaper called the *Summary*, which is published at the State Reformatory in Elmira, N.Y. It is a weekly publication, of eight pages, and has reached its fourth volume. It is issued on Sunday morning. The good work of the Elmira Reformatory is already a matter of public record. But a copy of this paper, published by the managers of the institution specially for the use of its inmates and their friends, gives one a vivid idea of the practical methods by which the good results are accomplished. In the first place, it is evident that the regular discipline and systematic routine of the place are much relied on for establishing regularity of good habits in the prisoners. A paragraph quoted from a writer in an exchange paper states that "professional criminals" actually dread the Reformatory more than they do the State prisons, because of the "stern discipline" to which the Reformatory subjects them. This discipline consists in imposing upon the inmates a daily routine of duties, and in requiring all to participate in such departments of labor and such educational classes as are adapted to their physical and mental capacity. The programme for the lecture room on the Sunday when this particular paper was issued was as follows: "Half-past ten o'clock A.M., Lecture to the class in Practical Morality. Two o'clock P.M., Choir Rehearsal. Three o'clock P.M., Regular Services (religious). Six o'clock P.M., Lecture to the House." In a column of "Reminders," it is also stated that "To-day is Writing Sunday for all, save members of the third grade."

The educational work is various, and some of it of high grade. The Practical Morality class, above mentioned, was soon to have an examination; and it was hinted to them among the "Reminders" that, if they would "use their brains, all would be well"; that "an answer showing personal thought on the part of the pupil is more to be desired than a rehearsal of memorized phrases." English Literature, Geology, Astronomy, Political Economy, are also among the sub-

jects of classes named; and a "second Primary man, just learning to spell," is reminded, in a note on the library, that he is not yet qualified to read such books as John Fiske's *Essays* or Janet's *Theory of Morals*, for which he seems to have sent in an application. A brief stenographic report of certain of the class exercises, in which the pupils took part by intelligent discussion of the topics, shows that some of them, at least, already make a good "use of their brains." The "ethics of buying and selling votes" was the subject under consideration by the class in Practical Morality. One of the class said: "I understand a vote to be a trust, and quite a sacred one. When a man sells a trust, he does a very mean and low thing. He sells integrity; and, if you sell this, what have you left?" Another said: "When a man has got into such a state of morals that he will sell his vote, let him go ahead; but the time will come when neither that man nor his children will be able to vote. He breaks the civil law; and, in breaking that, he breaks the moral law, and he will eventually suffer for it." These precepts from a prison might profitably be hung up on election days in many voting precincts, where the ethics of the ballot does not appear to be so clearly understood.

The *Summary* states that from the library of the institution, in the preceding week, five hundred and eighteen books had been taken by the inmates for general reading, thirty-two volumes for reference, and one hundred and eight periodicals. The number of inmates that week was six hundred and ninety-six. It is also stated that during the same week "the superintendent held one hundred and thirty-three private interviews with inmates."

There are religious services in the Elmira Reformatory, and an editorial paragraph in the *Summary* alludes to an awakening of the religious nature as one of the essential means in the reform of criminals; but we judge from two or three hints that the religious instruction given is practical rather than doctrinal, and that by the awakening of the religious nature the writer means the incitement of the higher elements of character rather than that demonstration of emotional excitement which is popularly called "getting religion." The sermon on the previous Sunday had for subject the "Use and Abuse of the Tongue," and the following sensible ideas from the *Journal of Prison Discipline* are printed in a column of editorial clippings:—

The surest evidence of reform of prisoners will be found, not merely in profession of religion and the performance of its ceremonies, but in the fact of their willingly and habitually doing right, and in their respect to those in authority over them. The manifestations of respect for all who come in contact with them is a sign of their belief in their own right to respect, and the surest road to that self-respect which is the companion of an honest purpose. Our corrective system should keep the hope bright for the acquisition of excellence of character and development of righteous powers, which shall make every other hope of our common life spring into activity.

Gov. Robinson says that the question of labor in the prisons of Massachusetts is now the most serious one that calls for settlement. The popular outcry that has been raised against convict labor has practically destroyed, for the present, all the resources of labor for the prisoners; and this deprives the prison managers of the most efficient means both for disciplining and reforming the men. But this outcry should not be interpreted as if directed against all labor on the part of prisoners, but only as against the contract system of labor which has been in vogue, and which has undoubtedly given the contractors an advantage in competition with the free labor of the mar-

ket in producing the same kinds of goods. There are two propositions on this subject which no legislation can afford to ignore in this day of enlightenment, and which every rational legislator and even voter could be induced to see, it would seem, without much argument. These propositions are: first, no reformation of imprisoned criminals is possible without their having steady employment; second, no government can be expected to support in idleness able-bodied men and women who are convicts, thus unjustly taxing honest citizens for the maintenance of the dishonest and dissolute. The *Summary* has some wise editorial remarks on this problem, which are intended for the legislature at Albany, but are equally applicable to the longitude of Boston. The writer says:—

The labor of the Contract System is not reformatory. The State Account plan, with its petty participation by the prisoner, may be somewhat better; but, to utilize prison labor for the reformation of prisoners, we must rise to the natural occupation of citizens at diversified industries, suited to capacity, if not to choice, pursued for subsistence and profit until the prisoner is carried beyond the condition of a dependent to that of the independent wage-worker. There is no serious difficulty in the way of organizing the industries of a reformatory prison so that the prisoners shall labor under similar liabilities of privation and hope of reward to those of citizens, with the difference that within the prison a disposition to earn well may be imparted as could not be outside. Such sustained industry, under a natural and healthful motive, forms a new habit; the profit and pleasure of earnings honestly obtained, and the manliness that almost always accompanies the possession of accumulations, the product of one's own powers, if not of themselves constituents of reformation, do beyond question put the prisoner in favorable frame for salutary moral impression.

The open secret of the success of such institutions as that at Elmira is that both the educational and industrial methods, which are brought to bear for the reformation of the criminal inmates, are calculated, not, like the old penal methods, to keep the minds of the prisoners fatally intent upon their unhappy past, but to draw their thoughts, as much as possible, away from their past by the arousal of mental and moral activities which can assure them a better future.

WM. J. POTTER.

NOTES ON THE WOMAN QUESTION IN EUROPE.

Mrs. Rosalie Olivecrona, one of the leading friends of the emancipation of woman in Sweden, and wife of the distinguished juriconsult, writes me: "I have already told you that a movement has been set on foot in Stockholm to induce women to make use, to a greater extent, of the political rights already conferred on them. This resulted in bringing a number of women to the polls at the last election, for members of the municipal council. During last winter's session of the Diet, a bill was brought in to raise the State grant to girls' schools from seventy thousand to one hundred thousand crowns, and to open the boys' high schools to both sexes. Although nothing definite was accomplished in regard to these two matters, a committee was appointed to inquire into the whole question of education in girls' schools. The work of the Fredrika Bremer Association is progressing slowly, but, we hope, steadily. Hitherto, its activity has been limited chiefly to the procuring of employment for educated women and to the directing of home studies; but applications for advice on educational and economical questions are increasing. I am sorry to say that the *Home Review* will close with this year, after having been, during a period of twenty-seven years, a zealous and intelligent promoter of the

woman movement. The number of female students at the universities is increasing yearly, though not at a great rate."

Miss Marie Zerbikoff, the soul of the St. Petersburg Society for the Higher Education of Women, says, in a recent letter to me: "In September, our society celebrated the opening of the new building devoted to the higher education of women. The students and a large audience completely filled the spacious main hall. I send you the plan of the edifice. It is four stories high, and cost us 200,000 rubles. Nearly one-quarter of this amount was money saved by the society during past years. We secured a loan of forty thousand, while about fifty-eight thousand more were subscriptions. The balance was met by a mortgage. The structure is as perfect as our limited means would permit. The lecture-rooms and laboratories are admirable, and the system of heating and ventilating could not be better. The studies for the year have begun. In history and literature, we have many able students; but it is particularly in the natural sciences that our women show marked ability. Some of their work has been even published in the journal of the Russian Society of Chemistry. Here is another new and important fact. Two women have just founded a political, scientific, and literary journal, *The Northern Herald*. Miss Iobachnikoff is the publisher, and Miss Evreyinava the editor, of this latest journalistic venture. This is the first instance of a woman being allowed by our laws to fill the post of editor-in-chief of a political newspaper. Our women are doing something in the fine arts. You have heard of Miss Bashkirtzeff, who died a few years ago in Paris, and who gave promise of being a great painter. Our female artists prefer landscape painting. In the department of sculpture, they have not accomplished very much. But Miss Maikoff exposed some years ago a very able bust of the poet Maikoff; and, recently, Mrs. Polonsky produced an excellent bust of Tourguéneff. In Charkaff there is a school of fine arts founded by a woman, and the St. Petersburg school is now open to both sexes. But most Russian girls of talent prefer science to art, which explains why our women have made more reputation in university studies than in painting and sculpture. The present tendency is to widen the intellectual sphere of women. When that is accomplished, they will turn more attention to purely æsthetical pursuits. I have no good news to send you about our women's medical courses. You remember that they were supported by the War Department in order to educate women surgeons for the army, and the forced curtailment of expenditures in that branch of the government necessitated their suppression. But the principle of the medical instruction of women still lives in Russia. All we need is the money with which to found a women's medical college like the one for higher education, mentioned at the beginning of this letter. But the field of practice for female physicians is so narrowed by restrictive laws that we could not hope to have many students, in the present state of things, even if we had a medical school."

Writing me concerning the situation in Austria, Mrs. Johanna Leitenberger says, quoting from a recent letter to her from Prof. Heinrich Gross, the author of several valuable works on the German female poets and authors, and a strong friend of the emancipation of women: "I do not see any immediate hope," writes the professor, "of intellectual and material progress for our women, so long as ultramontaniam finds in them its chief support."

Curiously enough, M. Paul Bert, the celebrated physiologist and free thinker, used almost these same words at the recent women's rights banquet

held at the Grand Hotel, Paris, when, referring to woman suffrage, he said: "If France were not a Catholic country, I should make no objection to this reform. But, on account of the influence of Rome, our women are the slaves of the priest. Protestant nations have nothing to fear from the confessor. But we are not so fortunate. Let us begin by disarming the priest, by combating clericalism, by destroying the confessional, then I shall be only too ready to give women the ballot."

M. Guyot, M. de Lacretelle, and M. Frederic Passy, all three deputies and authors of note in different departments of literature, expressed themselves in favor of woman suffrage; while M. Laisant, one of the prominent leaders of the Extreme Left in the Chamber, and M. Paul Bert, who, to his many other honors, adds that of being an influential deputy, promised to organize an extra-parliamentary committee, whose duty it will be to study the question of ameliorating the legal position of French women and to bring a bill in this sense before the Chamber of Deputies.

To M. Léon Richer, the indefatigable advocate of women's rights in France, belongs the honor of organizing this successful and significant banquet, to which my brief notice does such scant justice. But a full account of the festival, with the letters of regret and the speeches, may be found in M. Richer's journal, *Le Droit des Femmes*, for December 20.*

Miss Isala Van Diest, M.D., the first woman to take a medical degree in Belgium, has been struggling for several years to obtain the necessary authorization to practise. Some two years ago, she wrote me: "I fear that I shall soon be obliged to give up the fight, and go to France, England, or Holland. Otherwise, I shall lose the fruit of all my studies." But I am happy to state that this brave woman has not been driven into exile, in order to follow the bent of her scientific mind. In a recent note to me, she says: "I am delighted to be able to inform you that I have passed the examination imposed upon me, and have surmounted all the obstacles thrown in the way of women who would exercise the profession of physician. I am at last established, and enjoy all the privileges of a Belgian doctor. Many young women are now in our universities, and one of them has just succeeded in becoming a pharmacist."

I shall close these notes with the following extract from a letter written by Miss F. Henrietta Muller, a prominent member of the London School Board: "Our prospects in England just now, as regards women's suffrage, are not at all bright. In proportion as Chamberlain succeeds in his egotistical schemes for self-aggrandizement, the chances of women's suffrage grow smaller. But the last elections appear to have acted rather against him, for which I am truly thankful."

THEODORE STANTON.

COSMOLOGICAL AND COSMOGENETIC SPECULATIONS.

I notice with pleasure the appearance in *The Index* of what is called "a philosophical paper of rare merit" by a "profound and original thinker," Dr. E. Montgomery, in which he manifests a strenuous opposition to the nebular hypothesis and the theory of evolution founded upon it. My surprise is excited that it has not been deemed worthy to call the attention of the readers of *The Index* to an equally meritorious work by Judge Stallo, of Cincinnati, now minister to Rome, although *The Concepts and Theories of Modern*

*The office of this paper, the ablest women's rights periodical on the Continent, is 4 Rue des Deux Gares, Paris.

Physics is kept in *The Index* list of books for sale. He says, in the preface, 1881, that it is the opinion of contemporary physicists that there was a total break of continuity in the progress of human knowledge at the time of Galileo and Bacon, and that the old metaphysical method of reasoning was discarded in physical science. But Newton's admonition to "beware of metaphysics" has been only partially complied with. Men's thoughts have not been effectually turned from the Middle Age traditions respecting the phenomena of nature to the order and sequence of phenomena as disclosed by their own observations and experiments. The endeavor of scientific research to gain a sure foothold on solid empirical ground is continually thwarted by the insidious intrusion into the meditations of the man of science of the old metaphysical elements. He says that all cosmological and cosmogenetic speculations are metaphysical attempts to deduce the universe and its phenomena from the primordial elements of *mass* and *motion* by the application of mechanical principles, and that the enthusiasm for the nebular hypothesis is an ontological survival, or recreation, of ancient traditions about the origin of the world from nothing. It conformed to the assumption that the mode of the world's formation must, in the beginning, have been without form and void; and it, at the same time, satisfied the mystic yearning after the ethereal and the spiritualistic, which is the special distinction of that large class of philosophers whose philosophy begins where clear thinking ends. Hence, for the last fifteen years, I have ceased to take any interest in this theory of evolution, from a conviction that it has been taken up to support the needs of the Church and continue Bible sectarianism and superstition. I am glad that Dr. Montgomery says that the mechanical conception of nature (which is the scientific ideal of an influential school of thinkers) is a "MECHANICAL FALLACY." He tells us that, in 1874, Prof. Huxley "startled the self-complacency of the respectable world" by reviving Descartes' idea that human beings were conscious and animals unconscious automata. "To be the descendant of a live ape" leaves "scope for the pride and hope of vital exertion. But to be the descendant of an automatic ape" dispels all illusion of self-importance. Now, it is useless to ridicule or "to ignore the cogency of the reasoning on which this mechanical notion of vital activity is founded." Montgomery says the notion must be accepted, or the fallacy of the assumed premises must be exposed. If the animal organism is a machine, and its parts are "set in motion by heat derived from the combustion of food particles," then only purely mechanical effects can be expected from such a contrivance; and the links between the *motions* of the organism and its *conscious states* must ever remain as profound a mystery as it was to Descartes and his followers. This modern notion, "in spite of its scientific garb, is just as preposterous as the ancient mystic notion of vital spirits. It is a thoroughly unphysiological and totally mistaken conception." "Vital activity is wholly an emanation from within. Any *deus ex machina* actuating without the organism," animal soul, electrical fluids, or *heat* from combustion from food particles, must be expelled from biology before an understanding can be gained of the import of individual existence. The nebular hypothesis, he says, was first advanced in its world-wide scope by Kant, but he afterward abandoned it; and then it was adopted by Laplace for our planetary system. Since then, it has furnished most students of natural science with a plausible means of constructing "mechanically from a primordial sub-

stratum the existing celestial mass distributions and motions." Consider now, he says, with what limited suppositions these students set out with in their corpuscular world constructions, and what new suppositions they are forced to add as they proceed on their way.

Dr. Montgomery says: "The world-stuff now generally assumed in physical cosmologies is a gaseous material, persistent force, and a power of gravitation." This ideal of mechanical science, so imposing to the mathematical imagination, rests solely on the assumption that atoms or units of mass are actuated by no other influences than those operative in celestial mechanics." Under this fascinating illusion, "it is impossible to make any headway in a monistic and non-necessarian understanding of our life and doings." I do not know whether he is a monist. All that I know of his philosophy was derived, fifteen years ago, from Mr. Darwin's *Variations in Animals and Plants*. In a note in the *Hypothesis of Pangenesis*, Darwin says that Montgomery "denies that cells are derived from other cells by a process of growth, but believes that they originate through certain chemical changes."* A similar thought runs through the "Dual Aspect of our Nature." If, according to Spencer, growth means evolution, and cells are not derived from other cells by a process of growth, evolution is an unmeaning phrase.

Montgomery dwells at greater length on the hypothesis of Descartes, who regarded the universe as composed of two distinct substances; namely, mass and motion, or matter and thought. These were so heterogeneous in their nature that they could not interact on each other without the concurrence of the Deity, or of a soul. It was of more importance to pay attention to the atomo-mechanical theory of Newton, who regarded mass as composed of myriads of primordial units or atoms, and so far differs from Descartes. The latter is the real foundation of the "Mechanical Fallacy."

I am a sciolist, and bring these excerpts together from Judge Stallo and Dr. Montgomery, because I imagine that there may be readers of *The Index*, like myself, who desire to see the opposition which is made to the nebular hypothesis, and to Spencer's theory of evolution, from the scientific as well as from the theological side. The editor of *Nature* recently said, in relation to the character of witnesses in chemical science, that a well-known lawyer, now a judge, thus classes them: liars, diabolical liars, and experts, or skilled witnesses. An expert was defined as one who had a well-cultivated faculty of evasion, which produced a worse effect than if the witness said things which he knew were not true. I am sure it is so in regard to some of the witnesses who testify as to the truth of the science of evolution, whether they are lay or clerical.

I do not think that Dr. Montgomery has any just ground for supposing that the solution of what Prof. Huxley calls "the metaphysical problem of problems" is near at hand. That the reduction of all natural phenomena (including the mystery of mysteries, the origin of life) to atomic mechanics has been the highest aim of physical science for centuries seems hardly credible, from the utter absurdity of the scheme, and from its revealing the absurdity at a glance. Then, as regards the idea of heat, from the combustion of food particles, being expelled from biology before an understanding can be gained of individual existence, the latest authority in the science of physiology, Dr. Michael Foster, in the

new volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, says, in opposition to Dr. Montgomery, that it is only by means of the heat derived from the combustion of food particles that the energy of chemical action is transmuted into the supply of that energy which appears as life, feeling, and thought.

Stallo says that Prof. Tyndall is one of the most persistent sticklers for the dominant features of the atomic mechanics. I do not know how the above remarks may be received. I know that in 1870 Mr. Abbot, I suppose in relation to the address on the "Scientific Use of the Imagination," deprecated Tyndall's deluding the people with such "gibberish," and that Rowland Connor took him to task for it. It seems that the "return of the curve" has arrived, and the propriety of Mr. Abbot's remark is shown to be reasonable. Stallo says it is claimed that the mechanical theory rests on the foundation of sensible experience as contradistinguished from metaphysical speculation, and that, when Tyndall speaks of matter, he means real atoms or molecules, and postulates mass and motion as the indestructible elements of physical existence. Stallo says mass and motion are not realities, they are concepts or abstractions; we have experience of moving bodies, but not of pure motion. Now, the solid tangible reality, the atom or particle of matter craved by Tyndall's "scientific imagination," is "sheer delusion." In advance of motion, the atom is without color, is neither light nor dark; it is without temperature, is neither hot nor cold; it is without electric, chemical, or magnetic properties, since all these, according to Tyndall, are simply modes of motion. Thus, the atoms or molecules have neither substance nor quantity nor quality, and wholly vanish in the "focus" of Tyndall's "seeking intellect," when it attempts to seize the atom, "apart from the motion which is said to presuppose it as its necessary substratum."

Stallo says that forty years ago the creed of an ordinary physicist was something like this: Primordially, as Newton thought probable, there existed myriads of hard, inert, and unchangeable atoms or matter and certain unchangeable forces. Matter in itself is passive motion, or life is caused by force. The tendency of atomism is to derive all the qualitative properties of matter from forms of motion.

Spencer, in 1872, said, "The properties of the different elements arise from differences of arrangement, arising from the compounding and recombining of ultimate homogeneous units." Since then, modern theoretical chemistry is in utter irreconcilable conflict with the atomo-mechanical theory; as Dr. Montgomery says, it is apparent at a glance. The absurdity of the scheme for deriving life, emotion, and thought out of groups of inert atoms by means of force was made evident in 1873, by George Henry Lewes, in Vol. I. of *Problems of Life and Mind*, where he described force as something hypothetical which is passed from one group to another, like so much milk poured from one jug to another. The answer to the Lucretian, which Tyndall puts into the mouth of Bishop Butler in the Belfast Address, is very forcible. What was called force is called motion or kinetic energy now. The bishop asks the materialist to try his hand upon this problem. He says: First, your difficulty as to where the soul is under certain physiological and pathological conditions. Now take your dead hydrogen atoms, dead oxygen, dead carbon, dead nitrogen, dead phosphorus, and all the other atoms—dead as grains of shot—of which the brain is formed. Imagine them separate and sensationless, running together and forming all imaginable combinations. This is *seeable* by the mind as a purely mechanical

process. But how can you in any way imagine that, out of that mechanical act, sensation, emotion, and thought are to rise from dead atoms? I can see in idea the molecules of the brain thrown into tremors. This does not baffle my insight. What baffles me is the notion that out of these physical tremors things so incongruous as sensation and thought can be derived. This is the rock on which materialism must split, when it pretends to be a complete philosophy of life.

Tyndall holds the bishop's reasoning to be unanswerable, and so do I. It is not creditable to the "foremost thinkers" of the nineteenth century in its third quarter to have raised such denunciations against Virchow's lecture at Munich on Evolution. Tyndall is not quite so cock-sure about what Max Müller calls evolutionary materialism. He says for the moment that he is on the side of Virchow; that he never advocated the introduction of the theory of evolution into schools, and should be disposed to resist it before its meaning was better understood and its utility recognized by the mass of the community. This ought to be done; and the proper way is to let the opponents of evolution from the domain of science have their say,—I mean those who are eminently qualified (Prof. Max Müller, Sir Richard Owen, George Henry Lewes, and others). The concluding remark in Owen's *Anatomy of Vertebrates* deserves special notice: "The physiologist and the pathologist have benefited mankind by freeing them from the necessity of speculating where the soul wanders when thought and self-consciousness are suspended. In demonstrating the universal law of our being, they have cut away the foundations of purgatory and other limbo from the feet of those who trade thereon."

JOHN CHAPPELLSMITH.

FIRST PRINCIPLES IN BELIEF.

II.

What is religion? What is creed? How does endeavor bear upon life? Is there a soul to explain the growth of the grasses and none to unravel the building of man? Was Nature reasonable when she piled up her mountains that lock power with the sun, and insane or impotent when she approached the question of animate life? And, when the word came from Eastern seers and Western prophets, were only the later and nearer believers blest of truth and won to safety? When came the slow unfolding of righteousness, was it given Persia alone to read? Was human condition ineffective in one land and irresistible in another? You who see only by one light, what know you of the infinite prisms of the spheres? You to whom nature drew everything in one color, is life not a hopeless variegation? How dare you venture into the night with so diminutive a flame? In sorrow, in tears, in remorse, in rack of muscle and tension of brain, is it to you alone sweet comfort speaks? If there is good reason why you are as you are, built in strength and with no halting arm for good causes, is there less wise provision for another's reaching forth elsewhere, to confer other benefits, and secure other responses?

When we accept theories, we must do so contingently. A reservation of doubt large enough to include possible error has its claim upon rational minds. We are supposed to cleave to such conclusions as best account to us for our personal position in the universe. What harmonizes with our lives, and becomes of its bone and sinew, need in no sense express a like importance to our neighbors. As there are many sets of conditions, there are many needs. In fact, if the many conditions are forced to the one need, we know what

*"On the Formation of So-called Cells in Animal Bodies."

proceeds in dismembered minds. There is a need covering our relations to the race,—that of sincerity and adaptation. Then there is a particular need that bursts from the instincts of the individual. To violate the bounds of either renders abortive all that a mismanaged virtue may attempt. For instance, the papal idea wipes out the existence of the person. It calculates for a wholly corporate, as opposed to an individual, existence. It recognizes no unity in nature: it simply scouts the notion of generality, and rests all faith upon its provincial Catholic union. This shoots wide of freedom, and trenches upon the sanctity of the primal need. The ordinary Protestant ideal, again, while broader than that avowed by Catholicism, still fails of universality. It credits a circle of impossibilities. It shrinks from contact with the outer sphere. It, too, having drawn a line, though with bounds notoriously loose and sometimes inviting, has ostracised a great portion of the earth, and offended against the acknowledged rights of the race. Nor are these characteristics peculiar to Caucasian sectarianism. You may take your pick of theologies the world over, and only now and then come upon a body not open to the reproach. In warfare, in blood too grievous to measure, not more with Jesus among the Jews than with John Brown upon Virginia's scaffold, this mistaken blessedness has sought expression and knelt to its countless gods.

When at last it becomes plain to men that for every condition there is a report in spirituality, that in each influence thus at work there is a natural virtue which we disturb only at untold hazard, we have reached the free stage of the higher life. All stoppages preceding this are temporary. To this point, we are in the drift. Heretofore, we had worked isolatedly. We were first Buddhists or Christians or Red Republicans or Prohibitionists and only at the last men. Now, we have joined energies. The light has confused our secondary distinctions. Primarily, we became brothers, to whom the minor questions that afterward arise to us as sectarians appear in a juster guise. The universe finally finds us joint questioners. Science has clasped hands with art; while literature, joined with the moral and spiritual promptings, rises to the fellowship. Before life and death, we stand with equal courage. Once, we were proud of dissolution: to-day, we glory in unity. It is as though we had chosen eternity, and turned backs upon the doctrine of moral annihilation. Once, Nature was centred in Jesus or some special teacher, and we saw only a portion of her inevitable beauty. Then came the hour of wider knowledge, and with it a vision that included all lovers of good, and refused to think of Time as pledged against its own developments.

When souls previously in perturbation find answers smiling at them in their very fears, man is on the high road to improvement. No longer may there be quarrels with science. No longer have we a lesson in displeasure read us from the lips of dissent. We come, as it were, near the day, and are just to the instruments of progress by being trustful of its general spirit. We have better reasons to give why men dig and plant and reap, and why poets sing, and why Jesus fasted in the wilderness and Buddha resigned his principality. We more profoundly reach into sorrow, and know in what it is dissent finds solace, when something mysterious shatters hope and takes objects of love from physical sight. Here and everywhere is meaning: nothing is without significance; being, in fact, is all representative of something that transcends impeachment, and prevails against disunion and despair. It is not in our pains or joys that Nature manifests sole interest.

It is not in our babes alone that light brings its far-off hints and dreams. We have tears to shed, remorse to experience, the moral crises to endure, the physical twists to encounter, through seasons that furnish their own staff. And the fact of condition that weighs upon us as Christians or as political partisans of one or another stripe is equally in the service of the Hindu, the Ashantee, the agnostic, and the politician who questions our conclusions. The divers philosophies that are repugnant to our private consideration prove in good terms that the assistance that comes to us in our hours of dismay is not exceptional, but common. Though it enters them in another form, it is in essence one thing, pulsating in every atom of the worlds. For this, or perhaps some even sublimer, end of human love, savage man first planted his dictum in the wilderness. What is an exclusive Christianity or Buddhism in its presence save a spectre of remaining doubt? Chemistry is science in the same sense that some special faith is religion: neither are principals, though both are factors; and, as long as humanity fails to make so essential a distinction, we can hardly expect it to comprehend its ultimate duties. Yet the race is to hew its own way out; and, in the special grandeur, we read the assurance of the general majesty.

I do not wonder that faiths are many. I wonder only that there is as much conformity as seems. Nature shapes nothing at random. Her shots always tell. Whether the egg culminates as lion or hyena or man, the intent is at work and the energy puissant. Let us not be deceived. We who are not philosophers have no need to pride ourselves that we have escaped the toils of thought. Nature may as virtuously lead one man to Darwin and one to Jesus as persuade one to follow the sea and another the arts of life. We who reckon nothing of alien faiths, and put no value on diversity, have only a largess of poverty for our reward. Whenever truth speaks through honest men, she speaks with effect; for she chooses divers instruments, and glistens in coal and iron as fairly as in gold. The precious metals, the precious men and women, are such as faithfully measure their capacity, and serve to the edge of promise.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS the *Sunday School Times*: "Faith is not only better than doubt: it is better even than reason and sight. It is safer to trust than to know; and it is surer, also." How can faith be surer than knowledge, than which we had supposed nothing could be more certain?

WHAT we are usually pleased to call religion nowadays is, for the most part, Hellenized Judaism; and, not unfrequently, the Hellenic element carries with it a mighty remnant of old-world Paganism and a great infusion of the worst and weakest products of Greek scientific speculation, while fragments of Persian and Babylonian, or rather Accadian, mythology burden the Judaic contribution to the common stock.—*Huxley*.

It is sometimes asserted that those most pressed for time accomplish the most varied work. "Shirley Dare," one of our brightest and busiest authors, living in a peaceful corner of Dedham, twenty minutes' ride from Boston (where her ancestry have lived for two hundred years), not only writes practical and entertaining books on household and sanitary topics, but also keeps her own house unaided, gardens enthusiastically,

writes pungent editorials for the Boston *Saturday Evening Gazette*, the New York *Mail and Express*, and *Outing*; and this winter, as an avocation from regular journalistic work, is translating an Italian epic, a French work on art, and a Hungarian novel!

THE Universalist organ, the *Christian Leader*, thinks it sees indications in the Unitarian body that the battle which raged between the right and left wings fifteen or twenty years ago is to be renewed. "At that time, the Conservatives appeared to be in the majority, but disposed to make a compromise with the Radicals. Now, we judge, from the tenor of Unitarian literature and the prominence of representatives of the left wing, the Radicals are in the majority." A little brush between "the right and left wings" of Unitarianism could do it no harm. It might contribute to the development of that robustness which it greatly needs to enable it to resist the absorbing influence of the orthodox sects, and to digest and assimilate more of that radical thought which refuses to be stamped or labelled with any sectarian name.

SUBSCRIBERS who are in arrears in their subscriptions (and, if they are in doubt on this point, they need only to look at the mail-tag on their paper) will confer a favor by remitting without waiting for a reminder, in the form of a bill, from this office. The thoughtfulness of those who renew promptly is thoroughly appreciated, when every week we settle our bills; but we look over the list of delinquents with regret and, knowing the ability of some of them to pay, with surprise. Will not every delinquent subscriber be just to himself, as well as to *The Index* which visits him weekly, by paying without further delay the amount he owes, and thus strengthen our hands in the difficult work of publishing an independent radical journal which refuses, on the one hand, to pander to the superstition of theology, and, on the other, to a liberalism that, in its spirit and antiquated character, resembles the creeds from the adherents of which it easily gains converts?

A LADY (1871) submitted to Chauncey Wright a number of questions, and received what she called his "mental photograph." The questions and answers were as follows: 1. Your favorite color? The complementary. 2. Your favorite flower? The red, red rose. 3. Your favorite tree? The great elm. 4. Your favorite object in nature? Vistas of mountains. 5. Your favorite hour of the day? 11 to 12 P.M. 6. Your favorite season of the year? Days in June. 7. Your favorite perfume? Incense of Havana. 8. Your favorite style of beauty? The animated. 9. Your favorite poets? Shakspeare and Tennyson. 10. Your favorite prose authors? Stuart Mill and Charles Darwin. 11. Your favorite character in romance? Plato's Socrates. 12. In history? The real Socrates. 13. Book to take up for an hour? The one one feels inclined to read. 14. What book (not religious) would you part with last? The one no one would care to borrow. 15. What epoch would you choose to have lived in? The most modern. 16. Where would you like to live? In the most familiar place. 17. What is your favorite amusement? Metaphysics. 18. What is your favorite occupation? Mathematical problems. 19. What trait of character do you most admire in man? The disposition to be just. 20. What trait of character do you most admire in woman? Thoughtful sympathy. 21. What trait of character do you most detest in each? Brutality and vanity. 22. If not yourself, who would you rather be? Nobody. 23. What is your idea of happiness? Undisturbed easy

occupation. 24. What is your idea of misery? Distracted *ennui*. 25. What is your dream? Of flying. 26. What is your favorite game? Solitaire. 27. What do you believe to be your distinguishing characteristics? Ignorance and modesty. 28. If married, what do you believe to be the distinguishing characteristic of your better half? To wish to be married to another, and therefore unhappy. 29. What are the saddest words in the world? Those beginning with D,—as death, debt, disease, dishonor, and all the d—d *dises*. 30. What is your aim in life? To secure the most trustworthy means of happiness. 31. What is your motto? The greatest good of the greatest number.

A PREACHER opened an address at the funeral of a child, at Athens, Ill., recently as follows: "I have been requested to attend here to-day, and say something. I have also been requested not to read the Bible nor to offer a prayer, the father of the dead child now before me informing me he was not a believer in the Bible or religion, and that he would rather I would read Ingersoll's speech at the burial of a little child than anything else. I will now attempt a short address on the death and burial of a little child, which, I hope, will take the place of the one delivered by Ingersoll." Among the closing remarks were the following: "Father or mother, you may be shipwrecked; but you cannot be delayed. Soon, the roar of death will be in your ears, and the dark waters and waves will be beneath your feet. What will you then do? Yes: this is the question. Will you want no Bible read then? Will you want no prayer then? Will you want Ingersoll's vilifications of Jesus read over your dying and sleeping dust? No: methinks not. A heart that sees nothing but a refined animalism in a happy home, a loving wife, and singing children, must be an iceberg indeed." The reading of selections from the Bible, and a formal prayer, would probably have been less offensive to the parents than these personal and, considering the occasion, rude and impertinent remarks.

AH KANG recently came into Boston Harbor as a vessel's cook, and yielded to his curiosity to see our city. Before he was able to do much damage in lowering the dignity of labor and corrupting society, this Mongolian invader was arrested by a United States marshal, and locked up. The Boston Transcript comments as follows: "While he languishes in a federal dungeon, pending his forced departure from the land of the free, he may turn his benighted mind to the study of our institutions, and draw from them wisdom. He will perceive that the increasing wisdom of the nation has placed expository parentheses in the immortal declaration handed down by our fathers, and will read clearly that all men (except Chinamen) are born free and equal, having (with the exception of Chinamen) certain inalienable rights (those of Chinamen being alienable by Act of Congress), among which are life (except where an American mob decides otherwise), liberty (to stay at home), and the pursuit of happiness (unless said happiness consists in setting up a laundry or following other humble occupations which may endanger the dignity of labor)." Ah Kang probably does not see much of the spirit of brotherhood in the treatment he has received here, and he is not likely to become enamoured of our Christian civilization.

IN *The Index* of March 4, we shall print a tabulated statement showing the responses to our request that subscribers send to this office the names of ten writers whom they regard as having contributed most largely to freedom of thought.

We give now a few of the lists already received: (1) Bacon, Bruno, Darwin, Emerson, Goethe, Hugo, Plato, Spinoza, Rousseau, Voltaire; (2) Dante, Luther, Carlyle, Emerson, Voltaire, Bruno, Spinoza, Turgueneff, George Eliot, Theodore Parker; (3) Voltaire, Paine, Kant, Spencer, Goethe, Garrison, Parker, Emerson, Mill (J. S.), Renan; (4) Lessing, Max Müller, Carlyle, Buckle, Emerson, Parker, Paine, J. F. Clarke, F. W. Robertson, George MacDonald; (5) Plato, Montaigne, Voltaire, Paine, Goethe, Mill (J. S.), Hugo, Emerson, Darwin, Ingersoll; (6) Aristophanes, Darwin, Erasmus, Lucian, Lucretius, Kant, Paine, Rabelais, Strauss, Voltaire; (7) Bacon, Luther, Mill (J. S.), Emerson, Maudsley, Spencer, Darwin, Paine, Voltaire, Lewes; (8) Paine, Frances Wright, D'Holbach, Voltaire, Bruno, Harriet Martineau, Comte, Spencer, Emerson, Parker; (9) (by a Swede) Parker, Paine, Ingersoll, Darwin, Lyell, Buckle, Mill (J. S.), Voltaire, Strauss, and Dr. Nils Lilza, "whose popular books," writes the gentleman who sends the list, "are to be found in the three Scandinavian countries, Finland, and, I suppose, in large numbers in the United States."

DONN PIATT objects to "the name the women take to themselves, that of 'sales-lady.' There is no sense in the term. It is a silly shame the poor girls suffer from in the supposed degradation of their labor." He further complains that "put a woman in a store or in a department at Washington, and she immediately preceeds in dress and manner to rise, as she supposes, above her employment." And, worse still, "at all the restaurants and hotels where female waiters prevail there is a lofty manner that adds insult to the served-up indigestion." To this rule, Donn found an exception at Hornellsville, where the girls "actually smiled on one, and anticipated wants like a real gentleman." He adds: "I complimented the proprietor, as I paid my bill, on the amazingly polite conduct of his waiters. The man laughed as he told me of the training and trouble he had in fetching about this result, or, as he said, 'bringing 'em down to it.'" It would seem that Donn has a morbid desire to be continually "smiled on" by girls who wait upon him in shops, hotels, and restaurants. This smiling part of the business may be very gratifying to him, but it must be disgustingly monotonous to the girl who waits upon fifty or a hundred or more customers a day. Donn continues: "As for female friendship, it is a myth"; and the fact that women are not always as considerate toward the unfortunate of their own sex as they should be is stated in the following style: "Had our Saviour addressed a female crowd instead of men, calling for that 'first stone,' he would have found the dear creatures with aprons full of geological specimens; and the way the stones would have gone whizzing would have forced Christ himself to gather up his robes and flee a wrath that is as active as the devil and vindictive as hell." Whether Donn has been "smiled on" by woman too much or too little is not easy to determine from the above; but it is certain that he is not in a mood to write discriminatingly and justly in regard to lady employes in shops and restaurants, who, as a class, treat customers respectfully and politely, and that is enough, even if they do not "smile on" every man who purchases a necktie or orders a lunch.

IN the fact that a street urchin of Newark, bitten by a mad dog, can by charity come under the treatment of the foremost specialist of the world, a religious exchange sees nothing but evidence of the development of Christianity and of the divinity of its author. It says: "Differences of country, language, national manners and ideas

are all bridged by the manger of Bethlehem; and the beautiful ideal of human brotherhood is realized. And this mankind owes, it may be affirmed without fear of contradiction, to the example and teaching of Jesus." With no disposition to undervalue "the example and teaching of Jesus" in promoting human brotherhood, we cannot forget that, when Egypt was afflicted by famine, Trajan fed the people from the granaries of the empire; that, when Lyons was nearly destroyed by fire, Rome supplied the wants of the people in grateful return for assistance received from Lyons when, a little earlier, a similar calamity had befallen Rome; that, when Antioch was half destroyed by an earthquake, the other Asiatic Greeks—as one who then lived wrote—"sent from all sides provisions by land and sea to the unfortunates who clung to their ruined homes." Expanded ideas of universal brotherhood increased rapidly in practical influence from the time of the conquests of Alexander, which brought into relationship nations previously unknown to one another. This influence showed itself in the commingling of different peoples and races and in the general drift of the age. "Independently of revelation," says Merivale, "the heathen world was gravitating through natural causes toward the acknowledgment of the cardinal doctrines of humanity." There is another fact of which our religious contemporaries need to be reminded. The discoveries of Pasteur, and his successful treatment of those bitten by mad dogs, have resulted not from adopting the New Testament theory of such diseases, that they are caused by demons, not from employing the New Testament method of curing disease, by faith and prayer, but from years of patient research and careful experiment; in a word, from pursuing the scientific method, to which the world is indebted for a multitude of discoveries and inventions that have contributed to the result which our contemporary ascribes "to the example and teaching of Jesus."

For *The Index*.

THE MAGIC RING.

[From the German of LESSING.]

Among the treasures of an Eastern King
Was, long ago, a magic opal ring,
Which, rightly worn, the wondrous gift conferred
To be by God beloved, by man preferred.
Father to son the jewel handed down,
The eldest always had it with the crown.
At length, a father three sons loved so well
Which one the best himself he could not tell;
And so he promised each of them, apart,
That he should have this treasure of his heart.
And, then, a craftsman calling to his aid,
Two other rings in secret he had made.
So like each other did the opals glow
Which was the first no mortal man could know.
In secret then to each he gave a ring,
Just as he felt the flutter of Death's wing.
He died, and each one of the brothers three
Claimed that his ring the real gem must be.
In fierce contention long did they dispute,
Then took them to a judge of great repute,
Before whom each one pleads the ring that's his
Of all the three the only true one is.
He heard them all, then calmly did pronounce
To magic charm each must all claim renounce.
"For see," he said, "not one imparts
The love of God or man unto your hearts,
Else would you not contend *your* ring alone
Contains the *only* true and magic stone.
So now your claim to God's exclusive love
By your life's walk and conduct strive to prove.
If lives of LOVE and CHARITY ye live,
A wiser one than I shall judgment give."
Thus wrangles Christian, Turk, and Jew,
Each claims his creed, and only his, is true.
He is the favored Son of God Most High.
Why not by lives of self-denial try
To prove that claim, nor ever wrangling stand?
Each holds a gem of TRUTH within his hand;
And, if he rightly wears his wondrous ring,
To him the love of God and man 'twill bring.

MARY BAYARD CLARK.

The Index.

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

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

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

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For The Index.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS.

LECTURE V.

A GENUINE MESSIAH.

Delivered at the Temple Adath Israel, Boston, Nov. 6, 1885, by Rabbi Solomon Schindler.

Men and events are seldom weighed by us in the scales of justice. It is the successful who generally carries off the admiration and appreciation of the world; and the popular adage says, therefore, correctly, Nothing succeeds like success. Success, however, is a product composed of two factors, the one of which is our own ability and ambition, the other an indescribable something, commonly called "luck." The one is within ourselves, the other outside of us. We have full control over the first one, but no command whatsoever over the second. Neither are these two factors equal in value. The product "success" is obtained in some cases by the multiplication of great ability with a small quantity of luck; in others, by the multiplication of little ability with a great amount of luck. No success whatsoever can be reached, if one of these two factors is lacking. The most talented, the most enthusiastic, will fail in his enterprise, if luck does not favor him; and the choicest luck cannot tower up to the goal of success, if not supported by some intelligence.

But, sad as the fact is, mankind never goes behind the returns. It never takes the time to examine the factors: it looks at the product only. If a man is successful, it bows before him in admiration; if his undertaking has been unsuccessful, it turns from him with disgust, at best with pity. A people arising to break the fetters which either a foreign nation or the party in power has tied around its limbs has always been a grand sight, and the attention of the world has always been directed toward the place where such an uprising

has occurred; but it has always been the final success which has influenced the verdict. Whenever a nation has succeeded in liberating itself, the preceding struggle has been called a revolution; if it has failed in its enterprise, it has been called a rebellion. In the first case, the national leaders have been worshipped as heroes, and their praises have been sung by the poets of their time: in the other, they have been stigmatized as traitors, as ringleaders, as rebels; and, though they may have sealed their love for their country with their blood,—either gloriously on the battle-field, or ignominiously upon the scaffold,—not a word has been said in their favor, not a pen has been stirred to transmit their name to posterity. At best, they have been defended; at best, some friendly hand has attempted to wipe away the stains with which their misfortune or ill luck has bespattered them.

My argument will appear with greater distinctness by the following comparison. Supposing the United States of America had been unsuccessful in their struggle against Great Britain, do you think we should look at the event as we do now? You may rest assured that the glorious time of a hundred years ago would be branded to-day as a rebellion, that the children at school would be instructed to detest the rebels, Washington and Franklin, and to glory in the patriotism of Arnold. They would not be told to memorize Longfellow's beautiful poem of the midnight ride of Paul Revere, and "God save the Queen" would fill the place of the "Star-spangled Banner" in the singing-books of our schools. Who of us would take the trouble to examine the motives, the heroism, and the enthusiasm of the noble men of '76? Nobody; for we all should silently acquiesce in the verdict of the world, or, as you may call it, in the verdict of history, which, after all, would have been influenced, not by the merit, but by the success of the cause.

Will humanity ever outgrow such injustice? I have good reason to believe that the historians of the future will adopt a more just measurement of men and events, that they will overhaul the whole building which history so far has erected, and that they will mete out justice unbiassed by the success with which an event had been accompanied; and I should advise you, my friends, whenever you go into an historical research, to leave a wide margin in favor of the unsuccessful party.

I shall acquaint you to-night with such a party, and with a man who, if he had been successful, would have filled the world with his renown. He possessed the one factor of success,—genius, talent, enthusiasm; but, alas! he lacked the other. Luck went against him. I shall conjure up before you the spirit of a man whom nobody to-day seems to know, but who, nevertheless, at his time had made a Roman emperor tremble upon his throne, whose very name has spread terror upon Roman soil similar to that which, hundreds of years before, the name of Brennus and Hannibal had caused. Would that I could show you the last Jewish warrior in his full glory! Would that I could sing in loud strains the praise of the last Jewish hero, who, if ever a man has deserved the title Messiah, has been worthy of it! If ever Messianic expectations have been realized, they were realized in Bar Kochba. He was a Messiah who tallied, every inch of him, with the hopes which his nation harbored concerning such a man.

The Jewish nation has been, and is still, blamed for rejecting Jesus of Nazareth as a Messiah. They have been called a stubborn people, which would always maltreat its benefactors and best friends. False, thrice false. The Jews were, as they are still, wide-awake, and knew well how to distinguish a chimera from a reality. While they remained in-

different to idealistic dreamers, as Jesus and Theudas may have been, they arose as one man when the person appeared who had all the qualifications of a Messiah. They placed at Bar Kochba's disposal an army of not less than half a million of well-equipped soldiers. They heeded strictly his orders. There was not the least discord in their ranks; and, during five years, more than two millions of Jews sacrificed their lives for him and his cause. Does such devotion indicate blindness or stubbornness? Alas! Bar Kochba was not successful, his cause did not triumph. The hero was therefore degraded to a rebel, and the glorious last struggle of our nation was stigmatized as a rebellion.

Jerusalem had fallen in the year 70 of the new era, and Judea had been made a Roman province. Years of misery followed, and the hope that finally a Messiah must appear to restore their former independence grew stronger every day. Even the early Christians believed that the time was near when their Messiah would return. Sixty years had passed since; and, as the first exile had lasted only seventy years, the conclusion was near at hand that again, after seventy years, a restoration would take place. An excellent proof that the hope in the advent of a Messiah was rooted in political, and not in religious ground, that the Jews did not expect a supernatural Messiah, but simply a man who would be their leader in the struggle for liberty, is that they prepared for the emergency. They were practical enough to observe that arms, ammunition, drilled men, and especially money, must be prepared and in readiness, so that the Messiah should have the sinews of war at his command. They did by no means believe that he was to work wonders, and do the fighting all by himself. They expected in him a leader, and nothing else.

The acknowledged head of the Jewish community at that time was Rabbi Akiba, whom I cannot help mentioning, as he has played a principal part in the tragedy of the Bar Kochbean war. His history is wonderful, and reads like a novel. Up to his fortieth year, he is said to have been ignorant of letters, unable to read or write. His occupation was that of a porter in the house of Calba Sabua, the Vanderbilt of his time. At this advanced age, he fell in love with Rachel, his master's daughter. His affection was returned; but, as Rachel knew well that her proud father would never consent to her marriage with a porter, and elopements were not fashionable at that time, she advised him, strange to say, to study law. Akiba heeded her advice, and began at the bottom of the ladder. He entered a primary school. During the many years of his studies, Rachel is said to have faithfully preserved her love for him, although her father, hearing of it, disowned her. She is said to have lived in such misery that once she was compelled to cut off and sell the braids of her hair, in order to obtain money for food. Finally, Akiba, who had risen step by step, gained renown; and, when he returned to Jerusalem, accompanied by a host of disciples and the acknowledged head of the Jewish community, Calba Sabua laid aside his prejudice, and gave him his daughter for a wife, bestowing upon her a rich dowry, so that from that time they could live in abundance.

Do you suppose that a man of the stamp of Rabbi Akiba, who not only believed in the divine origin of the Bible, but even maintained that every letter in it had a secret meaning,—do you suppose for a moment that such a man did not understand the meaning of the prophets in regard to a Messiah, at least as well as Christian clergymen of to-day, who do not tire of quoting the

Old Testament in support of their theories? If Akiba could have made one passage—yea, even one word—of Scripture tally with the appearance of Jesus as a Messiah, he would surely and willingly have accepted him. Or do you suppose that a man of such an iron will and as practical as Rabbi Akiba must have been, would have accepted the very first adventurer as a Messiah, that he would have sacrificed his influence, his time, his money, his life, for an impostor? This very Akiba, a second Samuel, pointed out Bar Kochba, and introduced him to the people as the long-expected Messiah. This very Akiba travelled for years, visiting all Jewish colonies, levying money and men for the Messiah. From one of his trips, he is said to have returned with thirty thousand disciples, probably young men whom he had enlisted for his cause.

Bar Kochba, or Bar Kosiba, which name he derived from the small town of Kosiba or Kesib, was the embodiment of all the qualities expected to appertain to a Messiah. He was of powerful, Herculean build, tall, muscular, strong. He was the model of a soldier. He would sleep on the bare ground, and share the coarse food of his soldiers. In battle, he would be seen at the most dangerous points, whirling his battle-axe with undaunted courage. He was a skilful leader, who outgeneraled the most experienced soldiers of Rome. Deep as was his hatred for Rome was his love for his country. He was modest and willing to listen; and, for all this, his followers worshipped him. How he had passed his youth, where he had obtained his military knowledge, nobody knew. There he was at the time when all was prepared, and people were only waiting for the leader; and the impression which he must have made upon the people was such that, without examining his past record, all—the rich and the poor, the learned and the simple—flocked to his banner, and obeyed implicitly his commands. Within the space of one year, he stormed fifty fortified places, and freed nine hundred and eighty-five towns held by the Romans; and when the year 133 dawned not a single Roman was to be seen in Palestine.

At first, the Emperor Hadrian, occupied with other schemes, gave little attention to the revolt; but when the most renowned legions had lost their prestige on Jewish battle grounds, when his best generals returned defeated by a foe unknown before, when the Orient, observing that the Romans were not invincible, began to awaken from its slumber and to rally around the victorious Messiah, he tremblingly acknowledged the great danger which threatened the empire, and took immediate steps to suppress the rebellion, at whatever cost. He ordered his best general, Julius Severus, the Moltke of his time, from England, where his presence had been needed, to proceed at once to Palestine. He gave him a large army of picked soldiers and all the supplies he wanted. Bar Kochba, on his part, remained not idle during the two years which Severus needed to organize his forces for the task. He made an attempt to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple. He made use of the prerogatives of a king, and issued coins stamped with the inscription "Cheruth Jerusalem,"—Freedom of Jerusalem,—a few of which are still to be seen. He fortified a number of cities, and was so confident of his final success that he is reported to have uttered the almost blasphemous words, "O God, if it does not please thee to assist us, withhold, at least, thy aid from our enemies, we shall then stand our own, and be victorious." Severus did not dare to meet his adversary in open battle. He adopted the same stratagem which Fabius, the Cunctator, had

used against Hannibal. He refused to fight a battle; but he drew a large circle of fortified camps around the whole of Palestine, from which he sent his cavalry to tire the enemy in small encounters, and to cut off supplies. Bar Kochba had no horsemen to check the ravages of the Romans, and, in spite of all heroism, was not able to break the circle which Severus now contracted, inch by inch. One Jewish fort after the other had to surrender, for want of supplies; and soon the iron band closed around the fortress of Betar, into which Bar Kochba had been forced with the flower of his army. Betar must have been a city of the size of Metz, and the siege and defence of that city must have been a wonder of military skill. The two greatest generals of their time exhausted their genius in moves and counter-moves. Every inch of land was contested with bravery and skill, such as never had been witnessed before.

The Roman general finally despaired of capturing the city. Epidemics had decimated his legions; and, though he had fought for a whole year before Betar, he had not gained the least advantage over his foe. He was about to raise the siege, when two Samaritan traitors showed him a secreted aqueduct which supplied the city with water. He shut the water off at once, but even the most excruciating pains of thirst could not make the noble garrison of Betar surrender the place. Not before the Romans had found a way into the city, by enlarging the same aqueduct, was the fate of Betar and that of Judea sealed. On a Sabbath day, Severus stormed the city. Bar Kochba, a second Leonidas, fell, sword in hand, covered with honorable wounds. He would not survive the final doom of his nation. A legend says that, when a man brought the head of Bar Kochba to Severus, and claimed that he had slain him, the latter said, "If this man has not been killed by God himself, the power of a mortal could never have harmed him." Another legend reports that his body, when found, was encircled by a snake, which would allow nobody to harm it. Thus died Bar Kochba, a hero and a patriot, who would have sacrificed ten more lives upon the altar of his country, if such had been possible. Although he has been almost forgotten, although the masses have never heard of him, although our Christian friends are not aware of it,—that the Jews once accepted a Messiah, and cheerfully spilled their blood in his service, because he was the type of that Messiah of which they had dreamed,—although no poet has sung his praise, Bar Kochba is no myth. His history is written in the heart-blood of the nation upon the soil of Palestine. The Talmud contains numerous passages referring to him. Even the Gospels allude to him,—another indication of the time in which they were written. A Greek historian, Dion Cassius, speaks with reverence of him. There are the coins still to be seen, which he had caused to be minted; and even the minutes kept by the Roman Senate bore evidence to his greatness. When Severus reported to the august body his final victory over the enemy, he omitted the customary introduction, "I and the army are well." Indeed, neither he nor his army was well. His victory had the semblance of a defeat. Neither did the Senate grant him the honor of a triumph.

Here we have a Messiah recognized by the people, recognized by its representative Rabbi Akiba,—a Messiah who laid down his life upon the altar of his country; but did Judaism make a God of him? Did it allow him to change one of its laws? Did he or his followers ever attempt to change a law, on the ground of his Messianic authority? Has ever a cult or a ceremony been instituted to

commemorate his life and death? Though the Jewish nation has mourned him with bitter tears, his ill luck has made him share the fate of all unsuccessful; it is due to modern research that the marvellous career of Bar Kochba is brought to acknowledgment, and his heroic patriotism is duly appreciated.

Although Rabbi Akiba had introduced Bar Kochba as the expected Messiah, he never attempted to make a tool of him. The confidence of the people rested in the qualities of the Messiah, and the recommendation of a man who had been the interpreter of the law for so many years only strengthened it. Rabbi Akiba survived the fall of Betar. It is said that he miraculously escaped before its capture, and for some time he was the eye-witness of the sufferings through which his nation had to pass.

It has been claimed that the misery which had followed the Jewish nation was a punishment of God for their rejecting Jesus of Nazareth as a Messiah, and that it is a proof that they must have crucified him. How can such a claim be reconciled with the justice of God? How could our ancestors have acknowledged an unknown man, whose name afterward was used to change, if not to abolish, the law? Or have the sad consequences of the Bar Kochba war also been a punishment of a just God? Had they not had all cause to believe in the Messiahship of Bar Kochba, better cause than they had to believe in the Nazarene? Had Bar Kochba not led the life of a conscientious Jew? Had he ever attempted to lead them from the path of virtue? Had he not been successful in the first years of the revolt? And, as he showed all the qualities of a true Messiah, could they help believing in him? Was their devotion to him and his cause of no merit in the eyes of God? Was their heroism deserving of the cruel punishment which followed? The argument that the Jews must have crucified Jesus, because they have been persecuted afterward, is simply absurd. Turn it around, and you will come nearer to the truth. Our history would have run quite smoothly, if ignorant bigotry had not considered it an act of piety to make it fit with some alleged predictions, if our oppressors and persecutors had not considered it a high distinction to serve as the instruments of punishment. The cast answered the die, because it was forcibly made to fit it.

But let me return to Rabbi Akiba. He was finally imprisoned on the charge that he had been an instigator of the revolt, and he suffered martyrdom from the hands of the Romans. The agonies of Jesus of Nazareth, even if the narrative of the Gospels is admitted, are less than the sufferings of Rabbi Akiba, who was flayed alive. But, in the hour of death, he did not despairingly exclaim, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" He died with the words on his lips, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God."

Israel has never forgotten its noble heroes nor its martyrs. It has paid them their tribute of tears, and mourns them still; but it never made saints of them, it never worshipped them, it never preserved their relics and worked miracles with them.

The revolt of Bar Kochba was the last military enterprise of our nation. After it, it ceased to be a political body; and its future history is that of a religious sect. We do not claim to-day to be a nation. The enlightened Israelite of to-day does not feel in the least chagrined that he has no country of his own or a king to rule over him. We are sincere and patriotic citizens of the country in which we live. We are good Germans in Germany, good Frenchmen in France, law-abiding Englishmen in England; and, in this our glorious

republic,—which better than any other country in the world protects our liberties and our rights,—we are true and faithful Americans, ready to prove it with our blood, if an emergency for such a proof should arise. We wish for no other country and for no other form of government; and all our efforts are directed toward the one great aim cherished by all true Americans, without distinction of race, color, or creed,—the aim to make our beloved country respected and honored all over the world.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CATHOLIC'S REPLY TO RABBI SCHINDLER.

Editors of The Index:—

I was shown quite recently a copy of *The Index* of 26th last month. I had never seen the paper before, although I had heard of it. My attention was invited to the third sermon of Rabbi Solomon Schindler on "Messianic Expectations"; and I infer that you have published it, because its object, to disprove the divine origin of Christianity, falls in with the purpose and scope of your paper. I trust that you will afford me, a Catholic layman, opportunity to make, from the stand-point of my convictions, a short reply to the Rabbi's utterances. He gives no authorities for the string of assertions which he so complacently makes; and, if we are to judge of his accuracy by the sense in which he applies the term "immaculate conception," then he is altogether unreliable. He erroneously applies it to our blessed Redeemer instead of to his mother; for it signifies that the blessed Virgin was conceived without the stain of original sin in which all the descendants of Adam are born. He says that Christ "never was anointed for his mission by any authority whatsoever, real or fictitious," meaning, of course, a human one. Was there no other way? Do we not read in Psalm xlv., 17, 18 (Douay version): "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of uprightness. Thou hast loved justice and hatest iniquity, therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"? The Rabbi assumes that the passage relating to Christ, not in chapter 18, but in book 18, chapter 3, of Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, is an interpolation, "condemned even by church authorities, such as Bishop Lardner"; but he fails to state any other authority, or how and where. Nor does he state whether the authorities are Catholic or Protestant, which certainly appears careless and unlearned, in view of the great difference between the two.* An argument might be valid against the latter stand-point, and of no account against the former one. If he meant Nathaniel Lardner, a nonconformist preacher of the eighteenth century, I cannot find that he ever became even an Anglican bishop; and, if he did, and has been quoted correctly, his opinion is by no means conclusive.

I might go on this way taking well-founded exceptions to the Rabbi's many inaccurate statements, assertions, and the arguments which he has attempted to build on them; but it would take up more of your space than I can reasonably expect you to give me. I shall content myself with the following single point, in answer to what he says on the alleged "marvellous growth of Christianity." I assume that he believes in the existence of EL SHADDAI, the Almighty God, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and that one of his infinite divine attributes is to be "infinitely true and faithful." This the Catholic Church teaches. Although the human race has not been left by God without some knowledge of himself, derived from patriarchal tradition, but mixed with idolatry and error, to the Jews alone, his chosen people, did he reveal himself as he wished to be known, adored, and obeyed in his commandments. "God said to Moses: I AM WHO I AM. He said: Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: HE WHO IS hath sent me to you" (Exodus iii., 14, Douay version). Even the mind of an enlightened

*I have noticed that rabbis in their sermons frequently make the mistake of overlooking this proper distinction. For instance, the argument which I have known one of them to use against the existence of any authority for the change in religious observance from the last day of the week to the first is unanswerable on Protestant grounds, but reasonably accounted for on Catholic ones.

Pagan could apprehend the distinguishing character of the Jewish belief; for Tacitus, in his *Annals*, Book V., has described it in these forcible words: "... *Judaei, mente solâ, unumque numen intelligent. ... Summum illud et aeternum, neque mutabile neque interitum.*"

Before the Christian Church there was no way, other than through Jewish teaching, for the Gentile world to attain to the knowledge of the one true God; and it is a well-known historical fact that the Jews were at all times zealous and active and measurably successful in making proselytes, though the work was attended with great obstacles. This state of things continued in greater or less degree until the advent of the personage known as Jesus Christ, and his death on the cross. During his mission to the Jews, he, on many occasions related in the New Testament, announced to them his divine nature. I shall cite only one instance as sufficient. Jesus said to them: "Abraham, your father, rejoiced that he might see my day: he saw it and was glad. The Jews therefore said to him: Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Jesus said to them, Amen, amen, I say to you, before Abraham was made, I AM" (John viii., 56-58, Douay version). Now, if he was not the God he thus emphatically declared himself to be, he must then have been (and I say it with the deepest reverence), as Rabbi Schindler and his co-religionists believe, an impostor; and his resurrection from the dead must have been a fraud! What followed? The work of spreading among the Gentiles the knowledge of the true God, of the ten commandments which he gave on Mount Sinai, and of other greatly increased means of salvation, passed from the hands of the Jewish Church into those of the Catholic Church, founded by Christ and teachers with authority, and has been carried on for eighteen centuries with a prodigious success, infinitely surpassing all that the Jewish Church was ever able to accomplish. Through whom, in our day, is the knowledge of the true God borne into the interior of China and Japan? Now, if Christ was not the Messiah, how does it accord with the above mentioned attribute of God, who is truth itself, to permit the knowledge of himself and of his commandments to be successfully and authoritatively spread through teachers commissioned by an impostor! Nor does the coming of Mohammed, six and a half centuries after the Christian Church had begun its work and made great progress in it, at all invalidate the force of the above argument. The creed of Islam was taught, not by truthful argument, the power of a sublime teaching, the force of heroic virtuous example, of accepted martyrdom and confirmed by miracles, but was enforced by the sword and the besom of destruction, mostly on populations already in possession of the knowledge of the true God. Wherever it has become established, it has brought about the social degradation of woman, whose elevation, begun under the Jewish Church, has reached its highest point under the teachings of Christianity.

I have only to add that the motives which Rabbi Schindler assigns for the spread of the Christian belief among the "Greek and Roman populace," as he terms them, are against reason and historical facts, and are of easy refutation.

CATHOLIC.

New York, Dec. 28, 1885.

QUESTIONS REGARDING RELIGION.

Editors of The Index:—

1. Do not all human beings naturally possess a part of religion?
2. Is it possible for any person to be entirely without religion, or to discard it?
3. Are not reason, talent, and education the best guides toward a universal and lasting religion, comprehended and enjoyed by all beings?
4. Is it not a convincing evidence that the efforts and, in some cases, pretensions, even of the most noted theologians, to teach and inculcate their conceptions of religion, are inadequate, when we find that some of their own and best educated children are compelled, by the development of their reason, to oppose the doctrines and dogmas of their good fathers and mothers?
5. Can religion be defined satisfactorily to all, and improved by stamping it with an extra name? and do not the false claims of superiority over other forms or sects narrow religion?
6. Is it not an essence of religion, when men, whether believers or sceptics, atheists or materialists,

etc., manifest by speech, writings, or actions, that they appropriate and love what is rational and lovely in the finite and infinite, or in facts and theories, bestow charity upon the less developed mind, kindly and diligently strive for others and their own welfare and progression toward the better and the all good?

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N.H., Jan. 3, 1886.

SOCIOLOGIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

Editors of The Index:—

Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, President of the Sociologic Society of America, is holding parlor meetings in New York City every Friday afternoon for the instruction of women in Social Science.

With the advent of the new year, public meetings in continuation of the labor conferences of last spring will be held at Spencer Hall, New York, on the second and fourth Wednesdays of every month, where industrial questions will be considered in the light of the principles held by the Sociologic Society. Mrs. Fales will preside at these meetings, and speak of the laws of social growth in relation to the present condition of social and industrial life.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES,

KILLINGLY, CONN.

General Secretary.

WHILE we do not want to destroy those spiritual realities which sweeten the life of man, while we do not wish to crush one single flower of religious sentiment, we must show that the life of to-day is holy; that the rising and setting of the sun include as many hymns of praise and earnest prayers as can be found between the lids of any book. The life of man is sacred, and its every care and joy are fit for prayer and song. The deeds of man are holy, and they merit every rite that worshippers perform on bended knee before the altars of the church. The joys and sorrows of the human soul are fit to be embalmed in sacred verse, and every sigh that rises from the human breast is prayer for help as eloquent as any chanted words of priest. The blood that pulses in the veins of man is holy, too, and in its flow sings praises to the God that makes the heart to beat. Man is divine,—in every physical part, in thought and feeling, movement of the spirit, throb of brain, when in that thought-gemmed dome the light of inspiration comes, filling the chambers of the soul with rays truth laden. In every act of life, in love and hate, in hope and fear, in God-like action or divine repose, man is a theme for song; and, when the heavenly muse descends to earth, she sings most sweetly of that earth-god, Man. Religion, too, must own his worth, and in her temple celebrate his praise. His daily life must be her highest care. Her hands must labor for his good. The God above needs not our help or praise. The ocean needs no fountain's tiny stream to fill its shores. The atmosphere needs not the breath of man to swell its volume. The sun has need of no ignoble taper to increase his light. Our God is infinite and self-complete. He fills the universe's vast extent. From him we draw our life, not he from us. Before we were, he was. But, in our worldly state, we need each other. The love of friends, the help of strong ones in the hour of need, the warm heart beating for our woes, the kind hand wiping from our eyes the tear of grief,—these do we need; and sweet Religion is worth most when in this garb she comes to us. Balm for the wounded spirit, strength for the weary soul, clothes for our nakedness, for hunger, food,—with these the spirit of Religion comes, and by these gifts we know her. Our highest duty, then, is to each other; and our religion must be one of helpfulness, or it is naught.—*From The Duty of the Hour, a discourse by Solon Lauer.*

BOOK NOTICES.

HEALING BY FAITH; or, Primitive Mind Cure. Elementary Lessons in Christian Philosophy and Transcendental Medicine. By W. F. Evans, author of *Celestial Dawn, Mental Cure*, etc. London: Reeves & Turner, 196 Strand, W.C. 1885. pp. 214.

Mr. Evans holds that all disease is of mental origin and nature, and that we possess spiritual energies and potencies sufficient for the cure of all maladies; that disease in us must have had an existence, as an idea, before it had a "bodily expression," and that to expunge this idea from the mind is to destroy both the disease and its cause. "All matter, including the

human body, exists only in mind, which is the only substance. . . . Hence, the body is to me and for me what I think it to be." The real "immortal ego" is not subject to disease, and "may always affirm *I am* well and happy. To come to an intuitive perception of this, and to hold to it with a divine stubbornness in spite of the senses, and even reason, is to reach the summit of faith,—a faith that makes us whole." Plato, the Bible, Berkeley, Hegel, Chunder Sen, Mozoomdar, *The Occult World*, and *Isis Unveiled* are drawn from to sustain the author's idealistic speculations, which he intimately connects with his method of curing disease,—that of Jesus revived, he claims. The prayer of faith is "the most intense form of the action or influence of one mind upon another." The name of Jesus is the name in which to ask, because, "according to a law of correspondence, it signifies and expresses an inward essence, principle, and quality."

Mr. Evans gives a formula of faith in the form of a prayer or invocation, in which there is, he says he sincerely believes, "the saving, healing virtue of the name of Jesus Christ, the Nazarene, and of the principle his name represents." They who repeat this prayer must assume that they are "now well, and already saved in Christ," must "affirm by faith in opposition to blind sense that we are now freed from our infirmity." When the prayer, two and one half pages long, is repeated understandingly, the prayer is "put in possession of the power of the inner Word and the Spirit through which Jesus healed disease and cast out demons." The practical idea of the work, common to all the so-called "mind cure," "faith cure," and "metaphysical cure" methods, is thus expressed near the end of the volume: "The cure of mental and bodily maladies by the influence (that is, as the word means, the *inflowing*) of one mind upon or into another is no new thing in the world. . . . It is based on laws of mind as fixed as, and more certain than, any of the principles of chemistry,—the naturally and essentially diffusive tendency of our mental states, and the absorptive and receptive nature of the soul of a patient in a passive state and actuated by a sincere desire of recovery." The book contains a great deal of what seems to us wild speculation and many very extravagant claims.

B. F. V.

THE DAWNING. A Novel. Boston: Lee & Shepard. pp. 382. Price \$1.50.

This anonymous novel will not take rank among the great works of this century; but, though it does not bear evidence of being the work of a thoroughly original thinker, it is yet extremely readable, being unique in plan and plot, its aim noble, and its morality of a high type. While it is very evidently the work of one who is capable of better work with more experience, it is yet too evidently the work of a crude thinker, but well intentioned, who has been studying from a radical point of view the unsettled social problems of to-day, and who has come to some optimistic yet hasty solutions of the questions which have been puzzling the world for some centuries, and which are yet conceded to be unanswered, if not unanswerable.

Among the questions considered in this volume are the various phases of the woman question, society caste in New England, the right and wrong methods of dispensing charity, marriage and divorce, freedom of thought and expression in religion, the inadequacy of law or custom to right wrongs; and, above all other questions, the story-teller is interested in the respective rights of capital and labor. On all these subjects, the author takes somewhat radical ground; and the story closes with the heroine's declaration, on the part of herself and lover, that "Langdon and I have but one purpose,—to seek justice for the creators of wealth. The night of oppression shall not always shroud the world!" "No: it is **THE DAWNING!**" exclaimed King." An explanation which explains the reason for the title of the book.

The story ought to interest Bostonians, since the scene is laid in their city, whose localities are frequently carefully described. The actors are truly Bostonese, even their names being familiar to all citizens of the plot. The style is somewhat jerky, but never tiresome, though a little too epigrammatic.

S. A. V.

BATTLE OF THE BUSH. Boston. Published by the author.

Mr. Robert B. Caverly, of Lowell, has made a study

for years of New England colonial history of the Puritan colonies, and of the Indian tribes and their famous sachems, and of the wars of the Puritans with the aborigines. He has also made the Indian legends of New England the subjects of a volume of poems. In the present volume, following the example of Shakspeare in his English-historic plays, Mr. Caverly has dramatized early New England history, introducing among his *dramatis personae* such characters as King Phillip, Roger Williams, the regicides Goffe and Whalley, Captain Miles Standish, Bradford, Brewster, Leverett, Elliot, the apostle of the Indians, Winthrop, etc. Each dramatic sketch has an introduction full of Indian lore. Mr. Caverly was the first mover in the enterprise of erecting a statue on an island in the Merrimack River to the memory of the famous heroine Hannah Dustin, on the spot (Haverhill) where she tomahawked a dozen sleeping savages, her captors, who had dashed out the brains of her infant, and were dragging her through the wilderness to Canada. This happened in the closing years of the seventeenth century. So recently was New England a wilderness.

THE Popular Science Monthly for January opens with M. Pasteur's communication to the French Academy of Science, on his discovery and successful application of "Inoculation against Hydrophobia." In "The Origin of Primitive Money," Mr. Horatio Hale describes wampum and its uses, and traces the existence of similar currencies in other parts of the world. In "Progress in Tornado-Prediction," Mr. William A. Eddy shows that it is now possible to render cases where a tornado may overtake a settled neighborhood unawares of rare occurrence. In "Communal Societies," Mr. Charles Morris compares the social organization of "communal animals" (beavers, bees, ants, etc.) with the primitive social organizations of men. In "The Flower or the Leaf" and "The Study of the Relation of Things," Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi and Miss Eliza A. Youmans discuss fundamental principles of primary instruction. Mr. George F. Kuiz has an interesting paper, beautifully illustrated, on the "Agatized and Jasperized Wood of Arizona." There are other papers by Herbert Spencer, Grant Allen, Dr. William Odling, Rev. Henry Kendall, and the editor, who rejoices over "The Decline of Ghost." D. Appleton & Co.

THE Library Magazine for January (John B. Alden, publisher) has the following interesting selection of current articles: "The Dawn of Creation and of Worship," by W. E. Gladstone; "Free Cities in the Middle Ages," by L. R. Klemm; "Some Habits of Ants, Bees, and Wasps," by Sir John Lubbock; "The Wesleys at Epworth," Rev. J. H. Overton; "The General Election in France, October, 1885," Jules Simon; "An Anglo-Saxon Alliance," John R. Dougall; "With the Hungarian Gypsies," *Temple Bar*; "Macaulay and Sir Elijah Impey," *Macmillan's Magazine*; "A Greek View of the Present Crisis," by a Greek statesman; "Human Personality," Fred. W. H. Myers; "The Eastern Question as viewed in Persia," S. G. W. Benjamin; "The Future of the Fellah," Lieut.-Col. H. H. Kitchener; "Provincialism in Literature," *Christian Union*; "Culture and Science," *Macmillan's Magazine*; "Yankee Doodle," G. H. Moore; and "Our Latest British Critic," from *Macmillan's Magazine*. \$1.50 per year.

CALENDARS are not designed to be "a joy forever," since they are intended only for use during the current year; but many of the new designs in these useful reminders of time's flight ought to be "a joy forever," if Keats' opinion goes for anything, as they are most decidedly "things of beauty." This is especially true of "A Calendar of the Year, with Verses by Austin Dobson," issued by H. B. Nims & Co., Troy, N.Y., which consists of a book of twelve leaves, each leaf containing a dainty calendar for the month, underneath which, in quaint characters, is an appropriate original verse by Austin Dobson, both calendar and verse being enclosed in a framework of pictured flower or scenery illustrative of the month whose name heads the page. These leaves are enclosed within two handsomely illustrated covers, and tied together with a silken cord. The combination is very unique, æsthetic, and charming. Price \$1.25.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

M. PASTEUR's laboratory is crowded with patients every morning. The total number of all nationalities he has thus far treated is two hundred.

PROF. HUXLEY has written for the February number of the *Nineteenth Century* a rejoinder to Mr. Gladstone's January article, on the order of creation as described in Genesis.

On the evening of the 16th, a banquet was given in London in honor of Mr. Joseph Arch, the agricultural laborer, who has been elected to Parliament. Mr. Chamberlain, who presided, spoke of the importance of agrarian reform, and emphasized the fact that Mr. Arch was a dissenter, and that the English Church had never given help to great popular movements.

THERE is evidently a growing sentiment in Germany in favor of cremation. A petition for its introduction was recently laid before the Reichstag, containing 23,365 signatures. The petition was signed by 1,942 physicians, 1,046 lawyers and professors, 1,015 government officials, 849 school-masters, 10 Protestant clergymen, 3 rabbis, 361 women, and 6,000 working-men. The remaining names were those of merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and others.

THE Boston correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* says that many of the most prominent Boston ministers preach now without manuscript, and adds: "This is significant. It means not a decline of scholarship or of faithful preparation. The pressure of preaching an unwritten sermon effectively must be greater than to read from manuscript. The mind must be alert, and the whole subject thoroughly arranged. It means, evidently, a vital contact with the subject, the occasion, and the people; a desire to send the truth, as the preacher sees it, home; to hold the attention of busy men."

SOME of the tax-payers at Long Island City have complained to the school commissioners that the priests of St. Mary's Church, Hunter's Point, on certain days of the week, go to the first ward school, march the children from the class-rooms, and lead them across the street to the church to hear mass. This, it is claimed, is a most sectarian proceeding, and is in violation of the law under which the city schools exist. About seventy-five per cent. of the children of the first ward school are Catholics; and, when they are marched out of the school-house, some of the class-rooms have but few, if any, pupils left. There is considerable agitation in relation to the matter, and it is increasing.

A PETITION is being circulated for signatures, which states that "the right of a citizen of Massachusetts to obtain justice ought not to be impaired on account of the theological opinions of his witnesses," and asks that the clause of the Public Statutes of this Commonwealth, which says that the evidence of a person's "disbelief in the existence of God may be received to affect his credibility as a witness," be repealed. This clause is unjust, not to atheists only, but to all suitors in our courts; for their interests are liable to be injured by allowing the religious opinions of witnesses to affect the credibility of their testimony. Such a remnant of religious proscription and intolerance is a disgrace to this Commonwealth, and ought to be speedily removed. A copy of the petition is at *The Index* office for signatures.

ON the issue of opening public museums in New York that are supported jointly by the city and private contributors, the secular press, generally speaking, is on one side and the clergy on the other. The influential journals come out strongly in favor of admitting the public on Sundays, while the orthodox pastors denounce the movement "to turn the Sabbath into a day of diversion." Petitions are receiving signatures by thousands; and, in most of the mechanics' unions, votes for opening have been passed unanimously. The trustees are divided and rather conservative. Mayor Grace has declared that he will not sign another appropriation for the Museum of Natural History until the change is made. On the other hand, some of the donors of money and exhibits say that, if the institution is opened on Sunday, they will withdraw their help. It looks now as though the movement would soon succeed, as did that which, in spite of all opposition, resulted in establishing Sunday free concerts in the New York parks.

MR. BRADLAUGH, having been duly sworn, will take his seat in the House of Commons and vote, regardless of possible penalties. The Tories, having made all the capital they could out of his case, "are," it is stated, "inclined to leave him alone in the future." A London despatch says: "The secular British press almost unanimously expressed relief that Mr. Bradlaugh had been permitted to take the oath, and will now be allowed to die a natural death. The church organs, however, viciously attack the policy which has

allowed his admission to Parliament. They point out, with some bitterness, that, in the event of Church of England reforms, Mr. Bradlaugh will have a voice in church affairs and church reforms." Mr. Bradlaugh is likely to be heard from before he dies "a natural death." It is to be regretted, however, that a principle has been evaded and not settled in his case. We hope yet to see affirmation sanctioned, and the claim that religious belief may afford grounds for denying to a member his seat in the House of Commons unequivocally renounced.

THE quarterly meeting of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston, at the Parker Memorial, last Monday evening, was a very pleasant affair. After a substantial repast had been enjoyed, Mr. F. H. Henshaw, who presided, read from the records of the society from its formation, including letters from Theodore Parker, Robert Collyer, J. V. Blake, and others, and related numerous incidents in its history. We have never seen an audience at Parker Memorial more interested than those present were apparently in these readings. The remarks that followed, by Messrs. John C. Haynes, Dr. H. B. Storer, J. L. Whiting, G. W. Stevens, J. A. J. Wilcox, Mrs. Sarah B. Otis, Mrs. Judith Smith, and others, added much to the interest and pleasure of the occasion. The Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, formed to secure for Theodore Parker a hearing in this city when the Unitarians frowned upon him, has a history that is creditable to those who have sustained it; and it has exerted an influence which must always identify it prominently with the history of liberal religious thought in this country.

THE Edmunds bill for the correction of the Mormons, in the form in which it has passed the Senate, is, in our opinion, creditable neither to its author nor to the thirty-eight senators who voted for it. What right has the government of the United States to administer the property of a religious corporation by means of trustees appointed by the President and not responsible to the beneficiaries of the trust? What right has the government to punish all the members of a religious organization, because some of them are guilty of indictable offences? "We trust," says the *Nation*, "the House will deal with this remarkable measure as it deserves. In a country in which all forms of religious belief and worship are free, the punishment of whole sects for holding obnoxious opinions by seizing their property is, or ought to be, a monstrous thing. The only American way of dealing with a corporation offensive to the public interests is by winding it up. Government trustees for the management of its affairs would be a monstrous excrescence, which ought not to be permitted for any purpose, however good. The Edmunds plan is one of those things which would never be dreamed of as against a considerable body of voters. It is the numerical weakness of the Mormons far more than their polygamy which causes it to be thought of."

COMPULSORY PRAYERS.

The students of the undergraduate department in Harvard University have sent another petition to the college authorities asking for the abolition of compulsory attendance at daily prayers. They do not ask that the custom of college prayers be abolished, but that the rule be rescinded which requires that undergraduates shall attend them; and they state their reasons for this request in the following propositions:—

1. That voluntary attendance upon prayers would necessarily betoken genuine interest in the religious exercises.
2. That the sense of compulsion accompanying the present attendance upon prayers is not conducive to the development of sincere religious feeling, but, on the contrary, produces indifference, if not hostility, to the observance.
3. That the already recognized propriety and justice of not enforcing attendance upon prayers in the case of some whose religious faith is not in harmony with the particular observance tend to show the impropriety and injustice of making such attendance compulsory at all.
4. That the abolition of compulsory attendance upon Sunday services at church, and the remission of compulsory attendance upon prayers twice a week, already conceded, leave no logical ground for the retention of further compulsion in religious matters.
5. That such compulsion of undergraduates is inconsistent with the entire freedom conceded to students in the Scientific School, and in all other departments of Harvard University.
6. That a large majority of the undergraduates of Harvard College earnestly desire the abolition of compulsory attendance upon prayers.

In our opinion, these reasons are all good, and the petition should be granted. Possibly, it may be objected that a good many of the signers only desire to get rid of a morning duty that is irksome to their self-indulgence, and that they have no such serious convictions in the case as the petition represents. But, if we are not greatly mistaken, it is a class of earnest and thoughtful students—though perhaps not members of the "Christian Brethren" society—who are the prime movers in this matter, and that, in drawing this petition, they mean just what they say. We are sure that in our own time at Harvard a good many of this sort of students would have gladly worked for such an object, had there then been the slightest chance of attaining it; while not a few, perhaps a majority, of the more reckless and self-indulgent students, though receiving frequent admonition for absence from prayers beyond their allowed quota, would have refused to put themselves on record as against the system. This latter class of young men had a merely traditional belief that they ought to respect religion; and the routine of daily prayers was, for them, the way to do it. On the other hand, those who had a genuine, thoughtful regard for religion were apt to be led to question whether the perfunctory routine of daily prayers was a well-calculated method for making young men sincerely religious.

We were four years at Harvard, when there were prayers twice a day. We recall vividly the early morning bell,—it was rung very much earlier than now,—the hurried toilet, the rush of students through the yard converging from all quarters, the leap of the final belated crowd up the chapel steps in eager, noisy rivalry to get within the door before the bell should stop, under penalty of receiving a black mark for tardiness, a worse offence than absence; we recall the monitors rising in the midst of each of the four classes at the same time that the minister rose in the pulpit, and registering in their books the absences while the Scripture reading went on, and not always finishing before the prayer began; we recall the cadences of

the faithful clergymen and some of their oft-repeated sentences and their innocent mannerisms, such as the opening of the eyes of one of them prudently to keep run of the clock, as the students believed; all this is very vivid to our recollection; but we do not recall in our own experience or observation, during the whole four years of college prayers, a single distinct religious impression being made by them. Of course, such impression may have been made. We did not see into the secret places of other hearts, nor would we say that we never personally gained any good whatever from the service. But what we do mean to say is that we recall no time when the service specially aroused religious impulses. Uppermost in our recollection the college prayers stand, not for their religious or moral significance, but as a roll-call of the students.

Now, a daily roll-call of the undergraduates may be very well. We incline to think that it would be a good discipline for the young men to have them regularly called at a reasonable hour from their beds by something corresponding to the *reveille* in military life. But let it be a purely physical ceremony, and not a roll-call under the guise of a religious service. The American theory of worship is that it is free and voluntary. Anything like compulsion in it is contrary to the genius of our institutions. The young men can be forced into the place of prayer and compelled to hear the words of prayer, but they cannot be forced into the mental attitude of prayer. The petitioners are right in the declaration that the custom of compulsory worship, so far from developing genuine religion, is much more likely to produce insincerity and indifference, if not hostility to religion. Nor does it follow, as has been averred, that to abolish compulsory attendance upon the prayers is in effect to abolish the prayers altogether. If so, let them be abolished. The religion that cannot sustain itself by its own truth, but must depend on compulsion and arbitrary penalties, may as well go. But, if religion has a vital meaning for this age, as we believe it has, it should not be impossible to arrange a religious service for young men in college which large numbers of them would attend of their own free choice, because of its appealing to their minds and hearts.

To those who object to the students' petition that to grant it would be to violate the purpose for which the college was founded, as expressed in the motto on its seal, *Christo et Ecclesiae*, the petitioners might reply that the oldest college seal, the one nearest the foundation of the college, had the simple but comprehensive motto, *Veritas*; and, in the name of *Truth*, they make their petition. Or, if the incongruous present seal be still held across their request, it would be in order for them to remind the objectors that he for whose glory they claim the college was founded said, "When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and, when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret."

WM. J. POTTER.

THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT.

I read lately, with a deep and delighted interest, the essay by Mr. Gannett on "The Religion of the Ethical Movement," published in *Unity*. It is beautiful, for the most part crystal-clear, and very inspiring. Happy the denomination, called by Unitarian or any other name, that shall heed and obey its high commanding monition! The ethical movement has justification, will have returned all it has cost to inaugurate it, and more in calling forth one such paper as this. All may read and be instructed not only, but quickened as with the breath of a new life.

But it is of one point I wish to speak here,—a point where his words seem to me not so clear and conclusive as in other parts of his admirable discourse; and that is, where he treats of the question of the "personality." In this regard, Mr. Gannett thinks the attitude of the ethical societies quite seriously defective, and needing thorough revision and careful correction. Otherwise, the effect must be harmful upon the mind.

That Supreme One, reality so transcendent, out-reaching beyond all bound, that for it thought has no conception and language no description, for which Prof. Adler and his friends forbear to utter the expression God, believing, as I presume, that that involves something liminary and unworthy ascribed to the Divine,—for that, Mr. Gannett prefers the name "God," and, as he says, "because of the 'personality' which it implies." "But we say 'God': we worship. They do neither." Conceptions of goodness and justice, he declares, "cannot be depersonalized"; and so, I suppose, he would maintain that any faith that affirms a moral ordering of the world—rule of a supreme beneficence—carries in implication the personal concept. The points that lie at issue in this thing may be largely verbal ones,—questions of definition, the sense in which certain terms are to be received and used,—but, I think, not wholly so.

The history of the development of the God-idea—or, more properly, we might say idea of the *spiritual*—is very interesting, and has its practical instruction for us. I can only cast briefest glance at it here: it is a theme that would fill more than volumes.

The savage, we find universally, must have a God he can know, a something objective, very determinate, and always personal. His thought rests in the concrete,—the individual; and it is hard, often impossible, for him to rise to any generic conception at all. The Tasmanians have no word for tree, though every particular kind of tree—gum-tree, wattle-tree, etc.—is carefully named. Hence, such abstract conceptions as are implied in numbering are with many exceedingly difficult, with some impossible.

It is so with the savage and also the barbaric mind, in dealing with the facts of the spiritual world. The realities in his conception are thoroughly concrete and intensely personal. The soul with him is but another body,—the Supreme One a great and a greater man. He must be made visible to the imagination, and often, for the sake of closer apprehension, to the physical eye. The rude mind personalizes everything: the universe is all peopled, above, below, within, with personalities. A Bushman of more than ordinary intelligence informed his white friend that he had once seen the *personal wind*. He shot at it with his arrow; but it retired to a cleft in the mountain, and escaped him. To speak to a savage of a reality that is not very determinately concrete, palpably objective and personal, would be to commend to him a nameless, inaccessible abstraction,—to bereave him of God. He would feel as did Laban. What could he when his teraphim were gone?

The whole course of civilization has been succinctly this: the rising of the mind from this intense sensism to inner perception, from determinate and concrete to invisible and spiritual, from worship of persons—the fictions of the uncultured mind—to recognition of principle, of pervading universal law. Where the savage saw personalities besetting, overshadowing everywhere, most of them of sinister and malign quality, the intelligence sees powers and forces. Science follows and takes the place of dream and fantasy, and

the religion of reason supplants mythology,—that central unity, the reality whence all laws proceed and in which they are one, recognized as infinite beneficence as well as boundless power, and so held the home in which the soul may rest in perfect peace and growing strength forever. Then, in my judgment, it rises to the heights of purest spiritual perception and ethereal worship. There is no religion of which I can conceive so elevated and perfect as this.

It was a great thing once for the thought to ascend to the simplest or most elemental generalization, hard to attain a single generic idea, to conceive of tree as in any sense other or different from the determinate or individual tree before the eye, to conceive of gravitation as distinguished from the expression observed by the sense. It must have seemed to the mind like giving up the "personality," like surrendering all, to leave the concrete, visible, tangible fact, and attempt to "catch on" to some subtle, nameless, and shadowless abstraction. But the leap was made; and the conception of law, of substance, of power, of ideal verities to the soul, was reached. As Liebig says, speaking for chemistry, In thinking of carbon to-day, one does not send thought either to coal or to lamp-black or to diamond.

Coleridge is somewhere quoted as saying that it is the office of philosophy without separating yet to distinguish. It is difficult to conceive of the infinite reality, what we call God, without some concrete determination, especially the determination of *person*. But this must be transcended, we must distinguish even here, or we fall inevitably under hamper. "In my conception of *person* there are limitations," says Fichte: "How can I clothe thee with it [*Persönlichkeit*] without these?"

Nature has been deanthropomorphised; and, albeit language here carries, as it always must, something of the personal concept, still the word with us never awakens a thought of nature as a person. That toil of mythology has been left behind. We should find it different in New Zealand or in the Tonga Islands. But, with us, a like emancipation has not come with reference to the word "God." Universally, almost, it bears to the mind the personal implication; and, probably, it will for ages to come. We have not learned here, as in the case of nature, to distinguish while we do not separate.

It is a good rule to select terms that carry least refraction. Max Müller, speaking of the various names for deity which were devised by the ancient Hindus, says there was one, one only, Atman, that "remained like a pure crystal, too transparent for poetry." Terms such as Prof. Adler and Mr. Salter use, as quoted by Mr. Gannett,—not the most felicitous, perhaps, always, but very expressive,—have been redeemed from the taint of mythology, and are, therefore, I think, much less open to objection than the word which they reject, and which Mr. Gannett so strenuously defends. That word has become a sort of fetish. It will be very hard to recover it to a just and safe sense, even with the best endeavor of the most clear-seeing. Certainly, the most constant and sleepless care must be taken to guard the mind in its employment. Otherwise, it will inevitably be a word of jugglery, of incantation. Probably, we of this generation can never outgrow the power of the early impressions received with it, and see it as we are able to do in the case of some others,—see it transparent.

"Words," says Lord Bacon, "as a Tartar's bow, shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment." The word "God," in my view, is one of those entangling words, and may best be disused as far as

possible, at least for a considerable time. Redeem it, if you can; but, above all things, keep the mind up and free from the anthropomorphism. That, in all the range of history, has led but one way, and that downward, not upward,—toward sensism and idolatry, not to the ideal.

Let us seek ever to rise more and more toward that reality, transcendent, unconceived, which for us is *presence* rather than *person*,—*presence*, we may say, *more than person*,—whose radiance is truth, so supreme and inaccessible that thought even cannot behold it, and of which reason, while the beam, is but the shadow. And, as language must speak, the tongue must, however tremblingly, stammer forth names to hint what it can never articulate, let the choice be of words that hit nearest to the white, and are least liable to misapprehension or any limitary construction.

For one, I welcome warmly the new movement, and can accept all the words our brother utters in its praise, and more. It embodies a most valuable and vital protest for our own age and time; and its merit lies, as I believe, pre-eminently at that point where Mr. Gannett excepts and criticises. If, in any degree in its symbol or its worship, it is too bare and prosaic, too little regardful of the æsthetic and poetical as an element that must have recognition, that defect will be quickly seen and promptly met by these ardent, enraptured lovers and followers of the pure and perfect truth.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

THE ETHICAL ELEMENT IN RELIGION.

In his religious nature, man is a progress from polytheism to monotheism, from dualism to unity, from theology to ethics. In time, if a civilization be not arrested, religion comes to signify to the cultivated little more than a philosophy of life. Dogmas about the unknowable and ritual observances are esteemed of less and less moment than righteousness or the perfection of character and conduct. All enlargement of the stock of human knowledge tends to this end. The transition from theology to a philosophy of moral culture of course will be made earlier in some communities than others, according to disparities in certain great influences conducive to advancement and cosmopolitanism.

Man is sensual before spiritual. He sees double before single, diversity and discord in the universe before unity and harmony. He seeks to square himself with the outward and visible sooner than with the inward and invisible. Therefore will he be the slave of fear and hate before the freeman of hope and love, superstitious before religious, clannish before national, national before cosmopolitan, sectarian before catholic. The Jews lived through centuries of theological dogmatism and national intolerance, and had been wrought upon by the speculative genius of the Greeks and the administrative talent of the Romans, before the universal soul of Jesus could come to teach the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God as revealed by the moral sentiment. It is a long and tortuous journey from Moses, giving laws to that "stiff-necked and perverse people" running after "strange gods," to the Son of man preaching the Sermon on the Mount. So Socrates and Plato, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, came, after much spiritual pruning had been done in the religious province of man's mind. The rational intellect was rising, or had risen, out of the conception of the divine energy, divided and discordant, into the conception of it as a oneness and harmony; out of that youthful condition, when supreme importance is attached to theological dogma, to the higher condition, when ethical

culture is perceived to be synonymous with true religion. In consequence of the wide chasm between the masses and the cultivated in Greco-Roman civilization,—there being no such diffusion of knowledge as in these days,—the philosopher became the religious teacher. He it was who furnished the inspiration in life to make better thought and action, while the priest dispensed dogma and rite to the ignorant. It will be remembered that Socrates excited prejudice against himself especially on account of the fact that the many who attached themselves to him were mostly from the upper classes.

When the ancient civilization seemed to die out, and the barbarous though fresh and vigorous sons of the North came into possession of Southern Europe, Christianity, which had already been warped in applying it to the condition of the ignorant pagan masses, suffered still further retrogradation. Religion, as it were, had to begin over again. Like the beautiful Scylla in the myth, she was changed to a brood of serpents,—a huge malformation of Hebrew and Greco-Roman polytheism, savage theology, and ritual mummery. The ethical element was pushed far into the background,—indeed, quite out of sight; and it has been the work of modern civilization, especially in these latter days, to reinstate it again. A not dissimilar line of march to that trod by the ancients seems traceable through the Christian centuries.

True, ethics is more than Bacon said, "the handmaid to religion." It is to religion—yea, to civilization—as the heart to the human body, or, better yet, as the soul is to man. It is the indestructible and eternal part. The rites, forms, and creeds are but as the clothes of man,—the temporary trappings which are swept out of use by the broad fans of the onward movements of the race. It is the theological dogmatic element, which divides men and encourages hypocrisy and self-stultification, which has been the upas in the history of the Church, so poisoning the atmosphere of the human mind that God himself was transformed into the devil.

Men, howsoever diverse in their intellectual opinions, are united by belief in the great moral principles. Difference in knowledge may cause difference of judgment as to what constitutes justice in a given case; but can we get back far enough in the perspective of the ages when man had no principle of justice? What is love? who is my neighbor? what is humanity, veracity, chastity? are questions receiving different answers in different times, localities, and individuals; but, in all times and localities and in all individuals, an obligation to exercise love, justice, humanity, veracity, chastity, is recognized. Mr. Buckle, in maintaining with vehement and almost irresistible eloquence that the moral principle of man is stationary and the intellectual alone progressive, states that nothing has undergone so little change as the great dogmas of which ethical systems are composed. What does this fact signify? What does it signify that all the religions of earth have relied for success with man upon the inculcation, more or less, of moral obligations? What signifies it that the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies of the ancients, or the intuitive and utilitarian of the moderns, starting from widely different postulates, converge at last in affirmation of the transcendent need of virtue? What religion or philosophy ever affirmed that man ought to exercise injustice, hate, unchastity, ingratitude? Is not herein blazed forth a more profound and luminous fact than seems provided for in Mr. Buckle's philosophy?

The first principles of human duty, so aged

we cannot find their natal day, are, of a truth, stationary and unchangeable, because they are absolutely true, they are universal and eternal attributes of the soul. Therefore it is, as the above writer declares, that the great moral systems have been fundamentally the same; while the great intellectual systems have been fundamentally different. Therefore it is, too, that, however much theology may change, however much rites and ceremonies—the formal and accidental part of religion—may change, the religious sentiment abides forever in man, to construct new temples of worship. This it is which lies behind and constitutes largely the motive power to the operation of the intellectual principle which, Mr. Buckle proclaims, has effected such vast and permanent results. Not merely transcendentalists, as Plato, Swedenborg, and Emerson, but scientists, like Van Helmont, Pascal, and Newton, have believed “piety an essential condition of science.”

It is this incarnation of God in man which is the unseen force of his evolution, making him a progress working forever upward from the valley of sense to the Alpine region of spirit. Knowledge is the agency of this divinity within, which instructs man in the performance of duty by enlarging his apprehension of love, justice, truth, purity. These are the bread of life upon which have fed the great souls who have exercised most enduring influence on the ages. Is it not the utterances of the seers who have dwelt most in the presence of these universal verities which are a perennial inspiration to man, moulding his thought and directing his action? The vast movements in behalf of civil and religious liberty,—how have they been set on foot? What has been the fountain of the stream which turned the wheels? What has fired the poet, the prophet, the seer, the reformer, to protestation against grievous error and oppression but the moral sentiment illuminating and energizing the soul with lofty conceptions of justice and brotherly love, of duty to man and to God? A wise American does well to say that “the civil history of men might be traced by the successive meliorations, as marked in higher moral generalizations,—virtue meaning physical courage, then chastity and temperance, then justice and love,—bargains of kings with peoples of certain rights to certain classes, then of rights to masses, then at last came the day when, as the historians rightly tell, the nerves of the world were electrified by the proclamation that all men are born free and equal.”

Let us learn in this money-getting age the lesson taught by Luther crying out: “God hurries and drives me. I am not master of myself. I wish to be quiet, and am hurried into the midst of tumults”; or that taught by barefoot and snub-nose Socrates, under the control of his demon, conspicuous and revered through ages; or, better still, learn it from that kindred spirit of Judea, who, without learning of books, without property, without the great facts of modern science, has become the prince of religious teachers and the central figure in the highest civilization yet realized by man. Socrates and Jesus, martyr heretics of their times,—is not the true secret of their imperishable glory and influence that they stood squarely, fearlessly, and trustfully on their moral intuitions?

The capital crime of the Christian Church for generations has been the divorcement of religion from ethics. “Men talk of ‘mere morality,’ which is much,” exclaims Mr. Emerson, “as if one should say, ‘Poor God, with nobody to help him.’” But morality, which has been used so long by the clergy as a term almost of reproach, is being pushed rapidly to the front by the rationalism of

the age. Herein lies the deep significance of the religious transition of these days. Recognizing religion as an individual, and not a conventional relation; as endogenous, not exogenous,—a loving attitude of mind toward God, and not subscription to the dogma of any man or council of men about man or God; recognizing self-consciousness of right and wrong as God in the human soul, to whom every knee shall bend, whom every tongue shall confess,—and we have found where realities centre. Under the royal guidance of this sovereign in religion,—this sovereign, indeed, of human progress, which is older than the Church, older than the State,—men of the most diverse opinions about the unknowable can come together to worship in the beauty of holiness, truth, and liberty.

Go to nature, said Job to his reprovers, and she shall teach thee,—teach that it is a fundamental law of normal growth that her forces shall operate in freedom. It is a condition of perfect crystallization, remarks Mr. Tyndall, “that every molecule be permitted, without disturbance from its neighbors, to exercise its own rights.” The stars contribute to give increased splendor and light in the firmament, but each shines in its own sovereign individuality; each swings in its own orbit, despite the deflecting influences of other stars. Is it not even thus with man in his religious growth? It is only normal, harmonious, and self-sustaining, when he is permitted to exercise the divine right of private judgment. Only in the maintenance of this shall he give to organization, under the name of church or whatsoever name, the vital energy of sincerity and truth and faith.

Mr. Lecky, discerning clearly the religious trend of man, declares idolatrous worship, church feeling, and moral culture to be the central ideas of three stages of religious progress. Are we not entering upon the latter stage, when religion, as with the cultivated class of Greek and Roman civilization, comes to be synonymous with a philosophy of life, the end being to moralize character and conduct? In this last stage, the relation of the clergy to the people assumes a new form. Divested of sacerdotal authority, they must come to contemplate themselves as ethical teachers, relying for influence and drawing force on superiority in intellect, character, and spiritual discernment. Their mission is to foster the ought sentiment in man; to be what Matthew Arnold so justly denominated Mr. Emerson, “the friend and aider of those who wish to live in the spirit.”

The conscience of men is more divine than the theology which, as Coleridge puts it, they only believe that they believe; and the clergymen of to-day who cast behind them this dead thing, as the youth casts aside the garment he has outgrown or as the tree sheds its decayed leaves, and stand squarely and confidently on the moral sentiment, the religious sentiment, are a tower of strength; for they have a basis to rest worship upon, “not made with hands,” eternal as the heavens, because rooted in the heart of man, a basis of unity for religious association of unmeasured and unmeasurable power.

When Christianity shall be exfoliated of the unchristian accretions which were formed in barbarous social conditions, and which have concealed, quite smothered, the life-giving spiritualism of that divine hero of Gethsemane; when it shall have shed theological dogmatism,—then shall we behold the Church of the living God of which Mr. Emerson had vision: “There shall be a new church founded on moral science, at first cold and naked, a babe in a manger again, the algebra and mathematics of ethical law, the church of men to come; . . . but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters, science for symbol and illus-

tration; it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry.” The faith that shall be authoritative in this new church is faith in the victory of spirit over matter, of right over wrong; faith in the behest of duty, in the sovereignty of the moral law. The only creed required shall be as simple as this, borrowing from Goethe’s *Faust*, with a little changing: I believe in

The all-enfolding
The all-beholding,
Who folds and upholds
Man, Nature, Himself.

GEORGE W. BUCKLEY.

GEORGE SAND’S LATER YEARS.

During the first years of George Sand’s literary career, the sense of strength of an inward mysterious power impelled her this way and that; and, in itself, the highest good had driven her toward the knowledge to be found only in restless searching. So far, her force had been expended for the amusement of mankind in the vivid images her mind had translated from the varied sights that appealed to her imagination; but, from a want of completer self-knowledge, the highest good of genius—the sense of security in peace—was withheld from her for many years, until the outward world became mirrored from within. Then the greatness of her soul shone upward, irradiating the whole world anew, explaining mysteries before disturbing, and making harmonious her great and noble life. An error frequently to be met with among the learned is a tendency toward an idolatry of the intelligence. Often, in fact, the thought of all besides the intelligence is kept studiously in the background by those who might otherwise be strong and great. While this was not the case with George Sand, as she yielded to the varied demands of her varied nature, finding courage and strength in all that appealed to her marvellously acute sense (for she was a lover of music and art), she yet, during her earlier life, sacrificed her peace to that artist quality within which made her always eager to give to others from her ample supply, so that she allowed the vessel of her intelligence to tip and overflow before it was filled to the brim. Her goodness tended, during her earlier years, toward the portraying of certain ideals to which she constitutionally, though unconsciously, was unequal. She had left the convent too early, perhaps, to have learned the words of St. Teresa:—

“Let nothing disturb thee,
Nothing affright thee:
All things are passing;
God never changeth;
Patient endurance
Attaineth to all things;
Who God possesseth
In nothing is wanting.
Alone God sufficeth.”

But, in her six hundred and sixty-seventh letter to Mme. Lamber, she began with these words: “You wish to become calm. If that were a possible thing, I should say to you, Be quick about it for the sake of your health, your rest and sleep, and your happiness in consequence; for continual suffering can only be combated by amusement, and in this way the well-being of the soul may not be attained to. But can one reach this point even in greatly desiring it? I know that for myself I longed for it; but is it not old age which has accomplished the miracle?” It is unfortunate that the decline of life alone had brought her peace; that, together with the vigor and gladness of youth, the more necessary condition of the soul might not have been possible. Happiness, she then had thought, was the aim of human destiny; and she had illustrated this need in her own personality. George Eliot’s mind worked out the

"Choir Invisible," which her moral nature had conceived; while George Sand's masterpiece of moral enthusiasm was the *Consuelo*, in which every character seems a reality beyond question, not excepting the *bizarre* Albert, who, by his suffering and final emancipation, stands as a type of the philosophy which suffers until it can apply itself to the world's needs.

There may be many Alberts in the world; and let us hope there may be many a *Consuelo*, many a divine priestess of art, who, in her union with philosophy, makes the completed character which love can blend. One of her shorter works—a pastoral story, which would please when one is in the mood to be pleased by a somewhat melancholy landscape—shows us repeatedly her philosophy of calm: "The most happy of men would be he who, possessing skill in his labor and working with his hands, deriving his well-being and liberty from the exercise of his intellectual force, still would have the leisure to live by his affections and his brain, to understand his work and to love the work of God. The artist has joys of this kind in the contemplation and reproduction of the beauties of nature; but, often seeing the torments of the men who people this paradise of the earth, the artist with a just and humane heart is troubled in the midst of his joy. Happiness is there where the mind, the heart, and the arm, working in concert under the influence of Providence, make a holy harmony in the midst of the munificence of God and the bliss of the human soul." This is in *La Mare au Diable*.

We congratulate ourselves, when we read the history of the ancients and of the castes which then existed, that such distinctions are gradually vanishing from our part of the world; but do we, practically, do anything to lessen the differences which yet remain? By practically is meant personally; for, certainly, small armies are at work relieving the oppressed and raising the ignorant.

Gradually and persistently, Mme. Dudevant placed herself in contact with inferior classes of people, exhorting them to what seemed to her the truest patriotic views, and giving workingmen new aspirations for themselves and their families. It must have been an extraordinary sight,—this self forgetful woman, standing in a *café* in one of the streets of Paris, admonishing all such as would stand to hear her.

Has she been properly appreciated yet? Certainly, only by a few. Not one Frenchman in fifty understands or values the work of her later years, or realizes that living and acting in their midst has been the frail form of a woman with Titan intellect, who reached the foremost ranks of the world's great ones.

C. A. OLCOTT.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE first number of the *Unitarian*, a monthly magazine edited by Revs. Brooke Herford and J. T. Sunderland, and published in Chicago and Boston, has appeared this month. Its aim, say the editors, is to foster a broad Christianity.

A COMPLETE account, by Gen. John Newton, of the operations for the removal of the obstructions at Hell Gate, from their beginning to the explosion of Flood Rock in October last, will appear, with illustrations, as the leading article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February.

THE fifteenth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association will be held in this city, Meionaeon Hall, next week, beginning on

Tuesday evening, the 26th inst., at 7.30 P.M., and continuing on Wednesday at 10.30 A.M. and 2.30 and 7.30 P.M. A sociable will be held on Thursday evening, with a supper, short speeches, and music.

THE *Philanthropist* is a new monthly paper, published in New York, and edited by Aaron M. Powell and Mrs. Anna Rice Powell, the object of which will be "the promotion of social purity, the better protection of the young, the suppression of vice, and the prevention of its regulation by the State. It will affirm the unity of the moral law for both sexes, and that the practice of impurity is as reprehensible in men as in women." The subscription price of the paper is 50 cents a year; three copies, \$1.25; five copies, \$2.00. All communications and remittances should be addressed to the *Philanthropist*, P.O. Box 2554, New York City.

In criticism of the *Transcript's* statement that the disfranchisement of the women of Utah "will powerfully aid in the suppression of polygamy," the *Woman's Journal* remarks as follows: "But just how it will aid, neither the *Transcript* nor anybody else can tell us. Since the male population of the Territory is so overwhelmingly Mormon, disfranchising the women evidently will not give the Gentiles a majority. The suppression of polygamy should be sought by all just and efficacious means; but the proposed measure is a glaring injustice, and has not even the poor excuse of expediency to recommend it."

In reply to a recent paragraph in *The Index*, the *Christian Register* has this to say in defence of the Unitarian press:—

We think our neighbor is mistaken in regard to the disinclination of the Unitarian press to heed the objections of radical thinkers like Prof. Adler against Unitarianism. But we are more interested in the positive side of that movement than in its critical or negative side. We have given space, from time to time, to show what both Mr. Salter and Mr. Adler were doing; and Dr. Adler has himself given an admirable exposition of his view in the *Unitarian Review*. On the Unitarian side, Mr. Chadwick's sermon ought to be read, and also the admirable and thorough article by Mr. Gannett, published in a *Unity* supplement, in which he considers the movement on its own merits and also in relation to Unitarianism.

SAYS the London *Inquirer*: "Almost the greatest service that can be rendered to Christianity in these days is to show that in its very heart and essence it can be retained without belief in miracles, which the scientific intellect regards not only as incredible, but as inconsistent with faith in the reign of divine order and unchangeable law." If we say that "Christianity, in its very heart and essence," is that which is fundamental in all the great religious systems, including the principles and precepts of morality, it is doubtless true that "it can be retained without belief in miracles." But why omit from Christianity all that makes it distinctive, and then apply to the universal element which remains the special name of one particular form of religion? Why select an individual from a group, disregard all that distinguishes it from other individuals, all that marks it as a species, all that has given it a distinct name, and then insist that this name be given to those general and fundamental characteristics which are possessed in common by all the members of the group?

DAKOTA has chosen as the motto on its seal the words, "Under God the people rule." One of the free-thinking opponents said, "They have God in the preamble, and God in the bill of rights, and now we must have God in the motto." The happy reply was, "Yes: you will find that you meet God everywhere, and you had better get ready for him."—*Presbyterian*.

Our esteemed contemporary seems to mistake the free thinker's objection to the witchcraft superstition which supposes there is a divine charm in a name, and to the crude, fetichistic notion that there is a divine efficacy in having "God" put into a preamble or into a motto, for fear or unwillingness to "meet God everywhere." It is not the universal Presence and Power, by whatever name called, that free thinkers wish to keep out of the Constitution, for it asserts itself everywhere; but theological names which have, with the mass of people, certain distinct connotations, and the insertion of which would virtually commit the government of the United States to a theological creed and thereby threaten religious freedom.

A WRITER in the *Westerly Call*, published at Westerly, R.I., replies to an article which appeared in that paper, in favor of taxing Church property, as follows:—

I answer that the existence of the churches is as necessary for the public welfare as the existence of the public schools. We might as well tax one as the other. Our safety as a nation depends upon the churches and schools. We could not get along without them. It seems to me that it is policy to encourage and foster them in all possible ways. One of the easiest ways is to exempt them from taxation. . . . If any man wants to get a proper return for the aid which he, by paying a little over tax, gives, let him go to church every Sunday, and take his pay in listening to the religious teachings he will there hear. It will not hurt him. There is little doubt in my mind that a law compelling church attendance on the part of all would be conducive to the public good. . . . The Church wishes to make this nation a Christian nation. Those who are not believers in our creed and faith are at liberty to depart for other quarters. . . . I hope the day is not to come soon when churches and church members will be thought to be entitled to no more rights than unbelievers. If it does, what profit will it be to belong to the Church, or even for the Church to exist? I say not tax the churches.

PRESIDENT ELIOT, of Harvard College, read an essay last week, in this city, before the Unitarian Club, in which he said that he believed religious teaching should be admitted as part of the regular public school course; that room should be provided for it at stated times in the school-room programme, and that it should be paid for from the public purse; that three varieties of religious teaching—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish—should be provided wherever these three religious bodies exist side by side; that the children should be assigned to one teacher or "another, according to the religious convictions of their parents; that the instruction should be given simultaneously, either in different rooms of the several school buildings or, if more convenient, in neighboring churches, or partly in one way and partly in the other; and that the subject-matter of the instruction should be determined by the religious teacher." This is the position of the President of Harvard College in this "year of grace," 1886. We are glad to see that Rev. James Freeman Clarke, in reply to the essay, took the ground that religion should not be brought into the public schools, outside of teaching the scholars the golden rules of honesty of heart and purpose, and such secular instruction as is needed to fit the pupil for the battle of life. He thought that, if there were sects dissatisfied with the way religion was taught in the public school, it would be safe to let the matter alone, and time would right such dissatisfaction as at present existed.

THE Boston *Transcript* has some very sensible comments on President Eliot's essay, referred to above: "The State and municipal governments," it says, "cannot in any way recognize religious denominations, nor provide for any classification of school apartments, teachers, or pupils, by secta-

rian instructions. The embarrassments, disputes, controversies, and annoying responsibilities that would be involved in any such attempted scheme would be endless, and would be sure to result in strife and disaster. It is a scandal and grievance to many persons—an evidence of something very wrong under our present enlightenment—that our houses of worship should be known by so many sectarian names. But it would be deplorable if the tablets on our school-houses bearing the names of our civic worthies should be removed, in order that sectarian designations might be substituted. The State must resolutely cling to its original, traditional, and noble fundamental of providing for the elementary education of all its children. It cannot assume the office of training them in denominational religion."

A LONDON journal publishes statistics which imply a beautiful compliment to the ministries of married women, and at the same time contain a warning to bachelors which they cannot afford to disregard. It seems that, of a given one hundred thousand bachelors between twenty and twenty-five years of age, twelve hundred die annually, whereas, of the same number of married men of the same ages, only about six hundred die annually. Between the ages of thirty and thirty-five, fifteen hundred bachelors die and but nine hundred married men to the hundred thousand. If these figures be correct, they contain an argument which can hardly fail to impress men who would lessen the chances of untimely death, even if the charms of woman have failed to allure them into matrimony. But it may be that the effects of marriage upon those who, but for the reason mentioned, would prefer to live a celibate life would not be as salutary as it is, according to the figures given, upon those whose natures crave the companionship and love of woman. Possibly, the average longevity of men who are inclined to marry is naturally greater on constitutional grounds than that of men who are unsusceptible to the tender passion, and are content to remain single.

For The Index.

THE ANCESTRY OF PERIKLES.

Rich Lydia was the foreworld's California,
With golden-gleaming streams and ore-veined hills;
And Croesus, Gyges, ass-eared Midas, were
The world's primeval millionnaires, the first
To history known. A Greek, Alkmaion named,
Befriended Croesus in some juncture grave;
And, to reward him, Lydia's monarch took
Him to his treasury, and bade him thence
Bear all the gold which on his person he
Could carry. Whereupon, with boots capacious,
And cloak, one pocket vast, the greedy Greek
His vesture stuffed with gold, his boot-legs, too;
Sprinkled his hair with gold-dust o'er; his mouth
Filled full, until, all human semblance lost,
He issued, stuffed, distended, overweighted
With precious metal, so that Croesus burst
In laughter loud at sight of his Greek guest,
Shapeless, effulgent with metallic sheen.
Thus, with the ore of Lydia enriched,
Alkmaion breeder of fleet steeds became,
And with his chariot won the prize at Elis,
As an Olympic victor thenceforth famed,
And 'mong the eupatrids his family
Was ranked. Megakles, a son of him,
By King of Sicyon chosen was to wed
His daughter, Agarista, o'er a crowd
Of wealthy, high-born suitors for her hand
Preferred, and from their union sprung at last
A grandchild, Agarista named, who dreamed
She brought a lion forth, and shortly bore
Great Perikles, Athenai's grandest son.

B. W. BALL.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 21, 1886.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

BY DAVID H. CLARK.

A Paper read before the Cambridge Sunday Club,
also before the Parker Memorial Science
Class, and on other occasions.

There is no one who has journeyed along the Susquehanna River who can have failed to be delightfully impressed with the ever-varying outline and exceedingly picturesque beauty of its scenery. Taking its rise in one of the small lakes which, like sparkling gems upon a royal robe, adorn the State of New York, it flows on upon its winding way, with a branch here and there, through Pennsylvania, until it finds, on the shore of Maryland, at last an outlet to the sea.

It was my fortune to pass a few years of my life beside this tranquil and beautiful river in a small and somewhat slow and antiquated town, though now becoming of more material importance through recent industrial progress, which is destined to lasting distinction from its association with one of the foremost intellectual champions and leaders of a hundred years ago. I refer to Joseph Priestley, in later life generally known as Dr. Priestley, of eminent renown in his day as a theologian, scientific discoverer, philosopher, and reformer.

Northumberland, the name alike of the town and the county, suggests its English settlers. It lies at the junction of the north and west branch of the river, about fifty miles from Harrisburg, upon a wide, far-stretching, slightly ascending slope, which gradually flattens out to a narrow level toward the shore. A steep and rugged, rocky bluff rises in an almost perpendicular ascent upon the opposite side to a height of two hundred feet or more. It was here, in what must have seemed very like the "forest primeval" then, that Priestley found, in his old age, a refuge from the persecutions which beset him in England, the land of his birth, where he had hitherto pursued

his long career of enlightened and manifold labors, and that release at last which awaits even the most troubled and storm-tossed life at its close. It was but natural that the circumstances which brought me in contact with surviving reminders of this remarkable man—remarkable, not alone for the angry and malignant opposition that he aroused, but also for the reverence and love he inspired—and a familiar and daily association with some of his lineal descendants, should have awakened a renewed interest in his biography and an enlarged appreciation of his character and the inspiration of his example, which gradually assumed the nature of a new revelation.

The life of Priestley, as has been intimated, was in a large degree a tempestuous one. It was not, as is sometimes the case of the gifted of mankind, borne along upon the unruffled wave of popular adulation and applause. During the greater portion of it, he was involved in more or less exciting controversies, often of extreme bitterness, which provoked not alone the clamor of ignorance and prejudice, but also the hatred of those who filled the high places of civil and ecclesiastical power. It was his lot, as it is ever that of the solitary thinker and reformer, to be compelled to find encouragement and support chiefly in the inward calm of a mind conscious of the disinterestedness and rectitude of its aims, in an unquenchable faith in the supreme excellence and ultimate victory of truth, however much it might be for a time impeded or overborne by the hostile forces of falsehood and error, unenlightened adherence to the traditions and teachings of the past, self-interest, and compromising timidity.

But his pursuits were not wholly of an aggressive and iconoclastic character. They included also those of the less obtrusive and aggressive nature, which, in the words of Milton, are described as "beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet air of delightful studies." It is a curious fact that it was in the latter sphere of his occasional or side occupations, which might almost be considered the by-play to those which chiefly absorbed his attention, that his most imperishable achievements were wrought and his most lasting fame was won. For vigorous, unremittent, and invincible a champion of truth as Priestley was in the domain of theology and politics, it is through his contributions to science that he is principally known and is destined to be the longest remembered.

The long night of superstition and ecclesiastical rule, which was at last broken by the Reformation and kindred precursors of modern enlightenment, set in operation correspondent liberating and quickening tendencies, which eventually pervaded all relations of life and departments of thought. They gave an irresistible impulse to that method of investigation and research of which Bacon in England and Descartes in France were the leading representatives. Buckle, in his *History of Civilization*, has sketched with a master's hand the rapid and important changes that succeeded the era thus initiated, the relaxing effect produced upon the oppressive and ruthless tyranny which had so long enthralled the human mind, and the spirit of independent inquiry and scepticism which followed in all directions. By the middle of the eighteenth century, this movement had acquired a powerful headway, and was more or less invading and affecting every class of ideas. It was particularly manifest by the sudden appearance of a brilliant constellation of conspicuous persons in literature, science, and speculative thought. It was the lot of Priestley to have been cast amid these quickening and liberating influences. There was in him a peculiar

susceptibility to them, an instinctive yearning toward the truth,—the freshest thought and freest spirit of his time. With an insatiable craving for knowledge and uncommon power for its acquisition, he possessed a fidelity to the dictates of conscience and his convictions, irrespective of the consequences which might follow, that in an earlier age would have subjected him to severer penalties even than he experienced. It is interesting to trace the course of a great man's life from its beginning.

In common with so many who are conspicuous in the annals of mankind, Joseph Priestley was of humble origin. He was born at a small village called Fieldhead, about six miles from Leeds, in Yorkshire, England, on the 13th of March, 1733. The house in which his eyes first beheld the light was standing a few years since. It is described as "a little house of three small rooms, built of stone, and slated with flags." The circumstances of the family were too humble to afford much prospect for the education of the children, three sons and five daughters. Both of the parents were ultra-Calvinists. And here one is reminded of what is frequently illustrated in such instances,—that it is from parents like these, those of the most positive mental traits, the most inflexible devotion to conscience and their convictions, that are transmitted those characteristics to their descendants which go to make them not unfrequently the most decided and persistent opponents of the faith of their fathers. It is thus that the spirit of the Puritan is repeated in the uncompromising heresies and protests of the more enlightened faith and high moral ideals of our later New England. The mother of Priestley appears to have exercised special pains in regard to his moral and religious training. As evidence of this, it is related that he could repeat, when four years of age, in full, the Assembly's Catechism. It is quite probable that the good woman supposed that there would be some counteracting or atoning virtue for his infant depravity in this precocious feat. But she sought no less earnestly to ground him in essential ideas of veracity and duty. The following example is cited to show with what precision she exercised this training. It is related that she made him once carry back to a neighbor's a pin which he had picked up while playing there. Perhaps it is safe to conclude that Hamlet's words, a "pin's fee," signified a greater value than in our day of improved mechanical processes. The principle, nevertheless, was the same.

This devoted and pious mother did not remain long with him. She died when he was but six years of age, which caused him to be transferred to the care of an aunt, who seems to have sought to replace by her kind and sympathetic interest in him the loss he had sustained. She is represented to have been a person of superior intelligence and character, in easy circumstances, and without children, "who knew no other use of wealth than to do good with it." Her sympathies inclined to the side of the dissenters, and her home became a favorite resort for this class of ministers. As a proof of her liberality, it is mentioned that her hospitality extended to the most heterodox clergymen,—a circumstance which, it has naturally been inferred, may have had some influence upon the future of her nephew. Of a sensitive and serious nature, and brought up in a home atmosphere in which religion was so largely predominant, the childhood of Priestley manifested abnormal activity in this direction. He was distinguished also by a remarkable intellectual precocity. Even in youth, he read Bunyan and the great standard religious writers. At twelve years of age, he was sent to an endowed school, conducted

by a clergyman, where he made rapid progress in Greek and Latin, and during holidays studied Hebrew under a dissenting minister.

Failing health led him for a time to abandon the purpose of becoming a clergyman and to contemplate a mercantile life. The offer of a situation in his uncle's countinghouse at Lisbon induced him to take up the study of French, Italian, and German, in which he made good progress without a teacher. The plans for the voyage were completed, when his health improved, and he returned to the work of preparing for his chosen profession. The cravings of his active and voracious mind were insatiable, and hence the circle of his studies was constantly enlarging. To those already pursued, he added, within the next few years, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, mathematics, metaphysics, drawing, and shorthand writing. The self-asserting and independent character of his mind was shown even at the beginning of his professional studies, and was a cause of discomfort to himself and anxiety to his friends. He began to raise questions, even thus early, in regard to the theological doctrines in which he had been reared, to which he could find no satisfactory answer. These doubts concerning original sin and eternal punishment were regarded of sufficient consequence to debar him from the communion at the chapel where his aunt was accustomed to worship. This event caused him much grief for a time, it being considered due even more to the unsoundness and perversity of his spiritual condition than to the incapacity of his mental faculties for correct perceptions. But the occurrence was simply in keeping with the whole course of his life, which made him at the age of twenty, he declares, ready "to embrace what is generally called the heterodox side of every question." It was this disposition to prove all things, this unwillingness to rest in the conclusions of others any further than they had been verified to his understanding, that led him, step by step, from one stage of religious belief to another, until he had passed all the intervening ones between a stern and rigid Calvinism and the more rational Unitarianism of his day. It was proposed that he should enter the academy of Mile End. But to this he objected, because he should be obliged to relate his experience, to subscribe to ten printed Calvinistic articles, and repeat them every six months, with his implied assent to them, as the condition of pursuing in that institution his ministerial studies. This intractableness to theological discipline began to be a serious obstacle in respect to his professional prospects. At length, he entered, in his nineteenth, the academy of Daventry, which appears to have been conducted in a very liberal spirit. Here he remained three years, chiefly occupied in the study of theology. It need not surprise us, in view of his record of previous habits and attainments, that "he was excused all the studies of the first year, and a great part of those of the second." It was his custom, while at Daventry, to read every day ten pages of Greek, and every week a Greek play, with some of his fellow-students,—a practice which they kept up after leaving the academy, corresponding with each other on the subject of their studies. It may be mentioned here, as an indication of his tendency, even thus early, to devise comprehensive, intellectual plans, that he composed during his term at this school his first theological work, *The Institutes of Religion*, which was not published, however, until twenty years afterward. At the expiration of his stay at Daventry, he accepted the charge of a small Presbyterian congregation at Needham, on a salary of thirty pounds a year. The famous Dr. Doddridge was his predecessor, and seldom received more than thirty five

pounds per year. This was hardly up to Goldsmith's village preacher,—"passing rich with forty pounds a year."

The unsoundness of Priestley's views soon became apparent to his little Presbyterian flock at Needham, and trouble ensued. It is quite probable, as has been intimated, that his congregation regarded the eternity of hell torments as a peculiar privilege of which he was disposed rudely to deprive them. As a consequence of this, his hearers became much reduced in number. "Even the dissenting clergymen in the neighborhood considered it a degradation," we are told, "to associate with him, and durst not ask him to preach, not from any dislike to his opinions,—for several of them thought as freely as he did,—but because the genteeler part of their audience always absented themselves when he appeared in the pulpit. A good many years afterward, when his reputation was high, he preached in the same place; and multitudes flocked to hear the very same sermons which they had formerly listened to with contempt."

In his extremity, he endeavored to establish a school, and issued proposals to teach the classics and mathematics for half a guinea a quarter, and to board the pupils for ten guineas a year; but his unpopularity was so great that the enterprise was a failure. He next attempted a course of popular scientific lectures, and began with twelve on "The Use of the Globes," but was unable to get more than enough from the proceeds barely to pay for the globes.

After three years at Needham, Priestley removed to Nantwich, where he resided for three years, engaged in the double occupation of a preacher on Sunday and the teacher of a small school during the week. It is interesting to reflect, in view of the early predispositions exhibited by eminent persons, how different their careers might have been sometimes, if the circumstances among which they were reared had been different. It is not difficult to conceive that, with such a change in their moulding influences, the famous theologian might now and then have become scarcely less noted as a devotee of science. Jonathan Edwards is an example of this. It is related that he was distinguished in boyhood for his powers of observation, and wrote, when but twelve years of age, "of the wondrous way of the working of the spider," whose habits he had watched in the forest. Similar testimony is on record relative to the pleasure he found when about the same age in an acquaintance with natural objects. "I made a catalogue," he tells us, "of all the vegetable productions, trees, and shrubs which grew upon the farm. The foreign fruits which I saw at my first visit to Boston, the tropical husks and leaves which came wrapped around bales of merchandise, tea-chests, and other boxes, stimulated my love of nature still more." Of Priestley, it is related that he showed, as a boy, correspondent tendencies. It is said that he was accustomed to try the experiment of putting insects in bottles to see how long they would live in the same air. "A curious anticipation," Prof. Huxley remarks, "of the investigations of his later years." Through his engrossing and varied labors at Nantwich, where he frequently taught twelve hours a day, in addition to preaching on Sunday, he was enabled by the practice of a very rigid economy to purchase a few books, an air-pump, an electrical machine, and some other philosophical apparatus. Experimental illustrations in electricity and physics were less common in teaching in those days than at present. Indeed, science entered but little into education. There was, in fact, comparatively speaking, as yet but little science to teach. These facilities for illustrating his lectures and

scientific instruction contributed much to the interest of his pupils as well as the reputation of his school. Among the literary fruits of his fertile mind at this period was the production of an English grammar, which became quite generally adopted in the schools of England. This was followed, soon after, by a series of historical charts, designed as aids to education, which met with similar favor.

A position more worthy of his abilities now opened to him as "tutor in languages" at a dissenting academy at Warrington. The six years passed in the latter position well exemplify his marvellous energy and great mental capacity. In addition to the duties devolving upon him in his special sphere of instruction, he gave lectures on oratory, history, civil law, anatomy, and other branches. Indeed, it would be rather difficult to name any branch of the learning of the day which he did not at one time or another teach or pursue as his private study. In common with some other eminent persons, of whom there would be little suspicion of the fact but for some chance testimony that survives, he wrote poetry,—of no merit, as he frankly confesses, which probably was a correct estimate of it, as none of it appears to have come down to posterity. He also practised upon the flute, as a recreation,—a kind of diversion which he recommends to students, "especially such," as he remarks dryly, "as have no fine ear; for they will be less annoyed by bad music." It is evident that he was fond of teaching, and combined in a rare degree the gifts of the teacher,—an equitable disposition, genial sympathy, originality, a clear intellect, the power of awakening enthusiasm in pursuit of knowledge. His methods, too, were not of the stereotype or traditional kind, but were much in contrast to those that prevailed and to those in practice even to some extent at present.

There is the following testimony to this effect from one of his pupils: "At the conclusion of his lectures, he always encouraged his students to express their sentiments relative to the subject, and to urge any objections to what he had delivered without reserve. It pleased him whenever any one commenced such a conversation. In order to excite the freest discussion, he occasionally invited the students to drink tea with him, in order to canvass the subject of his lecture. I do not recollect that he ever showed the least displeasure at the strongest objections that were made to what he delivered; but I distinctly remember the smile of approbation with which he usually received them, nor did he fail to point out in a very encouraging manner the ingenuity or force of any remarks that were made, when they merited these characters." It would be difficult, as Prof. Huxley has said, to give a better description of a model teacher than that conveyed in these words. Though engaged mainly in teaching at this time, he continued to preach as opportunity presented. But his success in the latter vocation was much affected by a tendency to stammer in speaking, which he, however, eventually succeeded in largely overcoming. Although this infirmity was, no doubt, a serious obstacle to his success as a speaker, it seems to have had a much less depressing influence upon him than we should suppose. It was characteristic of his amiable nature to endeavor to find a cheering philosophy in even the most adverse and disheartening circumstances. It is thus that he is consoled in respect to this defect of speech "Without some such check," he says, "as this, I might have been disputatious in company, or seduced by the love of popular applause as a preacher, whereas, my conversation and my delivery having nothing in them that was gen-

erally striking, I hope I have been attentive to qualifications of a superior kind." An important event took place in Priestley's life while at Warrington. This was his marriage with the daughter of Isaac Wilkinson, an iron-master of Wrexham. The union proved a very happy one. The wife entered with a hearty sympathetic interest into all his pursuits, and bore with patient resignation the trials of their joint experience. Several loving children added to the joy of their home, but one of whom survived them. It was the custom of Priestley to spend one month in each year in London. It was on one of these visits that he met for the first time Benjamin Franklin, an event which marked a turning point in his career. A friendship sprang up between them, which continued unbroken. Through Franklin's influence, Priestley was induced to give his attention more directly to philosophical pursuits, and to undertake a history of electricity, a department of science in which he had already made some original observations. "In the course of my writing," he says, "I was led to ascertain several facts which were disputed; and this led me by degrees into a large field of original experiment, in which I spared no expense that I could possibly furnish. These experiments employed a great proportion of my leisure time; and yet, before the complete expiration of the year in which I gave the plan to Dr. Franklin, I sent him a copy in print." This large and important work, which was published in 1767, and bore the title *History and Present State of Electricity*, contained an exhaustive account of everything that was known about electricity at the time, and was composed in the midst of various other exacting pursuits. It attracted at once the attention of scientific men, and greatly added to his reputation. It was translated into a number of languages of Europe, and procured his election as a member of the Royal Society. In 1767, Priestley became the minister of the Mill Hill Chapel at Leeds, and entered upon some of his most important literary and scientific labors. Among these was embraced the preparation of a work upon discoveries in relation to vision, light, and colors, which was designed as the first part of a general history of experimental philosophy. But the enterprise, failing to receive sufficient support to pay for the expense, was abandoned. It was at this time, also, that he began that series of varied investigations and experiments pertaining to the chemistry of aeriform or gaseous bodies, with the results of which his name is so illustriously and enduringly associated.

In order properly to appreciate the value of these investigations and experiments, and what they led to, it will be well to cast a look backward upon what had preceded them in the line of science to which they belong. There is nothing that more forcibly suggests the progress of chemical science than the fact that, up to this time, the human mind had not yet outgrown the ancient idea that air, water, and fire are each simple and homogeneous elements. It is true, to quote from Prof. Huxley, that "Von Helmont, a century before, had distinguished different kinds of air as *gas ventosum* and *gas sylvestre*, and Boyle and Hales had experimentally defined its physical properties; but no one suspected that the air we breathe and the water we drink are compounds of gaseous elements." The first important step in the direction of this knowledge was made by Dr. Black, a Scotch physician, in 1754. By a series of experiments with limestone, water, and acid, he was enabled to produce what he called "fixed air," or what is now known as carbonic acid gas. The name proceeded from the conception that this air

was fixed in certain bodies, until, by such a process as his experiment, it was forced out or expelled. The discovery of Black was carried forward by Bergmann, a Swedish chemist, and eventually taken up by Priestley, with his characteristic insight and ingenuity, with important results. But, before this, Cavendish had given to the world his discovery of what he called "inflammable gas," or hydrogen, as it is known at present. We see here how one thing is linked with another in the course of intellectual progress, and how correlated lines of investigation and evolution tend to share a simultaneous and correspondent impulse to that imparted to any one of the group to which they belong: it is thus that the precursors to Priestley's crowning discoveries were a preparation for his later achievements. The human mind was working, it is seen, somewhat widely, yet inevitably and distinctly toward these results. These facts, which may be ever observed behind all great occurrences and personal achievements, do not detract from the merit of those who thus arrest the attention of mankind. They simply supply the conditions which exceptional acumen and sagacity turn to account. The most seemingly trifling things are pregnant with momentous results unsuspected by the ordinary observer. It is the attentive and penetrating eye of the reflecting intelligence alone that is enabled to catch hints of their significance, and effectually disclose it to others. Priestley was a continued exemplar of this. While living at Leeds, his house adjoined a brewery; and, as he was accustomed always to keep a sharp look-out for discovery, in even the commonest things about him, he chanced to notice that the beer in the process of brewing gave forth a peculiar gaseous substance, which sometimes overflowed the vats and ran along the floor. If a stick were lighted and put into it, the flame went out at once. It was also perceived that this gas was very dense, and could be poured from one vessel to another. It was still further ascertained that water could be charged with it, or that it could be so diffused through water as to produce an effervescent and sparkling fluid of a "pleasant acidulous taste" and exhilarating character, since known as soda water,—a service," Prof. Huxley remarks, "to naturally and still more to artificially thirsty souls, which those whose parched throats and hot heads are cooled by morning draughts of that beverage cannot too gratefully acknowledge." Finally, there was the testimony of those who had witnessed its effects, to show that it possessed the fatal property of extinguishing life, when inhaled in too large a quantity. All this, so simple and familiar to us now, seemed then like a marvellous revelation. These observations of Priestley, just noticed, were intimately associated with certain others in respect to plant respiration. The following description of one of these experiments is given: "By keeping a pot of mint under a bell-jar in which the air had been spoilt by burning or breathing, he proved that plants take up the bad air, and render the remainder fit again to support a flame of life." There may also properly be mentioned in this connection an invention by him, about this time, which is known to chemists as the pneumatic trough,—a happy device for the collection and cleansing of gases. He also resorted to various experiments for producing gases from different substances. An account of the processes and results of the series of investigations just referred to was communicated by Priestley to the Royal Society, under the title of "Observations on Different Kinds of Air," and won for him its highest award, the Copley gold medal. The publication of a paper by Priestley, on the prevention of scurvy at sea, attracted considerable attention

from those of nautical pursuits, and may have had some connection with an incident which may here be referred to as an illustration of the temper of the times toward its author. The famous navigator, Capt. Cook, was about to sail on his second expedition to the South Seas, when an invitation was tendered to Priestley to accompany it, as the astronomer of the voyage, which he at once accepted. But permission as to his going rested with what was called the Board of Longitude. This chanced to include among its members some clergymen, who seemed to have concluded that his religious opinions were of greater consideration than the scientific service he might render the expedition, and accordingly decided against his going for this reason. This drew forth a letter from Priestley to Sir Joseph Banks, who had charge of the scientific arrangements of the voyage, and from whom the invitation had come. Here is a portion of Priestley's part of the correspondence: "In the former letter there was far from being the most distant hint of any objection to me, provided I would consent to accompany you. You now tell me that, as the different professors of Oxford and Cambridge will have the naming of the persons, and they are all clergymen, they may possibly have some scruples on the head of religion; and that, on this account, you do not think you could get me nominated at any rate, much less on the terms that were first mentioned to me. Now, what I am, and what they are in respect to religion, might easily have been known before the thing was proposed to me at all. Besides, I thought that this had been a business of philosophy, and not of divinity. If, however, this be the case, I shall hold the Board of Longitude in extreme contempt, and make no scruple of speaking of them accordingly, taking for granted that you have just ground for your suspicions. I most sincerely wish you a happy voyage, as I doubt not it will be greatly to the emolument of science; but I am surprised that the persons who have the chief influence in this expedition, having (according to your representation) minds so despicably illiberal, should give any countenance to so noble an undertaking."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SONNET.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Among all the poetical forms, the sonnet undoubtedly is the most philosophical, and therefore the most difficult both for the poet to write and the public to read. The sonnet does not belong to lyric poetry; for the latter, as its name suggests, admits of being sung. The sonnet could never be set to music; nor is it, on the other hand, didactic. It brims with sentiment, and does not assume to instruct. It constitutes a class of poetry of its own. Petrarka's sonnets to Laura are not so much love songs as meditations and reflections on love; and, accordingly, I should call the sonnet philosophical. Its structure in inflexible regularity is severe, like logical thought. But let the fourteen lines of which it consists be uniformly balanced in equal proportions, like the symmetrical shape of a crystal, it reflects, at the same time, the rays of thought, as a cut diamond plays in various colors under the beams of light.

The sonnet consists of three parts, the first and second of which (lines 1-4 and 5-8) are parallel, and equal in both structure and rhyme (hendekasyllables); while two tercets (lines 9-14) form the consummation of the whole. As a rule, the lines 1, 4, 5, 8 have one, and 2, 3, 6, 7, the other rhyme. The order of the rhymes in the two tercets is not so rigid. Generally, 9, 11, 13, agree, and so do 10, 12, 14. But many variations abound, and the poet is more at liberty than in the two quatrains. The tripartition of the sonnet is essential, and must be marked by a strong *cæsura* between line 8 and line 9. Thus in logic there are

two premises and one conclusion; and thus the Greek chorus consists of *strophe*, *antistrophe*, and *epodos*. *Strophe* and *antistrophe* are equal in structure, and also in modern songs (for instance, the "Lorelei" or "Robin Adair") the melody of the second lines is the exact repetition of the first; while the rest of the verse takes a new turn, leading to a conclusion.

Not every thought is adapted to a sonnet, but only such as is fit for a philosophical contemplation. It must form, in part 1, the thesis; in part 2, the antithesis; and, in part 3, the synthesis. Or we may say, it is: 1, a position; 2, an opposition, sometimes a contradiction; and 3, a combination of both. You find first an idea of allegory, then its counterpart, or a parallelism; and, in the end, their consummation in a *finale*.

The sonnets of Shakspeare, although similar to their Italian prototypes, have suffered a radical change. Other English poets have taken more license still more or less deviating from and altering the character of the sonnet.

I have been asked lately so much about the significance of the original structure of a sonnet that I have thought a few remarks on the subject might be welcome to the readers of *The Index*.

PAUL CARUS.

For *The Index*.

QUESTIONS.

Do no impressions ever come to you
To claim that life invisible is true?
Are all our bright anticipations o'er?
And are they only dreams, and nothing more?
Is there no ghost from out the vasty deep,
Returning from that misty land of sleep,
That plays fantastic tricks with senseless things,
To prove with broken sense a sense that clings
In vital union with a spirit part
That moulds the dust with true designing art?
Can fountains ever rise above their source
Or turn their currents from their downward course?
What right have you your bank to overdraw,
And by the magic of evolving law
Produce a thing you never owned before,
And claim that matter grows to something more?
Is great Elohim, with all other gods,
Outcast from earth by earth's evolving clods?
Is there no truth in universal faith
That will not vanish like a sunlit wrath?
And down the vista dim of coming years
Will people then, as now, be ruled by fears?

A. D. MARCKRES.

WHAT has he done? That was Napoleon's test. What have you done? Turn up the faces of your picture-cards! You need not make mouths at the public, because it has not accepted you at your own fancy valuation.—O. W. Holmes.

A MELLOWING rigorist is always a much pleasanter object to contemplate than a tightening liberal, as a cold day warming up to thirty-two Fahrenheit is much more agreeable than a warm one chilling down to the same temperature.—O. W. Holmes.

NEARLY all our associations are determined by chance or necessity, and restricted within a narrow circle. We cannot know whom we would, and those whom we know we cannot have at our side when we most need them. All the higher circles of human intelligence are to those beneath only momentarily and partially open.—Ruskin.

BOOK NOTICES.

CHARLES DARWIN. By Grant Allen. *English Worthies* series. Edited by Andrew Lang. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 13 and 15 Bond Street. 1885. pp. 206.

It is well known that Mr. Francis Darwin is now engaged upon a life of his father; but none the less welcome will be Mr. Grant Allen's little volume, which deals mainly with the distinguished naturalist as a thinker and a worker in relation to those who preceded him and to those who came later. Mr. Allen points out what is not generally known: that among those qualities which enabled him to do the great work he accomplished were most important ones which he owed to his maternal ancestry; that in him "the brilliant but discursive and hazardous genius of Erasmus Darwin," author of *Zoonomia* and *Temple of Nature*, was balanced and regulated by the more staid and sober qualities—the patience, caution, carefulness, and persistence—derived from Josiah

Wedgwood, the father of Charles Darwin's mother. "A man, indeed," says Mr. Allen, "owes, on the average, quite as much to his mother's as to his father's family. It is a mere scientific, old world prejudice which makes us for the most part count ancestry in the direct ascending male line alone, to the complete neglect of the equally important maternal pedigree."

Especially needed by the average reader and by many who imagine that they are competent to write and speak on Evolution is the information contained in the chapters entitled "The Darwinian Revolution begins" and "Darwin's Place in the Evolutionary Movement." The writer points out that the *Origin of Species*, so far as the scientific world was concerned, fell like a grain of mustard seed upon well-prepared ground,—ground that had been ploughed and harrowed by Lamarck, Saint-Hilaire, Spencer, and Chambers; that it had, in its author, the weight of an already distinguished name in science; that the array of facts, the logic and learning of the book, were irresistible; and that it was therefore the occasion of a revolution, the force of which had long been gathering head and energy. Theologians opposed it, as did some of the older naturalists. Sir Joseph Hooker and Prof. Huxley were among the first to give in their adhesion. "To Herbert Spencer, an evolutionist in fibre from the first beginning, the fresh doctrine of natural selection came like a powerful ally and an unexpected assistant in deciphering the deep fundamental problems on which he was at that moment actually engaged; and in his *Principles of Biology*, even then in contemplation, he at once adopted and utilized the new truth with all the keen and vigorous insight of his profound analytic and synthetic intellect. . . . It is to Mr. Spencer that we owe the pellucid expression, 'survival of the fittest,' which conveys, even better than Darwin's own phrase, 'natural selection,' the essential element added by the *Origin of Species* to the pre-existing evolutionary conception." Prof. Henslow, Darwin's old Cambridge teacher, and Lubbock soon accepted Darwin's conclusions; and, subsequently, Lyell, after opposing them, reluctantly gave in his adhesion to their conclusions, and wrote ably in their defence. Philosophical Germany welcomed the novel ideas. Fritz Müller, Ritzemeyer, Haeckel, and others, by fresh researches, "carried forward the evolutionary impulse." In America, Asa Gray gave it the weight of his well-known name; and "Chauncy Wright helped it onward on the road with all the restrained force of his singular and oblique but powerful and original personality." "If Agassiz and Dawson still hesitated, Fiske and Youmans were ardent in the faith. If critical Boston put up its eyeglass doubtfully, Chicago and St. Louis were ready for conversion." The *Origin of Species* was translated into all the civilized languages of Europe; and its ideas revolutionized not only biological opinion, but every mode of thought and feeling. From 1860 to 1870, the progress of Darwinism was rapid. Spencer's *First Principles, Biology*, and remodelled *Psychology*, Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature, Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, and Introduction to the Classification of Animals*, Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* and *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, Galton's *Hereditary Genius*, and writings of Tyndall and Lewes, Tylor and Lubbock, with others, helped to diffuse and strengthen evolutionary thought.

That the complex forms of life came into existence by some process of development had long been believed by many, but Mr. Darwin brought to light an important principle by which these changes have been effected. "Therein lies the true secret of his rapid, his brilliant, and his triumphant success." There are some, Mr. Allen says, who "cannot even understand the distinctive Darwinian addition to the evolutionary doctrine," and who are "still really at the prior stage of Lamarckian evolutionism." While giving Darwin the highest place in his own field,—in the work of explaining the diversity of life and proving descent by modification,—our author regards the system of evolution "as a slow growth of the past two centuries, a progressive development of the collective, scientific, and philosophic mind of humanity, not due in its totality to any one single commanding thinker, but summing itself up at last in our own time more fully in the person and teaching of Mr. Herbert Spencer than of any other solitary mouth-piece."

B. F. U.

VIEWS OF RELIGION. By Theodore Parker. With an Introduction by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1885. pp. 466. Price \$1.00.

"Time and death," says the author of the introduction to this work, "soften animosities. The Unitarians have forgiven and forgotten his [Parker's] sharp speeches against them and—what is harder to forgive—their own sharp speeches against him. To-day, they only remember his loyalty to truth, his devotion to humanity, his scholarship, intelligence, and loving heart. Few persons would subscribe to his theology. To many, he still seems only partially to understand the work of Jesus, and to ignore some of the deeper experience of the human soul. On the other hand, the current of what is called 'advanced thought' has carried others far beyond his position. If he were living now, he would be thought by many to be much too conservative." The Directors of the American Unitarian Association, in publishing this volume, "believe that they are meeting a want. Without professing to indorse or to reject the views expressed in this volume, they are glad to assist in circulating the ideas of one of the most able, earnest, and devout men of our time." The selections are from some of Parker's best writings, and contain much of his best thought. The volume is published at a very low price, putting it within the reach of all who wish to become acquainted with the religious views of one of the most courageous thinkers and one of the most noble reformers of this century.

The January number of the *Unitarian Review* opens with an article on "Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians," by Dr. F. H. Hedge. Rev. S. C. Beach writes on "Confirmation," Rev. Edward H. Hall on "Certain Tendencies of American Fiction," and Prof. C. H. Toy on "The Present Position of the Pentateuch." An article in "Editor's Note-Book," on "Prayers at Harvard College," says that the "effort being made to have the morning prayers at Appleton Chapel a voluntary thing on the part of the students . . . has not a little of the character of an insult to the memory of the religious founder of this institution, as well as to the motto which its seal bears." That a "large majority desire the abolition of compulsory attendance upon prayers," this article says, "ought to have no weight against customs of worship which the religious sense of the ages has established and found of value." With this writer, "customs of worship," even when their observance is made compulsory, are of more importance than rights of conscience and freedom in religious matters. "Review of Current Literature" is unusually interesting.

INVARIABLY interesting as every number of *St. Nicholas* is, the January number for 1886 is exceptionally so. W. D. Howells tells, in a charmingly home-like manner and his little daughter grotesquely illustrates, the horrors of having "Christmas Every Day in the Year." The story and illustrations will be delightful reading to every child, a great many parents, and some appreciative uncles and aunts who are readers of *St. Nicholas*. Mrs. Burnett's "Little Lord Fauntleroy" grows more charming with every instalment. That "H. E.," Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, "Susan Coolidge," Hezekiah Butterworth, Edith Thomas, H. H. Boyesen, Horace E. Scudder, "Sophie May," and Edmund Alton are among the writers who contribute to this number, is sufficient guarantee of the quality of this first-class youth's magazine.

We have received the *Freethinker's Magazine* for January, which is to be published hereafter as a monthly. The "contents" are as follows: An Address, by A. B. Bradford; "The Church," by J. J. McCabe; "Spiritualism," by William Henry; "A Plea for Anarchy," by John A. Broadbeck; "Christmas," original poem, by J. J. McCabe; "A Modern Queen of Reason," by Uncle Lute; "Extracts from Letters," "This Magazine," by the editor; "Elizur Wright Dead," editorial; "Consolation," editorial; "Book Review," by the editor; "All Sorts," by the editor; "Freethought Directory." Price 25 cents a number, \$2 a year. Address H. L. Green, publisher, Salamanca, N.Y.

"WIDE AWAKE" for January recalls Whittier's poem on "Floyd Ireson's Ride" in the story and pictures by Henry Bacon, entitled "The Dumb Betty Lamp"; but we are sorry that the story does not more clearly

reveal poor Floyd Ireson innocent of the wrongdoing imputed to him in that stirring poem, as authentic history has already done. Cella Thaxter's ballad poem of "The Lost Bell" is finely illustrated by F. C. Hassam. Mrs. M. E. W. Sherwood writes about Queen Marguerite of Italy. Amanda B. Harris gives a sketch of Emerson for young readers. Mrs. Mary Treat describes some "Interesting Spiders." George E. Vincent tells about "Virgil, the Poet," and his work. The three serials, "A Midshipman at Large," by C. R. Talbot; "A Girl and a Jewel," by Harriet Prescott Spofford; and "Dilly and the Captain," a bicycle story, by Margaret Sidney,—have all unusually interesting instalments in this number, whose articles, it is needless to say, are profusely and beautifully illustrated.

The *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for July, 1885, has made its appearance. The opening essay is on "The Dial," by George Willis Cooke, who has brought together a large amount of information in regard to the famous magazine which represented New England Transcendentalism for a short time,—the authorship of its articles, the lives of its contributors, etc. Other articles are translations of "Hegel's Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," by F. L. Soldan; "Leibnitz's Critique of Locke," by Alfred G. Langley; and "Goethe's article on the Immortality of the Soul," by Susan E. Blow. Mrs. C. K. Sherman's article on Goethe's *Elective Affinities*, reprinted from *The Index*, "Ion: A Monody," and "The Atom and the Void: A Sphinx Riddle for Materialism," make up "Notes and Discussions." The "Book Notices" complete a number of the *Journal* which contains much deep interest to philosophic thinkers.

The January number of the *Atlantic* begins with the first two chapters of Charles Egbert Craddock's new serial, "In the Clouds." There is a paper on "The Free Negroes of North Carolina." The editor of the *Atlantic*, Mr. Aldrich, has a very bright short story called "Two Bites at a Cherry." Dr. Holmes' paper in the New Portfolio series is "A Cry from the Study." "The Political Consequences in England of Cornwallis' Surrender" forms the subject of a thoughtful article by Mr. John Fiske. The recent *Life of William Lloyd Garrison*, Stedman's *Poets of America*, and the last number of *L'Art* form the subject of able criticisms; while the "Contributors' Club" has four short discussions which are full of the stimulating thought and pleasant fancy that distinguish this department. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The most important article in the *Revue de Belgique* for December is a new chapter of "The Religious History of Fire," by Count Goblet d'Alviella, who gives some curious cases of the long continuance of fire worship,—for instance, in lighting the yule log at Christmas. These articles, with that on "The Origin of Idolatry," recently republished in pamphlet form from the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, show that much new light will be thrown by the Brussels professor, not only on the history, but on the future prospects of religion. As to the latter question, much may be learned from an article following that first noticed, and showing that there is at present no sufficient basis for religious art.

The *Catholic World* for January is a holiday number, and has therefore a more than usual proportion of stories and poems, all bright and interesting. Among the few contributions outside of these departments, we note as of interest: "A Tour in Catholic Teutonia," by St. George Mivart; "Old Galway," by J. B. Killen; "The Priest at Castle Garden," by Rev. J. J. Riordan; and a caustic review of Sauborn's *Life and Letters of John Brown*, by J. R. G. Hassard, entitled "The Apology for John Brown." Among other book reviews are *Italian Popular Tales* and *Under the Pine*.

The *New York Fashion Bazar*, published by George Munro, of Munro's publishing house, New York City, for January, has two handsomely colored fashion plates of the latest designs in ladies' and children's styles, in addition to other illustrations of the newest fashions in dresses, bonnets, hats, outside apparel, inner wear, and patterns in embroidery. A number of its large pages are devoted to the discussion and description of these; but most of the reading matter

consists of interesting stories and poems by leading writers, like "The Duchess," "Mary E. Bryan," and others. \$2.50 per year.

The *Journal of the American Akademi* for January contains a paper on "The Finite and the Infinite: the Temporal and Eternal," by Dr. C. A. F. Lindore, and two articles by the editor, Alexander Wilder, one on "Zoroastrianism: An Afterword," and the other on "The Chinese Philosophy."

Dr. PAUL CARUS

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

BISHOP A. CLEVELAND COXE is opposed to cremation. In the *New York Sun*, he is reported as saying: "None but cranks will patronize the horrible practice. No respectable person will consent to be cremated after death. Why, think of the shudder of horror that will go through the family whose father is a victim,—the son anxious to stick the body into an oven, and the girls broken-hearted. I tell you it is outrageous." The strength of this argument against cremation is only less wonderful than the bishop's dignity and grace of expression.

A PETITION was presented to the Connecticut Legislature, last week, from citizens of Canterbury, praying for reparation to Mrs. Prudence Philleo, formerly Miss Prudence Crandall, for injuries inflicted upon her in that town in 1883, because of her persistence in teaching a free school for negro girls. "This revives," says an exchange, "a memory of the early days of the anti-slavery movement, when Miss Crandall was insulted and finally arrested and put in jail by prominent citizens of Canterbury. Her story became a celebrated one, and is told at length in Henry Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*. She is now living in advanced age and poverty."

THE Boston correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* writes: "Not only is the new Browning society growing rapidly, but small clubs are forming, and Browning is now a favorite topic for parlor-club discussion. It looks as if there is to be quite a Browning craze here; that ultra devotion at the shrine of Browning is to be the 'fad'—to borrow an expressive London term—of the season. Like other crazes here, especially literary ones, it attacks social triflers—those who feel that they must be in the swim, must show a culture if they have it not—as well as earnest, serious students and would-be true disciples of the poet. . . . Occultism and theosophy, this Asiatic lore, which if it has any virtue is religious, is also being made the

subject of more dilettanti study in many circles as the winter advances."

THERE is a marked change of sentiment in England regarding the treatment of Bradlaugh. The Bishop of Peterborough, says the *London Inquirer*, "is saying with equal truth and courage the very things for which Liberals have been bitterly denounced by the whole Tory party, and especially by the clergy, as atheists, blasphemers, and sympathizers with Mr. Bradlaugh. We, at least, have never hesitated to express our sympathy with Mr. Bradlaugh, when we have believed him to be in the right; and the manner in which he has been treated will make a dark page in the future history of religious persecution. We should not now be greatly surprised if the whole Tory party adopted the bishop's principle of affirmation for all members, and tried to convince the world that they had formerly opposed Mr. Gladstone's bill because it did not go far enough for them."

THE enormous evils of the liquor traffic are everywhere being forced upon the attention of the best men and women, with whom the temperance question is a subject of serious and anxious thought. In his recent speech to the members of the Ohio Legislature, thanking that body for his re-election to the United States Senate, John Sherman said: "This question ought not to assume a political character. The Legislature of Ohio should address itself to this question, and enact wise laws, going as far as is consistent with the rights of citizens. The prohibition party has not a single representative upon this floor; and it is the sentiment of fully one-half of those composing the two great political parties, and they demand of you some legislation upon this subject. If you will not lay party aside and represent the people, a higher power will bring about this legislation."

THE committee appointed by the Society for Psychical Research to investigate phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society have published their report in London, which says of Madame Blavatsky: "We regard her neither as the mouth-piece of hidden seers nor as a mere vulgar adventuress. We think that she has achieved a title to permanent remembrance as one of the most accomplished, ingenious, and interesting impostors in history." The committee unanimously arrived at the conclusion that this woman, whose wonderful narratives have impressed so many credulous minds, "has been engaged in a long-continued combination with other persons to produce, by ordinary means, a series of apparent marvels, for the support of the Theosophic Movement"; that "the shrine at Adyar, through which letters purporting to come from Mahatmas were received, was elaborately arranged, with a view to the secret insertion of letters and other objects through a gliding panel at the back, and regularly used for this purpose by Madame Blavatsky or her agents." There is, the committee affirm, "a strong general presumption that all the marvellous narratives put forward as evidence of the

existence and occult power of the Mahatmas are to be explained as due either (a) to deliberate deception carried out by or at the instigation of Madame Blavatsky or (b) to spontaneous illusion or hallucination or unconscious misrepresentation or invention on the part of the witnesses." After examining Mr. Hodgson's report of the result of his personal inquiries, the committee declare that, in their opinion, "the testimony to these marvels is in no case sufficient, taking amount and character together, to resist the force of the general presumption above mentioned."

LONDON *Light*, "a journal of psychical, occult, and mystical research," says that there "can be little reasonable doubt that the conclusion at which the committee have arrived is a just one." This journal further states, in substance, that it has always regarded the evidence for Mr. Sinnett's alleged facts, as well as for his theories, as "exceedingly weak"; and it does not wonder now that the committee are compelled to report that they "cannot discover sufficient evidence for the occurrence of any occult phenomena whatever in connection with the Theosophical Society." Still, *Light*, which is thoroughly devoted to Spiritualism, thinks that, "despite all the frauds perpetrated, there have been genuine phenomena" produced, through Madame Blavatsky, by "spirits of a low order." But, if the evidence is conclusive that Madame Blavatsky has been engaged with other persons in deliberate and carefully planned deception for the support of the Theosophic Movement, there seems to be no good reason for believing that "spirits" have had anything to do with her performances.

"Oh, I have been thinking this whole day long; and that is (I could not get it out of my mind) salvation is free." These words concluded a speech at a religious meeting by one who referred to himself as "a man-o-war's man with the biggest old sins upon earth," "one of the miserablest old drunken sailors that ever came to this city." The speaker dwelt with apparent pride upon his exceptionally wicked life,—no common sinner was he,—and the easy, simple, inexpensive method of which he had taken advantage to escape the natural effects of his misdeeds, even his "biggest old sins." "Salvation is free." This thought seemed to fill him with joy. But it might be better for him and others like him, if a small price were attached to salvation. That which can be obtained without price comes to be regarded as of little value. The sort of salvation that is "free," that can be had for the asking, that comes without intellectual growth or moral discipline, without sacrifice, without the pain of failure and disappointment, the lessons of experience, is a salvation that does not save. Orthodox Christianity, which teaches that "salvation is free," that "Jesus paid it all," that men must believe in and look to him for salvation, not rely upon their own intellectual and moral powers, is responsible for the condition of multitudes who have descended to the lowest depths of vice in the belief, all the time, that "salvation is free."

LAWS THAT NEED MENDING.

On no subject, perhaps, have the opinions of intelligent people been making greater progress in the last fifty years than on that of religion. Yet on no subject is it more difficult than on this to secure from legislative bodies a reformation of the laws to correspond with the progress. The statute-books in their provisions pertaining to religion are behind the age,—in many cases wofully and ludicrously behind it. The old laws may be practically obsolete; but, if an attempt be made to abolish or amend them, fossil theologians start up in protest, legislators become timid, and the fossil laws are permitted to remain. These laws, however, are by no means always a dead letter. So long as they are on the statute-book, they may be revived on occasion and become very potent, much to the surprise and even injury of many innocent people.

A few years ago, it was decided in the law department of the national administration at Washington that an old Maryland law of 1723 was still in force in the District of Columbia. This law declared that it was an offence punishable as blasphemy if any person shall "deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the three persons, or the unity of the Godhead." And the penalty for the crime was, for the first offence, to be bored through the tongue and to be fined twenty pounds sterling, or, if the fine could not be levied, six months' imprisonment in lieu of it; for the second offence, the offender was to be "stigmatized" by burning in the forehead with the letter "B," and fined forty pounds sterling, or, failing to have the wherewith to pay the fine, to suffer imprisonment for one year; for the third offence, the offender was "to suffer death without benefit of clergy." We know not whether this old law on thus being brought to light as operative in the District of Columbia was abolished or not. Presumably, it was; for, at last accounts, Brother Shippen, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Washington, who must have violated the law more than once or twice, had not been put to death, nor had the letter "B" branded on his forehead, nor even had his tongue bored. But, unless there has been a recent change, we think that the laws of Maryland still define the denial of the Trinity as a blasphemous offence, though the appended penalties may have been made less stringent. Such laws may rarely be enforced to the practical harm of anybody; but they are relics of a religious bigotry which, in the interest of truth and sincerity, ought to be removed.

There are other religious laws on the statute-books not so harmless. Those that relate to the testimony of witnesses in court are often invoked to the detriment of justice. There are twenty States and Territories in the United States where the testimony of an atheist or an agnostic is excluded in a judicial trial. Only a few weeks since, in a court at Chicago, the right of a well-known and esteemed citizen of that city—Mr. Ernst Prussing—to testify in a pending suit was questioned on this ground. Mr. Prussing is an officer of the Ethical Culture Society and an agnostic in respect to religious beliefs. So far as character is concerned, he is the kind of witness that every lawyer rejoices to secure in behalf of a client; that is, a man of eminent integrity. It so happened that, in this case, his testimony was the most important in the suit. The judge admitted it, but an exception was taken to his ruling by the counsel who opposed the admission; and an appeal on this ground was made to the Supreme Court of the State. Now, justice in this case cannot be

secured, probably, without Mr. Prussing's testimony; and, since it is the office of the State to do justice between citizens, it is a monstrous enormity of law which would prevent his being a witness. On the contrary, the laws should be so clear that by no possibility could his testimony be excluded.

Again, there are eight States and Territories, of which Massachusetts is one, which forbid the exclusion of testimony on account of religious belief, but permit the religious belief of a witness to affect the credibility of his evidence. And in the courts of these States and Territories, not infrequently, where a witness is known or supposed to hold atheistic or agnostic opinions, the counsel on the opposite side will make inquisition into his opinions, and strive to break down the force of his testimony by appealing to the *odium theologicum* in the minds of the jury. In such cases, justice may be defeated. But it may not be the witness who is thus made to suffer, but some innocent party,—perhaps a good Orthodox believer,—whose witness is in this way invalidated. The argument for this law appears to be that a person who holds atheistic or agnostic views is not so likely to tell the truth as a theist and Christian. But those who are most conversant with the character of witnesses in courts will hardly assent to this argument. It is precisely those persons who have the courage to make known their convictions, though on the unpopular side, who have a good reputation for veracity and integrity. They are the kind of witnesses needed in courts, as the majority of lawyers themselves will admit; and the law should not present to a lawyer the temptation to win his suit by appealing to the religious prejudices of a jurymen against such witnesses. Think of Darwin, a man whose life was devoutly consecrated to discovering and telling the exact truth in nature, having his word doubted in court and his credibility as a witness impeached, because he was an agnostic! The attempt will be renewed, we understand, in the Massachusetts Legislature this winter for the repeal of this unjust provision, by which evidence may be discredited because of the religious opinions of a witness. It is to be earnestly hoped that the effort will be successful, and Massachusetts thus placed among the eighteen States and Territories which have already rescinded this relic of religious prejudice, and found the amendment as safe as it is just.

Other laws that are sadly out of repair and behind the times are the Sunday laws. They are nowhere fully enforced as they stand on the statute-books, because they have really been outgrown by public sentiment. Were they all for a short time to be rigidly put into operation, it would probably not be difficult to secure a revision of them, on Gen. Grant's theory,—that stringently to enforce a bad law is the best way to get it abolished. Could the Sunday laws in the different States have a thorough overhauling and reformation in accordance with the enlightened public opinion of the age, the result would be a great boon to civilization. The question of popular education and of physical and moral health is, to a large extent, involved in the settlement of the problem. In New York there is a lively agitation in progress for opening the Central Park Museums on Sundays. In other cities, the move is for opening public libraries and reading-rooms. Of course, many pious people are alarmed and oppose such innovations. But we doubt whether many of these alarmists and alarmed ones, were they to visit the Public Library or the Art Museum in Boston on Sunday, would discover anything to warrant their fears. Few could be so

blinded by bigotry as not to see the perfect decorum of the places, and that they are resorts on that day for a class of people who specially prize the opportunity for thus enlarging their knowledge and to whom Sunday brings the only daylight hours of leisure which they have from physical labor. There are few people to-day who think it wrong to read other books besides the Bible or to look at other pictures than Fox's Martyrs on Sunday in their own houses. How can it become wrong for those who have no such private privilege in their homes, or no homes even which they can call their own, to go to orderly public rooms on that day for any good reading or seeing good pictures or inspecting objects of natural history? And is it not a blessing rather than a harm that the same cars which bring suburban residents into cities on Sunday to attend the churches of their choice may carry the occupants of crowded tenement houses and of close shops out into the country on that day, that they may have a sight of free fields and a breath of fresh air?

But that there will be any general revision of the Sunday laws at once is too much to hope. The needed amendments will come, probably, piecemeal; and some of them are already coming by a general acquiescence in a changed custom, though the law remain the same. But, in these latter cases, a change of law should follow the custom, in order that no injustice may be sprung upon a person by a surprise, when he is wholly unaware of having risked any danger. An amendment of this sort is to be asked of the Massachusetts legislature this winter, and there is good reason to hope for its passage. Under the present Massachusetts law by which a business contract made on Sunday is void, the Supreme Court of the State has decided that a person who has suffered from fraud in a business transaction on that day cannot bring an action for damages, and that payment cannot be enforced for goods sold and delivered on Sunday, even though the goods are kept by the buyer. The law in these cases—and such cases are actual occurrences—makes itself an accomplice in acts of meanness and dishonor. It should not be difficult to secure an amendment to the Sunday laws on this point, which would prevent their shielding from punishment transactions so dishonest and unjust. The amendment asked for is in the same direction with the change that was made only two years ago in Massachusetts in the section of the law referring to Sunday travel. Up to that time, a person who met with an accident on Sunday in journeying upon a town way or upon a railroad or by steamer could not recover for damages, even though the accident were clearly shown to be the result of no neglect of his, unless he could prove that he was travelling for "necessity or charity"; and, under this rendering of the law, wealthy and powerful railroad corporations, who were violating the Sunday ordinances by running cars on that day, were in the habit of evading payment for damages in Sunday accidents, and were sustained by the courts in such refusal, though they were clearly responsible for the accident and would have been mulcted in damages therefor on any other day. Sometimes, the damaged man whose case was thus thrown out of court was one of their own employes. By the amended law of 1884, such an outrage against justice was made impossible. The proposed amendment this year is of a similar nature. It leaves the law as it is which makes Sunday contracts illegal; but it will not allow a fraud to be perpetrated in such contract and the perpetrator to escape under cover of the sacredness of the day. If a business contract on Sunday be wrong, let those who are parties to it be brought

to trial and punished for that offence; but let neither of them be legally free to cheat the other on Sunday more than on any other day.

WM. J. POTTER.

AN INSTINCT THAT LEADS TO DEATH.

On the Galapagos Islands, a group of volcanic islands between five and six hundred miles from South America, situated exactly on the equator, opposite the little Republic of Ecuador, are flora and fauna, resembling those of the distant continent, yet unlike them. Time and distance have so modified the forms of life on the islands that they are scarcely recognizable for the same species. On the continent, we had grown to know the iguana, as it glinted in the sun, frisking joyously on the banks of the rivers. We had come to know the value of some of the lizard family as articles of diet, for they taste like chicken. Near villages, they are wild and shy, for the Indians slay them for food; but, away from the busy haunts of men, I have sat and watched them for hours, gleaming with all the colors of the rainbow, as they ran from tree to tree or scampered over the river banks to hide in the holes they seemed to have burrowed. On the Galapagos Islands, all was different. The lizard there was dark, strong, fierce-looking. A horrid, black, armor-plated reptile took the place of the beautiful forms of the mainland. Along the shores of the islands, we have precipitous masses of lava; no gently sloping beaches, no pleasant coves, no verdure creeping down to the water's edge. Sitting on a crag of lava, one could see deep down into the crystal waters, where

"The sea flower spreads its leaves of blue,
That never are wet with the falling dew."

Among the rough and rugged rocks of these inhospitable shores, the native lizard crawled. It seemed little at home there. It ran, after a fashion; but it was slow and ungraceful, not at all like the lithe and beautiful animal of the mainland. Sitting on a rock fishing, one could see this same lizard coming ashore, swimming near the bottom, with its fore limbs pressed close to its side, waving the tail with an easy motion, and gliding as gracefully along as one of our own little water newts. We had known it as a terrestrial animal; but here it was become a marine animal, all its beauty gone in the change. Our men used to kill them mercilessly, not because they were poisonous or hurtful, not for any other reason than because they were ugly-looking. Some of our own species might suffer, if that were made a reason for death!

One curious thing about this lizard was that it never took to the water when chased. It could hardly escape from a man by running; and, though it had just come out of the water, where it was so much at home, yet it would never return to the water for safety. Thousands of people must have noticed this; yet none ever seemed able to give a reason for it, until the great master of modern thought visited those islands. He sought for a reason; for he believed there was a reason for everything, and the reason for this was so simple that I felt ashamed for not having seen it myself. Yet, for this power of looking through things to find causes,—for this mighty power of looking into the heart of things,—he was sorely abused; but he spake no word in reply. When he died, a little while ago, we laid him gently down beside the kings and queens, the scholars and statesmen in England's Valhalla; and all the world, all the intelligent world, joined in the anthem that was sung that day,—“His body hath been buried in peace, but his name liveth for evermore.”

Darwin found the reason, then, for the reptile's strange course. In the long, long ago, when the

eggs of the lizard, in their leathery integuments, were first borne to the island by wind and wave, the poor terrestrial animal found itself where food was scarce. The conditions of life were different. The quiet life beside the still waters of the tropic river had passed away, and now came the struggle for existence under new circumstances. The lizard has teeth, and can eat flies, insects, and many small forms of life; but most of these small lizards are vegetarians. On the island, insect life was scarce, so they made the most of what vegetable life there was. From the ancient type or types which first landed there soon came a new form; that is, by the death of the unfit, the feeble, and the helpless, there was soon left a form of lizard unlike the parent stock on the mainland, yet a true terrestrial lizard. But, provisions being scarce, one part of the family learned to live on the sea weeds, the sea flowers, the sea grasses, which make the bottom of a tropical sea resplendent. By gradual slight modifications, the terrestrial form gave place to one capable of living for a long time under water. The reptile is not far removed from the amphibian, so the change was not so great as it would at first sight appear. The change has not been so complete as to make the terrestrial lizard into a fish-like animal, as with the whale, the seal, and some others; for a great obstacle interposed. Round the shores of the islands, sharks are very plentiful and very fierce. The swimming iguanas fell an easy prey to the swift sharks, so the poor lizard had always to fly for refuge to the rocks. How keen is the struggle for existence in the sea none can tell. There is no pity there. The weak must ever go to the wall. The law of nature seems to be, “Increase, vary: let the weak perish, and the strong survive.” The iguanas learned then that, while they might find sustenance under the water, they would perish if they met a shark. They could not hope to contend with the shark in either strength or speed. It was only by flight they could save themselves. The iguanas which learned that escaped and left descendants: those that did not so learn perished. So it came to pass that on the poor brain of this marine lizard was written the lesson that its only safety lay in reaching the land. So long as there were no men on the shore, that lesson held good; but new conditions have changed again. Man, who is quite as merciless as the shark, has appeared on the scene. The poor lizard recognizes danger in the new form, but he cannot learn to escape it. Thousands of generations have taught him that death is in the sea: the old inherited habit has become an “instinct”; and, though it leads him to death, yet he cannot change his “instinct.” Poor lizard! He cannot see that new conditions of life require new modes of action. The way his father did is good enough for him; and so he will perish himself, and all his race will perish with him, unless he learns to adapt himself to the altered times. The essence of an instinct is its lack of reason.

R. McMILLAN.

THE AUTHORITY OF MORALITY.

I.

An Evolutionist, a Transcendentalist, and a Materialist of the old school may be imagined as conversing together thus:—

The Transcendentalist to the Evolutionist. While I see many excellences in your system, I cannot help feeling that it has, at least, one great defect. Suppose I were to admit that Darwin, Spencer, and Fiske have explained fully the origin of conscience, and that it is simply the result of those social sympathies which man has inherited from lower animals: I should be none the less obliged to complain that this theory of its origin

does not establish its authority. No theory about conscience is worth much, unless it shows why it should be obeyed.

The Evolutionist. Conscience ought to be obeyed, in so far as it represents the moral law. There, we both agree. I don't think it ought to be obeyed, when it doesn't represent the moral law? Do you?

T. Is that possible?

E. Paul says that, when he persecuted the Christians, he felt bound in conscience to do so. Garrison, John Brown, and Stonewall Jackson were all three thoroughly conscientious.

T. Well, at all events, I agree with you that conscience ought to be followed, whenever it embodies the moral law. But be so good as to answer one more question. Why should the moral law be obeyed?

E. It is the one indispensable condition of universal happiness.

T. And how do you prove that it is our duty to promote universal happiness?

E. You don't deny it?

T. Certainly not. To me, it is an intuition too sacred to be questioned. But you don't accept that authority. What is your reason for promoting the happiness of your fellow-men?

E. Why, in the first place, it is necessary to my own. Our happiness depends on such an interchange of good offices as would not be possible, unless all were prosperous. I could not enjoy inward or outward peace, if my neighbors were suffering. The more widely happiness spreads through the community, the higher it can rise in each individual. As I enlarge the happiness of others, I elevate and secure my own.

The Materialist. That is exactly the view of Epicurus and Helvetius. I ought to take for my highest end my own happiness, properly understood, and work for that of others as a necessary means. I know you go further; but tell us why?

E. We ought to be grateful for what our race has given us in conscience, in reason, in language, in literature, in government.

M. And why ought we to be grateful for any favor, except partly because the feeling is a pleasant one, and partly because expressing it helps us to stand well with our neighbors and to get further favors?

T. Is not gratitude an instinct whose authority is established by our intuitions?

E. I am like a shuttlecock between two battle-dores. I must insist on the fact that we have disinterested impulses, which have been developed by natural selection, and which urge us to gratify them.

M. It is also the fact that this gratification is in itself an immediate pleasure as well as, in all probability, an ultimate gain. Our disinterested impulses would not have been preserved by natural selection, if they had not been found useful.

E. They have proved more useful to the race and the family than to the individual. The bee's readiness to sting often is fatal to herself, when she runs in her sting so deep that it cannot be drawn out without tearing her to pieces. It is her death, but the salvation of the swarm. The safety of a tribe of savages depends on the willingness of warriors to lay down their lives in battle. In these cases, as in taking care of children, the welfare of the race has developed impulses of such strength that they are followed without regard to selfish interests.

T. But you don't mean that our disinterested impulses are right on account of their strength? That would make it our duty always to follow the strongest motive, whatever it may be.

E. The strength of this motive is due largely to its being shared by all men. I know that others wish me to obey the conditions of universal happiness. I must re-echo that wish, or cease to be in proper harmony of thought and feeling with my race.

T. What makes this harmony proper?

M. Are you sure that the desire to maintain it is perfectly disinterested?

E. I should have mentioned earlier that public opinion requires obedience to the moral law.

M. It is certainly our interest to conform to public opinion.

T. But why is it our duty?

E. All men agree in recognizing the sanctity of morality.

M. No more fully than they did, but two centuries ago, in recognizing the sanctity of priests.

T. I believe that the moral law is holier than any priest. Have I any better authority than conscience for feeling this?

E. Conscience has usually been far too ready to honor priests. The moral law rests on the fact that all individual interests are included in that of the race.

M. Then let each one take care of himself, and the race will not be badly off.

T. The interests of the next generation might suffer; and I have yet to learn why an evolutionist is there to serve them.

E. Universal happiness includes that of all posterity, and universal happiness is the only end which all men can agree to seek harmoniously.

M. And why should we be harmonious? I don't feel sure that the time has come for it yet.

E. Society embodies the rights of all men, and therefore has more right than any single individual.

M. Which shows how much to blame Paul and Luther and Voltaire were in not believing and acting as society wished.

T. And we have still to be told what is the new foundation on which individual rights may rest.

E. They correspond to our duties. If it is my duty to do anything, I have a right to what I need in order to perform it.

T. But you have not yet told us why it is our duty to do anything.

E. I am a member of the race, and it is the duty of the part to serve the whole.

M. That sounds like an intuition.

E. The mere existence of the words *ought*, *right*, *duty*, proves that they have a basis of fact.

M. So does that of the words *ghost*, *hell*, *devil*. Perhaps the only fact underlying your set of words is that we can find our own happiness in that of our neighbors'.

E. We must obey the moral law, or our race would pass away.

M. Thus morality rests on enlightened self-interest.

T. You must admit that, or else say with me that morality is self-evident truth.

M. If it is self-evident, why has there been such need of teaching it? And why have there always been such wide differences between the moral ideas of different ages and lands? It might be very difficult to get together any large number of thoughtful people who agree perfectly about what is right and wrong.

T. Of course, I only mean that the general principles are self-evident intuitions.

M. And how am I to distinguish a self-evident intuition from an inexplicable prejudice?

T. Our moral intuitions embody the will of God.

M. So you say. Others say that the will of God is: "Obey the Pope," "Take the Bible as

infallible," "Follow the Koran," "Listen to the Spirits." How am I to know what the will of God really is? Perhaps it is simply that we should observe the bidding of enlightened self-interest.

T. All men agree that there are moral laws.

M. There are also chemical and botanical and geological laws. The law by which water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen has no exceptions. For aught I know, it has existed from all eternity, and will never pass away. It has not the same authority as the moral law; but is not that simply because men agree to enforce belief in one and not in the other?

E. In observing the moral laws, we come into harmony with that great march of evolution in which is secured, first of all, the welfare of the race; and then, as a secondary consideration, the interests of living individuals. Nature always subordinates the part to the whole.

M. The order of nature creates pestilences and volcanoes, and many causes of temptation. Should I imitate nature in this?

E. Nature, on the whole, promotes universal happiness.

M. And so should we, on the whole. But why should we do so in the exceptional case, in which the happiness of others conflicts with our own?

E. You referred a moment ago to public opinion, and that certainly commands us to act disinterestedly.

M. It also commands us to go to church. Why should I conform to it in one case rather than in the other?

T. And why do we honor most deeply the men who were in advance of public opinion, like Jesus and Roger Williams and Theodore Parker? And how are we to be able to say what is in advance of public opinion and what is behind the age?

E. It is easy to see where the errors of the past have been brought to light by further progress.

T. But can we not know the errors of the age in which we live? Surely, you do not mean to say that whatever is, is right. We need some higher standard than the public opinion of the day.

E. You are right in insisting on what evolutionism ought to furnish; and I must confess that this task has not, so far as I know, yet been completed. You must not expect a new theory to do in a few years more than its rivals have done in many centuries. But I think I could speak about the authority of morality to better purpose, if you will give me time to reconsider the question and write out fully my solution.

F. M. HOLLAND.

FIRST PRINCIPLES IN BELIEF.

III.

Could it be an aimless energy that worked itself out in the forests, that lies dormant in the coal, that is steadfast in the soils men till? Shall we worry about the creeds of the silver and the brass, and fear for Nature's prescience, when our jack-knives are more effective with pine than hickory? And yet this would be but a translation of the philosophy by which we mark men for doom, and deny the unaccustomed goodness that struggles in them for recognition. The clouds that ride gloriously above us, and at their radiant pleasure nourish our fields with timely rain, are not universal, but particular. Lest they stimulate our arrogance as well as our wheat, let us remember that their area is comparative, and that Pennsylvania and Ohio have their bounds! We sit too contentedly nursing our theories. Hope, that does not find its source in our visions, we too hastily discard. If life is altogether as we arrange it, how can we account for Spencer

and Huxley and Haeckel, who confound the best arguments for conformity? Are these men cut off from the beneficence of their origin? Is existence to them a burden, under which they tremble? If we are right, it must be; and yet, because it is not, we surely are wrong. Are we at enmity with those to whom truth chooses to come in disguises we cannot penetrate? If we love virtue, shall we deplore that it is revealed in unexpected places? Think of Socrates, of Confucius, of Emerson: they came in offence to all anticipation, and added to the shrines of the earth. Suppose you tell me such broad sympathy is dismal, and foreshadows spiritual night. We know from science that more rays of light escape us than are utilized, and that men who grope are not always conscious of their inefficiency!

We may remark the tendency of men to harden to immediate and melt toward distant antagonism. I have known this evidence to crop out in a tenderness for fetichism and a scurrility toward agnostic thought that are wholly unaccountable as coming consistently from the same person. The voice of the savage is granted to represent an outpouring of divine excellence. The measure may not be full, but it is wholesome. Physicists, however, whose view of the world takes in some degree of alleged grossness, are strangely accused of lessening divine glory by inquiring into the majesty of its expression; and it is not allowed that they maintain any intercourse with the higher forces of the spheres. The degrading effect of this enchantment is found in a grasping after the remote truth at the expense of the near. It follows that neither debt can be justly paid on such principles.

The scientific commonplace, that "nature abhors a vacuum," can have no meaning to those who assure us, concerning our spiritual affairs, that, when we lose thought we once shared with them, we can have taken up no other. Can we think higher than the universe, or discard this magic sphere that bends our being? Can we ever do that which relieves us of our connection with the suns and soils that rear us? Men who inform us we cannot tell us likewise that, if we dare to offend them, we can. What does this portend? Higher than Shakspeare is Shakspeare's Christianity. Higher than Milton is his creed. Lower than Æschylus is his paganism. Virtue in a Christian is the result of Christianity; in a heathen, of accident. Nature has not a necessary share in the product. From error thus distorted, we are led on to a strange commentary, by which we learn that what is so hard a fabric out of religion's hands is open to creation by chance! Yet, in moments of calmer thought, all men can perceive that in Shakspeare, in Milton, in Æschylus, was something at work that is not explained by the credal auspices under which it is supposed they wrote. This, certainly, does not assume that there is no analysis of their individualities possible, or that the poets could ever be separated from their songs: it simply pushes us back to the natural enlightenment of condition. We have always to build the man of flesh and bones and what not rather than of imagined ingredients. We too often try to devise historic, as we do humble figures, by projection from our own personality. What is in us is in them; what is our need is theirs; and "one man's meat" and "another man's poison" we convene to such confusion as robs the old proverb of all wise description.

Men are not satisfied with virtue or justice simply, but must have the rich waters drawn from their fount. Somehow, we wax jealous of good will in an antagonist. We hate to find honor in the opposite political party. We disparage the

politician who claims to proceed to benefit by other premises than those we favor. We become sectarians, and, if we are Presbyterians, look askance at Methodism. We even have some emulative selfishness when a neighbor lures sweeter flowers to his garden or possesses daughters of superior loveliness. The same arrogance that accounts for military braggadocio and makes petty corporals jealous of minor honor proceeds in our religious thought to vitiate its purity. What we elevate into patriotism, faith, social generosity, is too often a selfish enclosure that narrows our lives and makes us content with narrowness. When Europe was younger, and knew nothing of Eastern life, it banked up in prejudice what it has taken a long lease of growing sight to withdraw. Why should we tremble at the thought of the Lord Buddha or Charles Darwin or Herbert Spencer? Is it because we distrust the virtue we so long professed? Was the god who could legislate for a nation so much more excellent than the god who makes races equally his children? Was the power morally explicable that could hold sovereignty of special mercy superior to that of general good? Shall we, in evil passion, quarrel with Nature that she has formed man, as she has all things of space, in images various? Dare we say that the force that gave the one virtue has not the right to give the many, while we forget that who or what is privileged to choose one form may adopt more than one?

Man is not endowed with power to form and develop man in the cosmic sense, and therefore has no wise contest with Nature's expression of virtue. He is interested in the fact, not in Nature's credentials. When we put ourselves before the acts of our fellows, we usurp moral prestige. And as it is with our persons, so it must be with our faiths. The course of belief demands unrestricted issue. Time will satisfy all questions of warrant and jurisdiction. The popes who put their burly spirituality before Galileo have long since disappeared, while the seer has gone on to eternal remembrance. The mob that lacerated Garrison had its day; while the moralism that found it obstructive has not even now, with all the effulgence that has accrued, paused in its accumulation of glory. Had popes and mobs reflected before the permanent rather than the temporary significance of the lives they assailed, they might have urged history to a different line. Their mistake was in endeavoring to make one sign answer for every direction of development. Nobility was not honored for its merit: it was received only on the word of its credal sponsor. Men quarrelled because Nature had given colors various to the rose, and blessed each with sweet incense. How could this be? Where was revelation in the face of variety? It was altogether a doubting and halting spirituality that was non-plussed by these expressions of Nature's disposition.

We are bound in by strange forces whose whole intent we may never discern. We are born, and have our mellow or tragic careers, and are gone. What does it all portend? To what end are endeavor and trust? Life has *some* meaning: what man but is convinced of *that*? And yet we who assemble subtly together to study these momentous hints and longings show less love in our doubt, when every hand represents so much more of need, than we would in times of certainty. We cannot separate man from the fields. We cannot rob earth of its skies, or the great orbs above of their attendant globe that we call ours to-day. To imagine disunion in these vast processes is to picture insanity. To think that Infinite Energy employs itself upon an atom as separate from all

other atoms is an absurdity. If there is not meaning in every life, there is meaning in none. Nor can this meaning be expressed in terms of degradation. The great glimpses of truth broaden as they descend from barbaric visions. To men who lived in the forests, I am content to let earth be an imagined fastness. To my own fathers and my own sons, I offer thought on a different basis. Man once supposed his objects the centre of divine intention. Even the private person presumed his own little body to be the explanation of the universe. To-day, as we contemplate these stubbles of human weakness, we see that more and more appears in the vista, the higher mental power ascends. When I am at the foot of the great oak, how should I know but that here was the one emission of divinity? But, as I go with the seers upon the mountains, I cast eyes more broadly upon the universal plan. Not in *me* is majesty now focussed: I am one out of all, with certain just relations to my fellows. In the presence of the larger circle, my limitations are well defined. As this consciousness grows, desire, trust, energy,—all powers that go to constitute character,—merge themselves in the common fund. In my sorrow, the universe grieves; in my joy, the universe laughs; in my aims, the universe is interested.

Thus, we go deeply into the question of human fellowship, using no marks of doubt when virtue speaks, and loving rather than hating Nature's frank adoption of the many vehicles of truth, where man would fain have her choose but one. We ask from men for men the same consideration that is given the flowers of the field and the trees of the forest. Each puts forth of its kind. The magic beauty that blushes in the rose must transform difference into unity, and explain human emotion and human reason by rules as generous as those applied to the physical worlds. We must not confuse our ends with our conditions. Life has its sacredness to all, and we should seek more manfully to know what confers this conception of value to individuals before we attempt to trace variability back to cosmical lunacy. As the numberless stars reflect a virtue, each priceless in its sphere, so may men, with compositions intricate beyond ordinary analysis, be taken to master and repeat the impressions of the Infinite Heart.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS the *Jewish Messenger*: "And now a critic objects to the title 'Reformed Jew.' He will have Ethical Monotheism. Let us amend by reading *Ethical Monologist*, or *Mythical Morphologist*, or *Rabbinical Pantomimist*. Shades of Holdheim & Co.!"

NEVER before in the same length of time have come to us so many or such cordial words in approval of the conduct and in praise of *The Index* as since the beginning of the new year. For these kind expressions, the writers have the editors' thanks.

SAYS the *Boston Courier*: "There is an oddly paradoxical sound to the phrase 'compulsory prayers,' concerning which Harvard College is chronically agitated. Compulsory supplications must have a curious effect both upon the person offering them and the power to which they are addressed."

PAUL BERT says, "Let us begin by disarming the priest, by combating clericalism, by destroy-

ing the confessional, then I shall be only too ready to give women the ballot." French radicals say that such is the influence of the priest and the confessional upon women in France that, with the ballot in their hands, the maintenance of the Republic and of religious liberty would be impossible.

THE *Pittsburg Despatch* attributes the trouble with the coke operators and the rolling-mill company at Newburg to "the foreign element brought in by the employers to squeeze down the wages of the old workingmen," and adds, "Perhaps employers will profit by the lesson that it does not pay to encourage the growth of ignorance and recklessness among their laborers for the sake of saving a few thousand dollars' wages each year."

ABOUT five hundred and twenty-five signatures have been obtained to the petition asking the Legislature of Massachusetts for a law to punish those who cheat on Sunday or refuse afterward to pay for goods purchased on that day. Mr. Leonard Chandler, of West Sterling, collected one hundred and forty-four of these names. Now is the time for those interested in this movement to exert what influence they can at the State House.

DR. JOHNSON, on being asked whether there was not imagination in a certain poem, answered, No, sir, there is what was imagination once. In like manner, we may say that in instinct there is not intelligence, but what was once intelligence: the specially intelligent character has disappeared in the fixed tendency. The action which formerly was tentative, discriminative, has now become automatic and irresistible; but the impulse is always guided by feeling.—*Lewes*.

WE have received the third number of the *Jewish Reformer*, published at 29 and 31 Chatham Street, New York, and edited by Dr. K. Kohler, Dr. E. G. Hirsch, and Dr. Adolph Moses. From the leading editorial, on "Ethical Judaism," the following passage is given:—

Judaism stands and falls with *ethical monotheism*. Reform stands for ethical monotheism. Therefore, reform is Judaism. That is our syllogism. Perhaps its parts require further elucidation: The "law" which went out of Zion was naught but the law of highest morality. Heathenism is immoral; religion is a bargain between God and man; Christianity denies the possibility of a moral life without supernatural regeneration. The Islam is fatalism. The will of God crushes the freedom of man. Its morality is conditioned upon belief, and is hedonistic. Buddhism is despair. Pessimism is immoral, Ed. von Hartmann to the contrary, notwithstanding. The morality of Unitarianism is sentimental. Certainly, its ideal is of the past. The moral man has come. The neo-Kantian morality fails to grasp the truth that morality is the law of the universe upon which we are dependent while it is not dependent upon us. It fails, in other words, to give its ethics the keystone,—*God*.

THE editor of the *Popular Science Monthly* thinks that Spiritualism has been "an agency for discrediting the ghost, or, at least, for narrowing and regulating his heretofore wilful activities. The Spiritualistic ghost, in a word, has been tamed by the medium. He no longer goes gliding or skulking about on his terrifying nocturnal errands. On the contrary, he comes meekly at the call of his master or mistress, and, the conditions being favorable, utters through the table leg such harmless platitudes as seem most suited to the average intelligence of the audience. This is a great improvement upon the old plan, according to which every man met this ghost in solitude, at the midnight hour, and, with his blood in a state of distressing coagulation, was compelled to listen to some dire prediction of coming doom. All our methods nowadays are more or less scientific;

and the comfortable séance may be compared to the beneficent lightning-rod, with its many points for draining off the otherwise dangerous electrical accumulations of the atmosphere. Instead of meeting the ghost alone, and encountering the full weight of his supernatural terrors, we meet him in pleasant company, where his force is so dispersed that no one gets more than a proper, moderate, and enjoyable share."

A New York correspondent of the Philadelphia *Times* writes: "The Society for Ethical Culture is one of the curious gatherings of this city on Sunday. I do not know exactly what its aims and purposes are; but it is a semi-religious body, with no particular creed. It meets in Chickering Hall every Sunday morning, and Prof. Felix Adler is the leader of the flock. He is just now the reigning sensation of the religious world here. His congregations are a queer mixture of intellectual people, quite exceptional in character and make-up. Mr. Adler is an ex-Jewish rabbi, and is to-day the most conspicuous leader of respectable free thought in unorthodox New York. He is a bold, fearless thinker, who is not afraid to push his logic to its conclusions. People whose views are from his as wide apart as the poles crowd to hear his Sunday morning addresses. He has been a hard student, and his remarks are always worth hearing. While within the pale of the Jewish faith, he became dissatisfied, and cast about the other creeds in the hope of finding a safe anchorage in some one of them; but he says that he failed to find it in any of the established Churches. . . . He could not accept any known type of religion, and, on the other hand, he could not wholly reject it all. He got out of the difficulty by saying: 'I will retain the moral principles which are the common basis of all the religions; and I will reject the dogmatic parts, the formulæ, the ritual and mythological fables, which deface and obscure the human characters of the various denominational creeds.' . . . Substantially, this is his platform: To accept with your whole heart and soul, and maintain to the death, all the moral good, and to ruthlessly cut off, as with a surgeon's knife, all the dogmatic errors and the fables of all the creeds."

GIVING.

For The Index.

The fruit is juiceless hanging on the tree,
And gold but dross until it spended be;
The flower when plucked, if ever, then is sweet,
'Tis dying embers give the greatest heat.

Only when used does life's web ever wear
The sheen of beauty that most makes it fair.
Whate'er we save is only thrown away,
And all we give awaits a brighter day.

E. B. CALLENDER.

IDOLS.—A SONNET.

For The Index.

The charming fairy-tales which gently soothe
Our childhood's easy griefs must melt away,
And sad Reality will soon dismay
The bright phantasmal idols of our youth.

But from them our Ideals spring forsooth.
The childish frolic doth the man display.
As fruit grows, whilst the blossom must decay,
Thus from romantic errors springs the truth.

But, when the creed of Christianity
Breaks down, it merely is the husk, which shows
The evil fate of transient vanity.

Out of the bursting germ the fruit-tree grows,
And Idols of religion will disclose
The high Ideal of Humanity.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.*

BY DAVID H. CLARK.

A Paper read before the Cambridge Sunday Club,
also before the Parker Memorial Science
Class, and on other occasions.

At the close of his six years at Leeds, Priestley was secured, through the kind offices of friends, the situation of librarian and "literary companion" of Lord Shelburne, afterward distinguished as the Marquis of Lansdowne. The offer was readily accepted, as its terms were exceedingly generous and afforded special advantages for the prosecution of his intellectual pursuits. The arrangement included a salary of \$1,250, with the assurance of a life pension of \$750 in case the relation should be dissolved. An allowance of \$200 was also to be granted for expenditure in experiments and scientific research. Priestley accompanied Lord Shelburne, as his travelling companion, in Holland and Germany, and spent some time in Paris, where he made the acquaintance of many of the most distinguished scientific and intellectual personages of the day. While at Paris, he was present at a discussion between two chemists as to the nature of red precipitate, now called mercuric oxide. "It is not improbable," remarked Prof. Croft, at the Centennial of Chemistry, held at Northumberland a few years ago, "that what he heard that day led to his future experiments, and hence to this meeting." "When in Paris," continues Prof. Croft, "he was told by certain savans that he was the only sensible man they had ever seen who believed in Christianity. Hence, while laughed at in France for being a Christian, he was decried in his own country as being what some persons called an atheist. The latter is entirely untrue, for there was probably never a more truly religious man than Joseph Priestley." The year 1774 is a very notable one in the history of chemistry. It is associated with

* Concluded from last week.

so many important discoveries in this science that it is designated its modern starting-point. But there are none of these discoveries that have contributed so much to its distinction as the great one with which the name of Priestley is pre-eminently and permanently connected. I refer to that of oxygen gas. This occurred Aug. 1, 1774, and as follows:—

Priestley had been for some time, as we have seen, deeply engaged in investigations in respect to air and the evolution of gases from various substances. In the course of these experiments, he was induced to select for trial a red powder, called mercuric oxide, one of the compounds of mercury or quicksilver, which he knew contained mercury and something else besides. This he put into a glass bulb with a tube connecting with a basin and running up at the end into an inverted jar, the rest of the tube, the basin, and the jar being filled with mercury. Then he took a powerful burning glass, and concentrated the rays of the sun upon the powder in the bulb. Soon the powder became very hot, and a gas arose out of it, and passed along the tube into the jar, driving out the mercury; while the red color began to disappear in the bulb, and only pure shining mercury remained behind. So far, he had only proved that red mercuric oxide is made up of mercury and gas. This gas, he found, possessed very peculiar properties. Unlike "fixed air," it would not dissolve in water. Instead of putting out a lighted taper, it greatly enhanced the brilliancy of the flame. Even such solid substances as iron and other metals burned in it like wood. It was clear that it could not be either "fixed air" (carbonic acid gas) or "inflammable air" (hydrogen gas), since neither of these was capable of such effects. It occurred to him to test the effect of this wonderful gas upon living beings. Upon putting two mice under a glass receiver, they were found to be greatly exhilarated by its influence. The same experiments were tried with carbonic acid gas, but with an entirely opposite result. When he inhaled this newly discovered gas, he experienced a singularly enlivening sensation. "Who can tell," he said, "whether this pure air may not become a fashionable luxury? As yet, only two mice and myself have had the privilege of breathing it." "When we reflect," says Prof. Youmans, in referring to this great discovery of oxygen gas, "that this wonderful substance is the active element of the atmosphere, and essential to the activity and existence of the entire living world; that it enters largely into the composition of all natural objects around us, forming three-fourths of the weight of the rocky strata and eight-ninths of the oceans; and, moreover, that it is an element of great chemical energy, and is involved in nearly every transformation of nature and in the processes of the arts,—we shall be prepared to comprehend the significance of the discovery. It has given us a new chemistry and a new physiology, and it probably carries the mind of man deeper into the order of nature than any other scientific revelation ever made." Dr. John W. Draper estimates its importance in no less glowing terms. "It was found," says he, "not alone to affect chemistry, properly speaking. It threw a light on every allied science. The chemistry of that day was overthrown. Without any exaggeration, I characterize it as the capital discovery of the last age, rivalling in its importance and in its results the great discovery of the preceding century,—universal gravitation by Newton." Three years before, Priestley had made the same discovery by another process, but failed to apprehend its significance. It was also made independently by Scheele, in 1775. Lavoisier, who gave

to oxygen gas its name, laid claim to the discovery; but the credit of it is generally awarded to Priestley.

It is exceedingly difficult for even extraordinary minds to liberate themselves from the trammels of theories which they have been accustomed to implicitly hold, although, in the light of the latest knowledge, those theories are shown to be no longer tenable. Priestley was no exception to this. A hundred years before, Stahl, a German chemist, to whom this science is much indebted, while he was the author of some very great errors in respect to it that long survived him, propounded a theory of combustion which, up to the time of Priestley's great discovery, was of general acceptance. It maintained that all bodies which burn contain an invisible substance, which he called *phlogiston*, that is set free and transmitted to the air, when combustion takes place. The discovery of Priestley disclosed at once, when clearly understood, the fallacy of this theory. It was made plain that, instead of a body parting with something in burning, it actually added something to itself. But Priestley still held to the *phlogiston* hypothesis, even after it had been abandoned by the leading chemists of his day. He accordingly gave to his discovery the name of *dephlogisticated air*,—air from which *phlogiston* had been expelled. But, important as was the splendid achievement just considered, it did not conclude his researches in science, not even in this department. They continued to his latest years. In addition to the discovery of oxygen gas, he is recognized as the discoverer of nitrous oxide gas, or what is known as laughing gas, and a number of other gases sufficient, it has been remarked, to establish the fame of half a dozen ordinary workers. Pushing forward his investigations in the line which he had pursued with so much success, he was led into a series of important experiments in respect to the diffusion of gases,—the operation of those of different densities when mixed with each other,—and has the credit of having thus given the impulse to some of the most brilliant discoveries in this direction of those who succeeded him. Indeed, so important and numerous were his discoveries that he has been called the father of pneumatic chemistry. Without attempting to enumerate all of his contributions to science or its indebtedness to his unwearying assiduity, I may mention, before concluding this cursory survey of his scientific labors, that among his researches are to be included the discoveries in respect to the influence of oxygen on the color of the blood, and the preservation of animals from putrefaction after they are dead, which he showed to be possible,—a fact, however, which has not been utilized until comparatively recently, in the transportation of this kind of food supply from the great abattoirs of the West. Photography credits, also, to one of his experiments the first germ of its art. These discoveries were all the more remarkable when it is remembered that his science was not an acquirement of the schools. Indeed, his preparation for his researches was of the most meagre description. It was almost nothing. He was, in a word, a self-educated devotee of science, with scarcely any of the facilities for such pursuits accessible to men of science to-day. The apparatus with which he conducted his experiments were chiefly made by himself or by those who had no experience in such work, under his direction. But they were so simple and fittingly adapted to their purpose that some of them are still in use in the laboratory of the chemist. "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country and among his own kindred." Priestley's achieve-

ments now attracted the attention of scientific men everywhere. The universities of Paris and St. Petersburg made him an honorary member of their bodies. And yet, while learned bodies and institutions abroad thus vied with each other to render their tributes to him, the universities of his own country, which were wholly under the control of the defenders of the faith, seemed to consider his heretical offences sufficiently grave to entitle them to cancel to the end all such claims to their awards and recognition.

But we should form a very inadequate comprehension of Priestley or his intellectual activity, if we contemplated him simply as a man of science or took into account only what he accomplished in this sphere. It must not be forgotten that he was by profession a clergyman, engaged for a considerable period of even the most productive portion of his intellectual career in regular pastoral and pulpit ministrations, and affectionately endeared to those toward whom he sustained these relations. There were no other interests, however alluring or captivating, that could lessen his devotion to this vocation. There were no honors or successes more prized than those which came to him in the faithful discharge of its duties and labors. "I continued," he wrote of his life at Leeds, "very happy, with a liberal, harmonious, and friendly congregation, to whom my services, of which I was not sparing, were very acceptable. Here I had no unreasonable prejudices to contend with, so that I had full scope for every kind of exertion; and I can truly say that I considered the office of a Christian minister the most honorable of any on earth, and, in the studies proper to it, always took the greatest pleasure." Amid such cheerful consecration to the cares and responsibilities of the clergyman and teacher, and while his reputation was steadily growing in all directions, he was continually adding books and pamphlets of one description or another to the list of his published writings. The mere reading of the titles of these, as they emanated in rapid succession from his pen, strikingly exhibits the wide and versatile range of his faculties. Besides those already mentioned, the full enumeration of them includes *A History of the Present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Color*; *A Chart of Biography*; *The Constitution and Laus of England*; *Letters to a Philosophical Institution*; *An Answer to Gibbon*; *An Examination of the Theories of the Scotch Metaphysicians*, Reid, Beattie, and others, designed to refute what was known as the philosophy of common sense, of which those named were the foremost representatives; *Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit*,—in other words, a defence of theological materialism; *The Doctrine of Necessity*, of which Priestley was a sturdy and uncompromising champion; a *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, which was so offensive to Orthodox sensibilities, on account of its free handling of the origin and early development of the Christian system and doctrines, that it was officially ordered to be burned by the common hangman in the city of Dort,—the survival of a custom of earlier days of persecution, since certain writings of Milton had been subjected to the same edict, a hundred years before, on the restoration of the Stuarts. The catalogue of Priestley's works embraces also *Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham*, *The Roman Catholic Claim*, *The American War*, a reply to Edmund Burke's *Reflections upon the French Revolution*, twenty volumes of tracts in favor of dissenters and their rights. These and numerous other books and pamphlets upon controversial and various topics, as occasion prompted them, shared in the work of his active brain and tireless hand

up to the last days of his life, constituting a list which numbered in all more than one hundred volumes, and give him the distinction of being pronounced the most voluminous writer of any age or country. Of course, it could hardly be expected that such remarkable fertility would have, in any very large degree, a permanent value. Many of his writings were called forth by the events of the time. It is not strange, therefore, that he should share in the common fate of authors whose productions owe their origin to such influences, and that most of his should now be forgotten.

There was still another sphere of Priestley's labors in which he sustained an important relation to his time. He was even more than a preacher, a schoolmaster, or a man of science or letters. He was an independent thinker in theology, a brave iconoclast, a social and political reformer and philosopher. In a very characteristic degree, it was his mental tendency to look forward rather than backward. Bred and nurtured under the austere and dismal influence of Calvinistic theology, he steadily advanced beyond one tenet after another of its system, until he had reached the more cheerful and rationalistic ground of the Unitarian position, and was enabled to give, through the force of his writings and preaching, an important impetus to that movement both in England and this country. It was but natural that Priestley's repugnance to the union of Church and State should cause him to assume toward the Church of England a hostile attitude. He earnestly and ably pleaded the cause of the dissenters, and pointed out with unanswerable clearness and vigor the injustice of their disabilities.

The Act of Uniformity, dating as far back as the reign of Elizabeth, and the Corporation and Test Act, from that of Charles II., still survived as a part of the law of the land, as they did for for about half a century afterward.

According to these acts, no one could hold any civil office who had not first received the sacrament and subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles. It was required that the clergyman should give his entire assent to these articles, not only at his ordination, but upon every change of settlement. A dissenter could not teach or preach without the risk of incurring a heavy fine and a long imprisonment. As an aid to a more effectual combat of such flagrant injustice, Priestley began the publication of a periodical called the *Repository*, which he continued for a number of years. In it, he maintained the equal rights of all irrespective of their religious opinions, and affirmed that he desired nothing for the Protestant that he was not willing to concede to the Roman Catholic. He addressed a series of letters to the students of Oxford, who were compelled to subscribe to the articles of the Church in order to enter that institution. These letters were replied to by the president of the college under an assumed name, who, instead of attempting to answer Priestley's argument, sought to slur his character and depreciate his abilities. But such a mode of argument must have proved, with all but those of inveterate ignorance and prejudice, more damaging to the assailant than the assailed. When Blackstone's great work entitled *Commentaries on the Laus of England* appeared, it was found to include an approval of the statutes imposing penalties and confiscations upon those who spoke derogatorily of the Book of Common Prayer. Dr. Priestley at once attacked the position and showed the benighted character of such laws, and at the same time convicted the famous author of errors in his statements. The eminent author magnanimously acknowledged the force of the criticism, and promised to cancel the objectionable passages

in future editions of his works. The conspicuous attitude which Dr. Priestley thus took as an ecclesiastical reformer, and especially as an opponent of the English Church, aroused the bitter animosity of that establishment against him. This was so intense that the clergymen of that Church who won the credit of successfully answering him, whether they had done so in fact or not, thereby attained an encouraging prospect of access to the highest ecclesiastical preferments,—a circumstance which gave currency to the saying that Priestley appointed the bishops of England.

The connection between Dr. Priestley and Lord Shelburne, hitherto referred to, continued for seven years, when it was dissolved for reasons which have not been clearly explained. It was at the close of this period that was produced what has been pronounced the most powerful of his philosophical treatises,—indeed, one of the ablest of its kind in the English language,—*Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit*. Its conclusions Priestley acknowledges himself to be "materialistic." A single specimen passage, like the following, confirms it: "Man, according to this system, is no more than we now see of him. His being commences at the time of his conception or, perhaps, at an earlier period. The corporeal and mental faculties, in being in the same substance, grow, ripen, and decay together; and, whenever the system is dissolved, it continues in a state of dissolution till it shall please that Almighty Being who called it into existence to restore it to life again." It has been conjectured that the publication of this work may have had some influence upon the termination of the relation which subsisted between Priestley and his patron. This is strengthened by this passage in his Autobiography: "It being probable that this publication would be unpopular, and might be the means of bringing odium on my patron, several attempts were made by his friends, though none by himself, to dissuade me from printing it. But being, as I thought, engaged in the cause of important truth, I proceeded without regard to any consequences."

It is but a reasonable presumption, therefore, that his lordship did not find it altogether a comfortable alliance, nor advantageous to his political interests to continue so intimate a fellowship with one toward whom prejudice and hostile feeling set so strongly. To Lord Shelburne, however, it should be said, belongs the credit of faithfully carrying out on the separation all the terms of the contract.

Priestley now resumed his former occupation, and accepted an invitation to take charge of a large and flourishing congregation at Birmingham. This settlement was a very gratifying event to him. It considerably improved his pecuniary condition, and afforded him certain other special advantages. Birmingham appears to have been at this time a centre of remarkable intelligence. It was the home of Watt, the immortal inventor of the steam-engine, and of Boulton, his partner; of Wedgwood, whose name acquired a world-wide reputation as a maker of pottery; of Darwin, the distinguished father of an even more distinguished son, and others of note. With these and the best social life of the place, he enjoyed a friendly and cordial fellowship. But the serenity and pleasant sunshine of those days were destined to but a short duration. He was, as we have seen, a warrior who slept upon his arms and was ever ready for battle. He became involved in sturdy and spirited controversies, not alone with representatives of the Established Church, but with those of almost every sect.

The French Revolution broke forth and spread like the flames of a mighty conflagration, not alone

in the streets of Paris, but all over Europe; setting in action intensely excited feeling, sharp discussions, clashing opinions and sympathies, before which everything else, for a time, was forgotten. Priestley had already made it clear by his writings as well as by the general cast of his characteristics that he was at heart as well as in theory a republican. In the great contest of the American colonies, he unhesitatingly announced that his sympathies were on their side. According to the doctrines of his political philosophy, "All people live in society for mutual advantage, so that the good and happiness of the members—that is, the majority of the members—of any State is the great standard by which everything relating to that State must finally be determined,"—a passage from which Bentham is said to have acknowledged that he derived his famous expression, "the greatest good of the greatest number."

In his essay on "The First Principles of Government," Priestley maintained that "kings, senators, and nobles" are "the servants of the public," and thus, under certain conditions, he justified revolution. But, while Priestley was a revolutionist, it was not of a blood-thirsty type. He shrank from violence, and contended that all such changes should be brought about by peaceful means. Similar views were entertained by him in respect to transition from existing religious systems. He thought ecclesiastical authority necessary in an infant state of society, and should continue in some degree until society is prepared for larger freedom. "If, therefore, I were asked," said he, "whether I should approve of the immediate dissolution of all ecclesiastical establishments in Europe, I should answer, No. Let experiment be first made of alterations, or, which is the same thing, of better establishments at present. Let them be reformed in many essential articles, and then not thrown aside entirely till it be found by experience that no good can be made of them." He proposed, to adopt a familiar industrial phrase of our day, "a big cut down" in the articles of faith, and thought that thirty-eight out of the thirty-nine could be dispensed with.

Sentiments like these, coupled with his answer to the brilliant and vituperative tirade of Edmund Burke, under the title of *Reflections on the French Revolution*, while they enhanced the popularity of Priestley in France, produced quite the opposite effect among his countrymen. The revolutionists of Paris showed their appreciation of his sympathy for their cause by the compliment of his election as a citizen of France and a member of its Assembly, which served to add fuel to this flame of adverse feeling. The most malicious and defamatory charges were put in circulation against him. It was currently reported that he had entered into a league with the dissenters and French revolutionists to overthrow the government. Passages from his writings were seized upon and grossly perverted. "Down with Presbyterianism and Priestley!" became the popular toast of the day. The children in the street took up the cry. The most atrocious libels on his character were published, and tracts and caricatures scattered profusely to imbitter the public mind against him. In one of these prints, entitled "Sedition and Atheism," Silas Deane, an imaginary person, is represented on his death-bed. A clergyman stands by him, holding up his hands, and exclaiming: "No God! Who taught you that doctrine?" The dying man replies, "Dr. Priestley." There was, of course, not a shadow of truth in the imputation, as the whole work and spirit of his life bore unequivocal evidence.

This hostility to him reached its climax on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille at Birmingham, in 1791. The event was commemo-

rated with a dinner at a tavern, by some sympathizers with the French Revolution. Such a celebration was naturally calculated, in the excited state of feeling prevailing, to provoke an outbreak of the pent-up rage and hatred cherished toward persons of this class by those of conservative sentiments and feelings. A furious mob took possession of the town, and for three days reigned with unrestrained violence. The chapels and houses of dissenters were burned and demolished. Priestley, fearless of danger, was quietly passing the evening over a game of backgammon, when intelligence came to him that the infuriated mob were in pursuit of him; and he and his family were compelled to flee for their lives. His house was set on fire; and his library and apparatus, with many valuable manuscripts and literary accumulations, the fruits of years of studious industry, perished in the devouring flames. Priestley secretly watched at a distance the ruthless destruction. He escaped to London in a state coach, under an assumed name; and the members of his family were saved from death through the concealment secured them by friends, who believed him in such peril that they would not permit him for weeks to appear in the streets. After a while, he was invited to take charge of a congregation at Hackney, a suburban village; but so great was his unpopularity that it was impossible for him to hire a house in his own name, and he was obliged to get a friend to lease one for him. Servants could not be induced to live in the house which he occupied. Even his learned friends turned the cold shoulder toward him. The members of the Royal Society would not associate with him, and he was compelled to withdraw his name from that body. The persecution extended to his family. His son, forced to relinquish a profitable business partnership on this account, emigrated to America. At a dinner of clergymen, on one of those present declaring that, if Dr. Priestley were mounted on a pile of his works, he would be ready to set fire to it and burn him alive, all applauded the speaker, and expressed their willingness to lend a hand, in such a case, to this gentle and brilliant process of extinguishing the troublesome disbeliever.

The animosity which Priestley had aroused followed him to Hackney, and rendered his settlement there uncomfortable. He was accordingly induced at last, with much reluctance and great sadness of heart, to sever the endearments which bound him to his native land, and seek a refuge beyond the sea. His farewell sermon to those who crowded to hear him on the occasion is full of tender regret at the parting.

After a voyage of two months, he landed in New York, in June, 1794. Numerous learned societies and distinguished individuals extended him a cordial greeting, though some of the clergy took occasion to preach against him and his doctrines. A professorship of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania was tendered to him, which, however, he declined. After preaching a short time in Philadelphia, where many persons of eminence were attracted to hear him, he rejoined his two sons at Northumberland, on the Susquehanna, to which I referred in the beginning, and where they had purchased a large tract of land which they were subduing to cultivation. Here, in this wild and almost uninhabited retreat, secluded from the strifes of the world in which he had participated so long, he passed in quiet thought and study the last ten years of his life. But his nature was too busy a one for even these years to pass without some outward signs of his surviving interest in the world of letters and men, from which he had so cruelly been forced to withdraw. He contributed to scientific journals and societies, from time

to time, reports of his continued investigations, and also gave vent to his opinions, through the press in this country, upon questions of the day. Some of the latter communications were exceedingly distasteful to the conservative elements of society, and caused him to be fiercely assailed. He was accused of being an enemy of the country, and a call was made for the sedition law to be put in force against him. Here is a specimen of the virulence which this antipathy sometimes assumed. "I hope I shall see the malignant old Tartruff of Northumberland," wrote one in a newspaper of the day, "begging his bread through the streets, and ending his days in the poor-house, without a friend to close his eyes." But his cheerful resignation and philosophic calmness of spirit could not be subdued, and never forsook him to the end. He was full of great literary projects to the last, and told his physician, when failing health began to indicate the final event was near, that he would like to have him "patch him up for six months," that he might finish some work which he wished to accomplish.

Among his friends and correspondents in this country were many eminent persons. Jefferson showed a special interest in him, and, when President, invited him to Washington; but he seems to have shown little inclination to leave his exile, and hence the invitation was never accepted. Though seemingly an angry polemic, Priestley was, in fact, one of the most amiable and gentle of men, and almost invariably conciliated the prejudice of those who came in contact with him. Many illustrations of this might be given. I will give but a single one. "He happened to visit a friend whose husband was absent, and feared to mention his name to a Calvinistic divine who was present. But, by chance, the secret came out, when he of the Genevan school drew back, saying, 'Dr. Priestley, I cannot be cordial.' Whereupon, the Doctor, with his usual placid demeanor, said that he and the lady might be allowed to converse until their host returned. By degrees, the conversation became general; and the repudiator was won over by curiosity at first, then by gratification. He remained until a late hour, hanging on Priestley's lips. He took his departure at length, and told the host as he left the house that never had he passed so delightful an evening, though he admitted that he began it like a fool and a brute."

Though the predominant tendency of his mind was radical and rationalistic, as we have seen, he was also decidedly religious, and set apart a portion of each day to prayer and private devotion. It is not strange that he should have been bewildered, as were many of the noblest and best intellects of his time, by the religious ideas in which he had been bred. He was a strong believer in the second coming of Christ as near at hand, and wrote to a friend that, since he came to this country, his chief interest in European affairs had been in connection with Old Testament prophecy. He was also a believer in what is known in philosophy as the doctrine of necessity. He was a materialist in a theological sense; in other words, he considered the soul so involved in the body that it could not exist apart from it. According to his view, the soul slumbered in the grave until the resurrection, when it would again assume its body, and enter upon an immortal existence.

Thus closed the life of this remarkable man amid the quiet scenes of his Pennsylvanian retreat on the 6th of February, 1804. His wife had passed away two years before. The custom of his grandchildren to kneel for their prayers and repeat their hymns at his side, when on his death-bed, lent a soothing influence to his gentle and

religious spirit at the last. He dictated clearly and audibly alterations in one of his manuscripts. "That is right," he said. "I have now done," and shortly expired.

The house where he lived, a comely and substantial structure, though of old-time suggestiveness, with the aperture in the roof where he was accustomed to adjust his telescope to watch the stars, and the laboratory, where many an hour was passed in patient experiment and research, still stands as an interesting memento of its once illustrious occupant. There is also to be seen the little church, with the marble tablet upon the wall to his memory, where he was accustomed to preach to the congregation which he gathered about him.

The University of Oxford, which steadily withheld its honors from Priestley while living, did the work meet for repentance, in 1880, of erecting, within its precincts, a statue to his memory. On the 1st of August, 1874, the chemists of this country, including a large number of its most distinguished representatives, met at Northumberland to celebrate a centennial of chemistry,—the hundredth anniversary of his great discovery of oxygen gas.

The leading newspapers of New York and other cities sent their reporters, and eagerly gave up their columns to extended accounts of the proceedings. The same day there was another assembly in honor of Priestley at Birmingham, Eng., where, less than a hundred years before, he made his escape from the mob that threatened his life. An address appropriate to the occasion was delivered by Prof. Huxley, while telegrams of congratulatory greeting passed across the water between the two commemorative assemblies of Birmingham and Northumberland; thus adding another illustration to the long succession of such of the strange inconsistency of mankind in its treatment of its benefactors,—those whose lives have been consecrated to truth and humanity,—the tardy honors which at last come to the hero and the martyr, as, in the words of our poet,—

"The hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return,
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

[I inadvertently left out of the manuscript of that part of this essay which was printed last week some words of sufficient importance, I think, to call for a reference to them here. It occurred to me as quite remarkable that three of the most eminent theologians of modern times should all have been distinguished in youth for their observation and love of nature, going to show that early surroundings may be sometimes as potent as innate predilections in determining one's future. On page 335 and in the third part of the third column, I cite Jonathan Edwards as one of the instances just referred to. The second example I intended to give was Theodore Parker. But in the sentence which reads, "Similar testimony is on record relative," etc., these words "to Theodore Parker as," that should have followed here, are dropped, thus confounding Parker and Edwards,—a singularly incongruous union, as is at once apparent.—D. H. C.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE MECHANICAL FALLACY.

Editors of The Index:—

It was with pleasure I read Mr. Montgomery's essay and Mr. Chappellsmith's additional.

The latest biological researches in Germany show Montgomery to be correct in assisting to banish mechanical views from biology.

Dr. Gaule (in Report before Der Versammlung der Naturforscher und Aerzte zu Strassburg) has proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that "the mysterious entity, which, beyond consciousness, carries on with unremitting faithfulness the functions of life" (Montgomery), is a colony of amoeboid and protoplasmoid individuals; that the human system is a clear case of symbolisms, and not a cell aggregation combined by a special mechanism.

Gaule's are the most momentous discoveries since Mr. Darwin's *Origin of Species*, for they furnish a

true knowledge how the changes are brought about. They are the death-blow to the cosmogenetic evolutionary wheel-work, and destroy the last hopes of the mystics.

Some one competent ought to furnish *The Index* with a paper on it, as I think it would be of the greatest interest to its readers and a feast for Mr. Chappellsmith.

Those who are acquainted with Metchnikoff's investigation (Virchow's *Annalen der Pathologischen Anatomie*)—the only scientist, as Carl Vogt declares, who solved the problem of the germ diseases—will know that those amoeboid individuals known as the white blood cells destroy the germs in the blood, as their prototypes destroy them in the water. Vogt calls them, humorously, microbe-eaters.

KARL CROLEY.

PLEASANTVILLE STATION, N.Y.

THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES.

Editors of The Index:—

If the House shall pass the Edmunds bill (which provides that the government shall administer the property of the Mormon Church by means of trustees appointed by the President), the United States will then have an established religion like other people; and that religion will be the Mormon!

This point is not original; for I have, I think, seen it somewhere before. There is no harm in calling attention to it.

The Constitution says (Art. 1, Amend.), "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

J. S. PEART.

BOOK NOTICES.

CREATION vs. EVOLUTION. By Mrs. H. V. Reed, author of "Earnest Words" and "The Bible Triumphant." Boston: H. L. Hastings. Chicago: Knight & Leonard. 1885. pp. 32. Price 25 cents.

We do not remember to have read a more unsatisfactory work than this on the subject treated. The author knows too little about evolution to write intelligently in regard to it; and her acquaintance with the literature of evolution is so extremely meagre that her quotations and references—generally without mention of page or volume even, and taken, in most cases, from newspapers or other second-hand sources—often convey entirely erroneous impression as to the views of the authors cited. The work aims to show—after giving "a history of the theory," and such a history! that "the best authorities in the scientific world" condemn evolution. Thus, Agassiz declared that "the theory of [evolution] is a scientific blunder, untrue in its facts, unscientific in its methods, and ruinous in its tendency." It is a little surprising that, in the following chapters, our author attempts to show that "the ablest and best advocates" of this "scientific blunder," so "ruinous in its tendency," are those who "reverently believe in God, and believe also that the process of development is in perfect harmony with divine law," etc. If Mrs. Reed had compiled this little pamphlet with any knowledge of the writings of authors she names, nothing could save her from the charge of intentional misrepresentation. We will mention only one instance. On page 18, a passage is given from "Lyell, the well-known geologist," as the result of careful inquiry, "that each species was endowed at the time of its creation with the attributes and organs by which it is distinguished." Whether the quotation is correct we cannot say, for there is no reference to any of Lyell's works. But, assuming that the words are correctly quoted from some of Lyell's earlier writings, the unfairness of giving them without comment is sufficiently evident, when we consider that, in his later writings, Lyell accepted Darwin's theory, and wrote with great ability and effectiveness in refutation of the view expressed in the words quoted above. The spirit of the work is extremely dogmatic, as the treatment is superficial; and, as a contribution to the discussion of a great subject which requires scientific knowledge and a philosophic spirit, it is worthless.

E. F. U.

BIOGRAPHIES OF ANCIENT AND MODERN CELEBRATED FREE THINKERS. Reprinted from an English work entitled *Half-hours with the Free Thinkers*. By "Iconoclast," Collins, and Watts. Boston: J. P. Mendum. 1885. pp. 344.

While these biographies, first published some thirty years ago, created more of a sensation than their

republication can possibly make in any religious circles of to-day, they yet form an interesting volume of readable sketches of the life and works of a number of talented men and one remarkable woman, of different phases of genius and varied degrees of fame. The one woman thus honored is Frances Wright, of whom a charming sketch is given, with pertinent quotations from her writings. Epicurus, Zeno, Hobbes, Matthew Tindal, John Toland, Spinoza, Descartes, Dr. Thomas Burnet, Charles Blount, Bolingbroke, Mirabaud, D'Holbach, Voltaire, Condorcet, Volney, Helvetius, Hume, Paine, Shelley, Robert Taylor, Anthony Collins, and Joseph Barker are the other free thinkers whose lives and work find record in this compact and nicely bound volume. It was the aim of the editors and compilers, as stated in the preface, to present "free and manly thoughts to our readers, hoping to induce like thinking in them, and trusting that noble work may follow noble thoughts." An additional reason for their publication is that they wished "all men to know that great minds and good men have sought truth, apart from faith, for many ages."

We do not think that the name of the smart but superficial, vacillating, and vituperative Joseph Barker, who was "everything by turns, and nothing long," and who, on leaving them, coarsely abused the adherents of every sect, party, and class with whom he was associated, is entitled to a place in this list; but, if it is retained in the next edition, we hope the sketch will give some account of the last twenty-five years of Barker's life, including his return to Methodism.

The Century for January promises well for the instruction and entertainment of its army of readers for 1886. The second and concluding paper descriptive of "The City of Teherán," by ex-Minister S. G. W. Benjamin, is the opening article, and is profusely illustrated with characteristic scenes from Persian every-day life. Dr. R. Shufeldt has an interesting scientific article on "The Feathered Forms of Other Days," which is accompanied by illustrations of the fossil remains of a feathered reptile, or reptile-like bird, with teeth, and several restorations of extinct forms of other curious birds of an earlier age. Three articles of interest to artists are: "A French Painter and his Pupils," which gives a series of short talks given by the French painter, Carolus Duran, to his pupils; "The Lesson of Greek Art," by Charles Waldstein; and "A Broad View of Art," in "Topics." Frederick A. Schwab gives an anecdotal sketch of Verdi, the composer, whose portrait is given in the frontispiece. "Pointers" are the typical dogs considered in this number. The War Series contains an account of the "Second Battle of Bull Run," by Gen. Pope, which is also the subject of the "Recollections of a Private." The serial stories by James and Mrs. Foote have long instalments, and Frank Stockton and Joel Chandler Harris are the writers of the two short stories. W. J. Linton's paper on "Some European Republicans," whom he has personally known, is accompanied by portraits of Mazzini, Lamennais, Herzen, and others. The best poems of this number are "Canada," by Charles G. D. Roberts, and a posthumous poem by Helen Hunt Jackson. Cupples, Upham & Co.

The Atlantic for February opens with Henry James' story, entitled "Princess Casamassima," some of the developments of which are quite interesting. This is followed by a poem called "The Homestead," by Mr. Whittier, which describes exquisitely a deserted New England farm-house. "Ministerial Responsibility and the Constitution" is the title of a paper by Abbott Lawrence Lowell, contrasting the differences of the United States Government and one which, as in England, depends on the individual responsibility of the ministers in power. "An American Soldier in China" gives a graphic account of the manner in which Gen. Frederic T. Ward's achievements in China smoothed the way for "Chinese" Gordon's military successes, and renders Gen. Ward tardy justice. Miss Murfree's serial, "In the Clouds," is full of life, and leaves the hero in the most exciting of situations. Eleanor Putnam, whose sketches of old Salem life have attracted so much attention, has a paper on "Salem Cupboards" and their contents; and Mrs. Oliphant's "Country Gentleman" is brought to a conclusion. "A Rhapsody of Clouds," poems by Paul Hermes and Andrew Hedbrook, critical papers, the Contributors' Club, and Books of the Month finish an agreeable issue of

this standard monthly. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

"OUR LITTLE ONES AND THE NURSERY" for January is rich in timely holiday articles, in addition to its usual stock of instructive stories and verse. Five contributors pay tribute to the Christmas Spirit, besides the pretty illustrated calendar for January, with its appropriate lines. Emily Huntington Miller, L. A. France, Florence B. Hallowell, and Lavinia E. Goodwin are among the contributors to this number, which contains nearly forty charming illustrations.

The Schiller Calendar for 1886, published by H. B. Nims & Co., Troy, N.Y., comes in the form of a palm-leaf fan, with a variety of beautiful designs on its face; the central one being a lovely lake view, encircled by ideal heads of the poet and of the principal heroes and heroines of some of his best poems, — Wallenstein, Joan d'Arc, Mary, Queen of Scots, and William Tell. The calendar proper rests near the fan handle; and its selections are inspiring and pertinent, so far as seen.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

DR. HAMMOND says that in another thousand years we shall all be bald.

THE *Freidenker* for January 17 gives an account of an address in Sauk City, Wis., on Emerson, by Mr. George Schumm, who said: "Never has the world-saving spirit attained a more beautiful, bold, and complete expression than in an outgrowth of practical America,—the Concord sage."

SAYS London *Light*: "That Spiritualism is spreading in Catholic countries is shown by the number of journals devoted to its philosophy in those countries. In Italy, within the very shadow of the Vatican, there are four; in France, nineteen; in Spain, sixteen; seven in Mexico; four in Austria; three in Brazil; and two in Cuba."

OUR friends, Messrs. Mendum and Seaver, of the *Investigator*, are determined that, so long as they live, no anniversary of Thomas Paine's birthday shall pass unobserved in this city. Last Friday evening there was at Paine Hall a festival and ball for the young people; and on Sunday there were three meetings, all well attended, at which were given addresses reciting the story of Paine's life, and honoring him for his great services as a political and religious reformer.

AN intelligent correspondent of the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, writes: "If Mr. Bradlaugh take any part in the proceedings of Commons, he can be severely punished, because, under the law, he is clearly not qualified to act as a member. The situation is interesting. If he be permitted to perform all the duties of a commoner, the religious test in the oath is virtually rendered obsolete. If he act and be proceeded against, he will be crushed officially and financially (as the pecuniary penalty would be more than he could pay), and he would pose as a genuine martyr, slain for a principle. In that event there would undoubtedly occur violent demonstration in Westminster, as Mr. Bradlaugh has more than once intimated that, in case he were thrust out of his seat another time, he would per-

mit his supporters to testify their disapproval in a lively manner. It is not improbable that rioting would occur, unless he himself should put a check on movements in that direction."

BISMARCK's scheme for the expatriation of the Prussian Poles reveals the inhumanity of the man, and his threat to carry out his purpose in defiance of the opposition of the Reichstag illustrates his despotic disposition. The partition of Poland was one of the greatest crimes of history. It is but natural that the Poles should desire a restoration of their nationality; and their reward for the patriotism and courage they have shown is the treatment they have received from Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Will the Reichstag yield to Bismarck? If it does, it will thereby be reduced to the ignominious position of those assemblies whose functions, under the Bourbon kings, were limited to registering the edicts of the crown. The Germans are supposed to be a constitutionally governed people. Will they allow Bismarck to drive the Prussian Poles from their country?

THE Parker Memorial Science Class made an excursion to the Museum of Comparative Anatomy, Cambridge, on a recent Sunday,—a day on which it is the custom to keep the museum closed at this season of the year. Prof. Agassiz, before he sailed for Europe lately, paid the class the high compliment of assuring it that the museum would be opened in this instance any Sunday it would be most convenient for the members to attend. The class was greatly indebted to Prof. Garman, of the Reptile and Fish Department, who gave a very instructive lecture before the class three or four Sundays since. Of course, little more than a hurried and superficial survey of the prominent objects amid such a world of wonder and interest could be taken in so short a time; but, under the direction of Prof. Garman, more could be learned and comprehended than in many ordinary visits. Some slight appreciation, at least, could be obtained of the innumerable variety of the animal kingdom, and the profound intelligence, unwearied labor, and splendid munificence which have combined to present, in such vast systematic array, this enlightening representative spectacle in a sphere of knowledge too largely neglected and but vaguely understood by people generally.

MR. M. ANAGNOS, Principal of the Boston Asylum for the Blind, and son-in-law of Samuel G. Howe, the founder of that institution, has, in a pamphlet entitled "Kindergarten and Primary School for the Blind," made a beautiful and glowing appeal for the sightless little ones for whose benefit a kindergarten is projected. The sum of \$20,000 has already been subscribed, which, however, pays only two-thirds of the cost of the site purchased for the future school,—a school which appeals strongly to the large-hearted and wealthy philanthropists of this country. Mr. Anagnos well says that "a system of broad and liberal education, based upon sound scientific principles, and taking cognizance of the physical peculiarities and psychological phenomena arising from the loss of

sight, is the only means which can counteract the influences of the privation to which the blind are subject for life, reduce its consequences to the minimum, and enable its victims to rise superior to fortune and win victory from adversity itself." After showing that the Asylum for the Blind, while doing its own great work in the education of the older sightless children, is yet unfitted for the reception of children under a certain age, and is therefore obliged to reject younger pupils,—many of whom are obliged to remain in poverty-stricken homes, devoid of possible means of education and of recreation,—Mr. Anagnos says that, in order to supply a "fundamental and indispensable step in the ladder of the education of the blind, a kindergarten school, where all the little sightless waifs can be at once removed from their dismal abodes and injurious surroundings and placed under suitable care and home-like influence, is absolutely needed and imperatively demanded." "Annual subscriptions for current expenses, and contributions for an endowment fund large enough to place the establishment on a permanent basis, are solicited" by the treasurer, Edward Jackson, 178 Devonshire Street, Boston. A portrait of Friedrich Froebel, the originator of the kindergarten method, accompanies this interesting pamphlet; also a fac-simile of a letter written by Laura Bridgman (the blind, deaf, and dumb pupil of Dr. Howe), in behalf of the kindergarten for the blind.

THE clergy and the religious press are persistent and severe in their denunciation of the violation of "the Lord's day"; but, if any of them have had a word to say against the violation of justice involved in the decision of the Supreme Court of this State in the case of Samuel Read, of Springfield, it has escaped our attention. In October, 1882, while performing his duty as engineer on the Boston & Albany Railroad, he had a leg broken. He sued the company for damages,—for which he was discharged,—and Judge Rockwell ordered a verdict for the railroad. The engineer appealed, and the Supreme Court sustained the decision; and the plaintiff had to bear the costs. One of the principal grounds for the decision was that "the work in which the plaintiff was engaged on the Lord's day contributed to his injury, and was not a work of necessity or charity." "This," says the *Philadelphia Press*, "is very beautiful. The Boston & Albany Road is still running its trains on Sunday, Mr. Read is meditating on the folly of having confessed himself a law-breaker in open court, and the Supreme Court is still lading out inequitable equity at the old stand. The only thing left to do is to have Mr. Read indicted for violating the Sunday laws, and lock him up to repent of his sins." At the same time, it should be said that the Supreme Court could not help itself. There was the law, and it had to be enforced. Since Mr. Read's accident, it has been changed somewhat (in 1884); and now, if he breaks his leg again in Sunday labor in Massachusetts, he can recover for the personal injury, but not for fraud practised on him or for the value of his services.

MR. ABBOT'S "SCIENTIFIC THEISM."

When Mr. Abbot left the editorial chair of *The Index*, and a commemorative supper was given in his honor at Young's Hotel, we said to the friends there assembled that there was one compensation, and we knew of but one, for which the readers of *The Index* might hope as an offset against their great loss; and this was that the released editor might have more leisure for that philosophical work which we all knew was dear to his heart, and for which he had shown a rare intellectual aptitude. This hope, expressed nearly six years ago, is now beginning to be realized. Within these years, Mr. Abbot has published but little. But some of us have known that his pen has not been idle, as all knew that his brain could not be. And now comes this finely named book, *Scientific Theism*, as the first-fruits of his toil. It is not a large book. It has only two hundred and nineteen pages, of clear and open type. It speaks of itself as a somewhat accidental precursor of a more elaborate philosophical work which the author hopes yet to give to the public. But though the book is not large, and though a summer lecture at Concord seems to have made the occasion of its appearing, it is no hastily prepared work. It bears evidence throughout of wide reading and close thinking: every page throbs with brain-force. And the time for this reading and thinking has had to be snatched in the midst of the laborious and distracting vocation of drilling boys for college and in the intervals of the vacation weeks, when the brain really needed rest. That, in spite of this distracting and fatiguing labor of a different sort, Mr. Abbot should have been able to produce such a book as this, adds new emphasis to the wish of his friends that he might find the place for which mental temperament and culture have so generously qualified him, a college professorship of philosophy. When will some American college honor itself by calling him to such a position?

Scientific Theism has already been noticed in the book-review department of *The Index*, and it is not our purpose here to speak of the work in detail. We propose simply to call attention to its significance and general bearings as related to religious progress. With Mr. Abbot,—our lips still say Mr. Abbot most easily, not yet accustoming themselves to the more formal Doctor-of-Philosophy title which he has deservedly won from Harvard University,—a logically elaborated philosophical system is but a means to an end. He has no special delight in philosophy merely as an intellectual pastime, or as an exercise in mental gymnastics to see what wonderful feats may be performed. He does not belong to the school of dilettanti speculative thinkers who have no further interest in their thoughts than to exhibit them in the garb of ingeniously wrought syllogisms. But all his philosophical thinking and writing are dominated, in a rare degree, by an intense passion for discovering and revealing truth,—and truth that shall bear directly on human conduct and life. This is the end to which his systematic thinking is the means.

And truth, with Mr. Abbot, rises at once to its highest aspects,—to religion. Religion, for him, is practically synonymous with the love, pursuit, and embodiment of truth. The goal of his thinking, therefore, is the justification of religion. He has a fervent faith that right thinking is necessary to right feeling and right action; and that religion, in order to be redeemed from the effeminate sentimentalism and empty ceremony into which it has in modern times so largely fallen,

must come again under the sway, as in previous epochs of the world, of a robust system of thought. This necessary system of thought, he believes, is furnished by science and the scientific method; and to prove this position is, in general, the theme and motive of his book. The key-note of it is struck in this sentence: "The sciences as a whole, above all, the universal scientific method which has produced them, constitute the only foundation on which the philosophy of the future can be reared; and if, as I profoundly believe, human thought is the architect of all things human, then what the philosophy of the future shall prove to be, that also will be its religion" (p. 111). This profound conviction of the necessity of a sounder system of thought for the preservation of religion and for the highest welfare of mankind makes itself felt on every page of the volume, and saturates the chapters with a religious fervor,—until, at the end, the hard logical propositions, which have been gradually rising and broadening in the sweep of their thought, burst almost into a religious rhapsody and literally into rhythm and song.

In connection with the Free Religious movement in this country, and in the membership of the Free Religious Association, Mr. Abbot has been pre-eminently the philosophical thinker. We may say that he has been specially the apostle of the claims of *thought* in the movement. A good many persons, probably, still remember with what thrilling effect, in one of his speeches at a Free Religious convention a good many years ago, he uttered the simple sentence, "What thought cannot win is lost forever." This idea was always central with him, whether on the Free Religious platform or in his work on *The Index* or in the organization of the Liberal League. He was already known, when the Free Religious Association began, as a profound and subtle thinker and as a writer on philosophical themes of remarkable logical precision and rare power. And these gifts of his intellectual nature, in which he has few peers, he gave with lavish generosity to the Free Religious movement. As time went on and he became better acquainted with the various phases of Liberalism, his conviction grew the stronger that what Liberalism most of all needed was a clear system of philosophy,—not a creed, of course, but a common and deeper comprehension of its own spirit and purpose; a clearer understanding of its own reason for being and of its mission to the world. His eager intellect, perhaps, grew too impatient at the few signs among Liberals of such a common system of thought, and at the restiveness observed among many of them when the need of it was hinted. Yet, in his comparative retirement for several years from public work, he has lost no whit of his faith in the principles of the Free Religious movement; and now, as pledge of that faith, he brings this book as the best service he can render to the cause which he still has at heart. *Scientific Theism*, as here thought out and sketched, he offers as "the Philosophy of Free Religion." And, whatever may be the view which its different readers may hold of its qualifications for supplying "Free Religion's need," there can be few to question that, in its earnest, keen, and well-sustained argument, it is a noble offering,—one of the very best contributions of the age to the philosophy of religion.

The present writer agrees with Mr. Abbot that the Free Religious movement, before it can fully accomplish its mission, must concentrate itself upon and feel the impulse of a clearer system of thought. This will doubtless come in time as the movement develops, whether present organizations remain or not. Supernaturalism

with its various creeds is destined to fall; and, if religion is to abide, its existence must be justified in the court of free reason,—it must be shown to be a part of the natural system of things. It must not have to apologize for itself, nor be passed over in silence as something that exists emotionally, but not to be rationally accounted for; but it must boldly claim a right to existence on the ground that it expresses one of the fundamental and ineradicable relations of man to the universe, of which science itself must needs take account; and, from this starting-point, a body of correlated truths will, in the course of time, be developed, which can properly be called the science of religion, and will be generally recognized as having scientific validity. It is on this basis that Mr. Abbot's book places religion. We cannot say that we are prepared to adopt all his conclusions; but his main propositions,—that the universe is an infinite organism, that evolution is organic and not mechanical, that the life-principle of the universe is an infinite immanent Power in which also inhere the attributes of intelligence and moral right,—these we regard as amply substantiated. Whether these propositions can be legitimately pushed to the affirmation of infinite Personality and infinite personal Consciousness we hesitate to admit. Infinitude and Personality are two ideas which we have never been able entirely to reconcile. We prefer, therefore, to say that the immanent and infinite Power, the universal Life-principle, must have attributes corresponding to personality and consciousness, since it has produced them, but infinitely above what man knows under those names. So, too, there is need of care in the use of the term "organism" as pertaining to the world as a whole. No finite organism, however perfect, can be regarded as a sample of the infinite organism. All our words, formed for and from finite things, can be used of infinite Being only as suggestions, not as definitions.

But, whatever might be said on some of the special points of Mr. Abbot's argument, his book starts from the right ground and proceeds by the right method and reaches essentially the right end. It is a masterful treatment of its high theme, and can but have great weight toward the establishing of the religious philosophy that is to come as the product of science,—of science in its large sense, as applied to the whole universe of matter and mind. It is a bold challenge, not only of the systems of revealed religion, but of the most commonly accepted philosophical systems of the day; but it has science at its back, and, with that support, its leading ideas will, we believe, eventually win the battle. It were to be wished that the author had in some places restrained the fervor of his argument to a more "sweet reasonableness" when he was treating opposing systems, and also, at one or two points, with a somewhat more modest confidence, left the book to tell its own great merits. Sometimes the very eagerness of his valor in urging his propositions creates a spirit of antagonism, when the thought itself might not. We missed, too, here and there due consideration of antagonistic arguments,—especially of the doctrine of natural selection in the otherwise strong section on teleology. But not everything could be brought into one small book. The larger book, of which the preface to this hints, we earnestly hope may yet come. But, even if it does not, this one just as it is, notwithstanding these minor defects, deserves not only a kind, but a proud welcome from all lovers of high and free thinking on great themes.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE BAR, PRESS, AND PULPIT.

The fashion of this world changeth; and we are helpless against the course of things, or against the Eternal, as the primitive Hebrews phrased it. That the two venerable professions of law and divinity are not the powerful social factors which they used to be is a fact patent to all, and that their influence is being diminished by the lapse of every new year is also evident. Like a man after he has reached forty-five, they are on the diminuendo. The pulpit, dealing as it does in the crude ideas, beliefs, and myths of primitive tribes living in primitive, barbaric times, and talking as it does about the men and things of old, pastoral communities in Western Asia, and about states of society outgrown and outworn thousands of years ago, in these days finds itself obsolescent and wielding less and less control. Whereupon, some of its more passionate and impatient occupants wax wrathful and denunciatory; and knowing that, in this age and country of popular literacy, or ability to read, the daily newspaper and periodical press which are the great diffusive organs of current thought and opinion on all subjects, the great beacon lights of publicity and intelligence, they proceed to denounce the newspaper, magazine, and review in round terms. As if, forsooth, the press, whether daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly, dealt solely in daily news and the happenings and occurrences of each day, and not at all in principles, convictions, and truths; as if it did not abound in elaborate and able discussions of every social, political, theological, moral, intellectual, and æsthetic topic which demands such discussion from day to day, and week to week, and month to month; and as if the leading writers of the day, or "them d——d literary fellers," as the late Hon. Zachary Chandler phrased it, did not form a new and distinct profession in the world of to-day,—a profession who make of knowledge and science in all its branches, and of reflective thought, life pursuits and studies for their own sakes as well as for mere bread-and-butter considerations! In France, the literary "fellers," or writers for the press, daily and periodical, furnish the leading politicians and statesmen, and have long done so. Thiers, Guizot, Chateaubriand, Lamartine in the past, and the leading French statesmen of to-day, were and are literary "fellers," or periodical writers and writers in the daily press; and, through that mighty organ of publicity and opinion-moulding potency, they have rayed out light over the whole civilized world. What a brilliant intellectual cohort do the current periodical writers of Great Britain form, such as Huxley, Tyndall, Gladstone, Matthew Arnold, and others almost too numerous to mention of that calibre, to say nothing of the Macaulays, Carlyles, Stuart Mills, Leweses, George Eliots of the just vanished past! These great European periodical writers made and make of the pursuit of knowledge and ideas a distinct profession by itself. Their minds did not and do not move in old legal and theological ruts, confined solely to precedents and the beliefs of the past. In this country also, of late years, hosts of men of highly cultivated and disciplined intellects, following the example of the great leaders of thought and science in Great Britain, France, and Germany, have found in the business of writing for the press, daily, weekly, and periodical, their profession and congenial life-work, when coupled with the oral business of lecturing. The doctrine of to-day is that the world is not finished, but that it is still in process of creation; and that the same forces, physical and moral, which were operated one, two, three, and four thousand years ago, are still operative and in undiminished vigor; that men have

gone on increasing in knowledge from age to age, so that a Humboldt's or Huxley's, a Lyell's or Darwin's, opinions of the world and of the *modus operandi* of creative power are far more correct and sublime than the opinions of Moses or any other primitive Oriental theologian. "Now," exclaims the Rev. Mr. Paxton, "the press is over the pulpit: the newspaper and the periodical have swept us [theologians] aside." Why? Because the world of to-day cannot be adequately reached by the pulpit, even if the pulpit dealt in current ideas, and not in the obsolete notions and myths of a remote Oriental past.

After all, even in this age of materialism and money-making, it is ideas and idealisms upon which the human mind feeds and sustains itself. It is a period of change and revolution in the organization of society and in men's beliefs and opinions. Hence, a constant discussion of social, political, and religious matters is required,—a discussion which shall reach the innumerable host of intelligent people who are seeking a rational settlement of the vexed questions of the day, a rational solution of long-standing social problems,—problems which concern the present life,—and, without a satisfactory solution of which, society, here and everywhere, will continue in a state of turbulence, discontent, and disorder from the collision of the interests of its different classes. Through the ability to read, which will soon be universal throughout the domain of civilization, the press can diffuse its light to every nook and cranny of society. Of course, the *daily* press in particular is not without its faults. In order to fill its columns, it magnifies daily occurrences and popular men and things to undue importance. Its discussions of the questions of the hour are often hasty and crude. It is in hundreds of instances rather partisan than catholic and disingenuous. It wire-draws and spins out to undue length trivial incidents. It gives publicity to purely sensational subjects, and spreads before its readers narratives of things and events a knowledge of which is *contra bonos mores*. But, with all its grave faults, even the daily press is a genuine light-diffuser, knowledge-spreader, and mental and moral pharos of the world. Of course, the monthly and quarterly press is not obnoxious to such objections as are urged against the daily and weekly press. But it is the part of folly and unwisdom for theologians and sore politicians to declaim against the press. It is like butting against a locomotive. The pulpit and the bar for centuries had everything their own way, and were leading social factors in less developed eras. The leading minds of the world once were found wearing their uniforms and in their ranks. But it is no longer so. The professional scientist, thinker, and writer, and the student technically trained to utilize the forces of nature, and thus to develop the natural resources of a country, are more influential than theologians and lawyers. It is the age of light, if not altogether of sweetness. The world wants to know its exact soundings and situation from day to day. It wants truth, reality, the exact state of things. Conjectures, myths, and articles of faith, which are utterly unsusceptible of verification and which lack actuality, are out of date. It was in the order of events that the press should partially supersede the bar and pulpit, and throw them more or less into eclipse. Meantime, the Paxtons should possess their souls in patience.

As for the legal profession, it is still powerful and influential; and so, for that matter, is the clerical. But it is well known that the spread of intelligence diminishes litigation, for an intelligent population is self-reliant and shrewd in the man-

agement of its affairs. It is noticeable that the lawyer element is not nearly so predominant in our legislative bodies as it was formerly, though it is still large, from the very nature of the case. The lawyer formerly, in his character of stump-speaker, was the political oracle and popular leader in times of contested elections. But the newspaper has relieved him of that function. The laity are as well instructed in politics now as the members of the bar. In the popular branch of Congress, lawyers are as numerous as ever; but, in the Senate, millionnaires and monopolists are most noticeable, while there are no successors to the Websters, Clays, and Calhouns of other days. Meantime, social questions are now in the foreground for discussion. These questions are new, and cannot be settled by precedents; for they mean the reconstruction of society on a new base.

B. W. BALL.

THE AUTHORITY OF MORALITY.

II.

None of us would wish to be like the man who went into his neighbor's smoke-house to steal a ham. He had it in his hand, when he happened according to his own account, to remember that the Bible says,—

"The dog will bite
The thief at night."

So he hung up the ham, and went home. For the moment, it is safer to have people do right ignorantly than wrong knowingly; but the permanent welfare of society requires that we do right intelligently. Virtue has work for us which we cannot finish in the dark.

Much light may be gained by considering what the words "right," "just," "moral," etc., originally meant. "Moral" and "ethical" are derived from the Latin and Greek words for "customary." The Germans still use "*Sitten*" for both "manners" and "morals." Their word "*Recht*" may mean either "right" or "law." So does the Latin term "*jus*," from which comes "justice," as signifying not only the virtue, but the judge. "Jurist" and "jurisprudence" are also derived from "*jus*," which again comes from a Sanskrit verb, "*yu*," "to bind." From the same root have grown "join," "yoke," and "zeuglodon." The word translated "just" and "righteous" in the New Testament comes, like the name of the Athenian judge, or rather juryman, "dicast," from a word which in the time of the apostles meant either "law" or "justice," but which may still be found in Homer in its original signification, "usage." "Right," "rule," "rectitude," "righteousness," etc., have the same root as "regal," "regent," "reign," "rich," "rake," "rank," and "rack." They all come from the Aryan verb, "*rag*" or "*rak*," meaning to "stretch out" or "make straight." So does the German word for "right" or "law," "*Recht*." "Honest" originally meant "honorable," and "virtuous" meant "manly." "Wrong" and "vicious" signified that which is "wrung" or "crooked," or out of line with the recognized standard. "Wicked" meant what was thought characteristic of a witch. So the word "conscience" is formed out of "*cum*," "with," and "*scientia*," "knowledge," so as to mean that which each of us knows in company with his fellow-men.

These facts prove that the principal authority which has been recognized in morality from time immemorial is that of public opinion. But how has public opinion become a moral authority? Because it has insisted on observance of the conditions of social existence. Men and women cannot exist except in society. Even Robinson Cru-

soe owed his existence partly to the clothes, tools, seeds, weapons, etc., which were furnished him by civilization, and partly to the skill which he had learned from other men. Adam and Eve could scarcely have lived long enough, as an isolated pair, to leave any offspring. A man or woman entirely without any help from other human beings, or any benefit from their present or past activity, would be like a fish out of water. No life but the social one is possible for us. In all probability, we were social animals from the beginning. Otherwise, the first men and women would have been inferior to monkeys and baboons. Men and women cannot exist without society, and society cannot exist without observance of moral laws. A community must be made up of people who respect each other's rights, minister to each other's needs, and in various ways serve the common good. As Leslie Stephen says (*Science of Ethics*, chapter viii., sec. 39, pp. 349-351): "The moral law being, in brief, conformity to the conditions of social welfare, conscience is the name of the intrinsic motives to such conformity. So far as we feel ourselves to be members of any social organization and identify ourselves with it, we are, in virtue of that sentiment, prompted to this conformity and feel a sense of obligation. . . . Through our affections for our friends and our brothers, our feelings are stamped and moulded, and prepared to be developed under the action of all the other relations into which we are brought, as our intellects and sympathies expand and our passions come into play. In this way, the primary instincts undergo modifications, causing them to act in certain ways and to obey certain rules which have necessarily a moral quality, or, in other words, a definite relation to the conditions of social welfare. The perception that this rule is formed by something outside us, that we imbibe it from the medium in which we live, gives the sense of obligation, though we may become conscious of it as the expression of instincts which have grown up before distinct reflection, and are involved in all our modes of thought and feeling. And, as the process of working it into our character is always more or less imperfect, we have, as a rule, plenty of opportunities for finding that obedience costs an effort, though disobedience may bring with it a pang. The conscience is the public spirit of the race, ordering us to obey the primary conditions of its welfare; and it acts not the less forcibly, though we may not understand the source of its authority or the end at which it is aiming."

Another fact has not, I think, had sufficient notice. Government has had a strong tendency to enforce respect for the rights of person and property, and to promote regard for common interests. This, of course, was not its original purpose. Its creation is not due to any theory, but simply to the pressure of the struggle for existence. Suppose a tribe of savages, broken up into families that are always quarrelling with each other, and destitute of any common head, gets into a war with another tribe all whose members have been brought, by the head of one of its families, into such subjection to his authority that they have ceased to interfere with each other's property, and have learned to act in concert under his orders. His motives may be wholly selfish and his rule despotic; but his warriors would have such confidence in each other and such experience in co-operating for the common good that the disorderly hordes would, in all probability, go down before them, as the grass before the scythe. Strong governments have always conquered weak ones. Rome trod down her lawless neighbors, until she passed through tyranny into anarchy. The family survived where isolated

individuals perished. The tribe subjugated the unorganized families. The nation proved itself more fit to exist than the independent tribes. Thus, the advantages of government became fully recognized, and, in fact, were dangerously overrated. Kings and chiefs were honored, as if their dominion was an end to be worked for in itself, independent of the way in which they ruled. Nowadays, we see that all the good a ruler can do is to protect the lives and possessions of the ruled, and in other ways promote public interests. We know that government has no right to exist, except in so far as it is for the good of the governed. If this is continually and wilfully neglected, revolution is just. Government is not an end in itself, but a means to secure the observance of moral laws. If this end is not attained, the means must be reformed. The maintenance of justice is the true object of government, the higher law to which all legislation should conform. Laws which deprive the individual of any part of his liberty or property, except in so far as is necessary for preserving the rest, are oppressions against which we should appeal to that higher law, established by the fact that respect for others' rights is the fundamental condition of human existence. Public opinion owes its authority to its general conformity with this law. Persecution was once practised by all the rulers, and advocated by almost all the authors in Europe; but this unanimity only increased the obligation of the friend of Liberty to insist upon her rights. The union of public opinion and legal statutes in support of negro slavery made it a sacred duty to agitate boldly for emancipation. Usually, however, substantially the same conduct is dictated by the laws of the land, by public opinion, by the conditions of social existence, and by the moral law.

The relation between the best interest of each individual and that of the whole community is not so close. It depends, to some extent, on constant pressure, exerted not only through praise and blame, but through the dread of legal penalties. We need not go so far as those shipwrecked sailors who had not the remotest idea where they were, until they came in sight of a gallows with a man hanging from it, on which they fell on their knees, and thanked God for bringing them to a Christian country. Still, the general effect on individual conduct of having the laws strictly enforced is extremely salutary. And society has not only the power to do this, but also the right. We could not exist, if society were not kept up; and it would dissolve as soon as its members ceased to respect each other's lives and possessions. The moral law is the fundamental condition of individual existence. Our desire to exist gives society the right to make our existence possible by requiring us to be virtuous. Not only my own existence, but that of all those who are dear to me, is involved in what Emerson calls "the sovereignty of ethics." Prudence and disinterestedness, family affection, patriotism, and universal philanthropy, aspiration after holiness, and desire for self-culture,—all these work together in making us feel the authority of morality. Loyalty to kings and faith in religious sacraments and creeds have powerfully promoted that development of our reverence for morality which we call conscience. Its formation in each individual is the result, partly of capacities and tendencies which he inherits, and partly of the influences exerted over him by other people in early life. Of course, we are not conscious of this, any more than we are of the shining of the stars at noon or of the earth's moving at the rate of about a thousand miles an hour. What we do know is that

conscience speaks with authority, and commands us to act, not only for our own best interest, but for that of others. Conscience usually moves on the line of prudence; but, often, it goes farther, and demands self-sacrifice. This demand we feel to be just; for conscience is the embodiment of those obligations which are imposed upon us by the fact that we must conform to the necessary conditions of social existence, or cease to live. Such conformity produces happiness, and most surely for those who conform disinterestedly, loving Virtue for her own sake rather than for the gifts she brings. The moral standard is not that of individual happiness, but rather that of social prosperity. Those actions by which the community flourishes are morally right, and those intentionally at variance with its conditions of life and growth are morally wrong. Conscience, public opinion, and government unite in requiring us to observe those conditions of social prosperity which constitute the moral law. Our self-interest is in its favor, and so are our disinterested affections. Whatever force religion has is largely in this direction. In short, morality has all the authority that exists anywhere.

F. M. HOLLAND.

RADICALISM.

The essence of Radicalism is dissatisfaction, founded upon the perception of error or wrong, and a desire to remove it. "Where liberty is, there is my country," said one of the founders of the Republic, repeating an old expression. "Where liberty is not, there is my country; and thither I hasten, that I may help to establish it," said the bold and radical Paine. Heaven—regarded as it is by many as a place of perfection and rest—would not be a fit place for the active and progressive Radical, even if rigid Orthodoxy would consent to his admission. There would be nothing for him to do,—no field in which he could exercise his reformatory powers, in which he could work for the abolition of evils and the introduction of better views and methods.

Many there are who have the spirit of Radicalism, who are filled with enthusiasm for reform, but lack the judgment to steady their conduct and the knowledge to work wisely for the desired results. The people of France, in 1789, wanted liberty, and were ready to make sacrifices for it, but lacked the knowledge and stability to embody it permanently in republican institutions. The love of liberty among the ancient Greeks, who were in many respects like the French, amounted to a passion; but there was lack of knowledge of the principles of government, and lack of sobriety of judgment necessary to prevent turbulence, insurrection, and bloodshed. In like manner, the zeal of Radicals now sometimes outstrips their knowledge; and passion gets the better of their judgment.

Radicalism is not always marked by breadth of thought and a charitable spirit. Indeed, those who are exclusively devoted to any one reform are liable to be narrow. They are people of "one idea." Some men, like some rivers, are both broad and deep. Such a man was John Stuart Mill,—a man of colossal mind and the most catholic spirit. But some men are clear and deep, yet circumscribed in their range, and, from their inability to consider a subject in all its bearings and to grasp the relations between it and other matters, are constantly taking narrow views of questions, and frequently doing injustice to those who differ from them. There are others who are superficial, who see only the surface of things, who are incapable of profound and accurate reasoning, yet who are broad and bright, full

of animal spirit, of emotion, poetry, and sentiment, and whose influence, like that of the stream, which lacks depth, but spreads over a wide area, is to enrich and to bless.

Many of the men who have stamped themselves upon their age and influenced succeeding ages have been men lacking breadth, but possessing concentration, persistence, and the enthusiasm of humanity. Such men are usually courageous, often fanatical, frequently violent in language, and unjust and uncharitable to opponents; but, among a people ignorant and indiscriminating, they make the most successful party and religious leaders. The masses, when their interests and passions are aroused, have no appreciation of the man who, with discriminating fairness, is just and generous to all, who treats his subjects with comprehensiveness, and views everything in the unimpassioned light of the understanding.

There is an impatient Radicalism, so called, that comes perhaps, generally, from a sanguine temperament and lack of careful reflection. It wants always to adopt measures for the immediate realization of a reform, without regard to the practicability of the measures. One ever feels kindly toward this class of Radicals on account of their sincerity and earnestness. Many such become less extreme in their views and more reasonable in their methods with increasing years. The Utopian visions of youth give way to the calmer reflections of manhood; and changes once believed to be near at hand are seen to be very remote, if to come at all. The reformer realizes that he cannot change public sentiment in a day, nor secure effective reforms without a public sentiment back of them; and thus he learns to moderate his expectations, and labors more patiently and with more steadiness. Unfortunately, some men in their disappointment become indifferent and even cynical.

There is also a sham Radicalism, which shows itself in "mouthfuls of spoken wind." Speakers and writers are sometimes, by a perversion of language, said to be radical, when they are simply rabid, when they are abusive. Rant is not Radicalism. There are, too, many superficial minds clamoring for change, with no well-defined ideas of what they want, who regard themselves as the most radical of Radicals; and, if you venture to oppose their wild, ill-digested notions and impracticable theories, they exclaim, "Oh, you are too conservative for me!" This class exhibits its ignorance and crudeness on the free platform of radical meetings, affords the press a theme for meriment, and puts into the hands of enemies weapons with which to prejudice the public mind against movements that are unpopular and need the most favorable presentation to the public.

Yet, in spite of all the erraticisms and follies incident to radical movements, it is to Radicalism that the world is indebted for every improvement. Discoverers, inventors, reformers, are necessarily Radicals. Socrates, Jesus, and Mohammed were all Radicals. Luther, with the spirit of Radicalism in his heart, protested against the authority of the pope, and enunciated a grand principle, which, by implication, gives every one the right to protest, as long as he sees anything wrong to protest against. Jefferson was a Radical. He was but a young man when, in 1774, he wrote the celebrated *Summary View*, and when, in 1776, he penned that immortal paper, that "charter of public right," as Edward Everett said, "destined or, rather let me say, already elevated to an importance, in the estimation of men, equal to anything human ever borne on parchment or expressed in the visible signs of thought,—this is the glory of Thomas Jefferson." Radicalism carried the Protestant Reformation to success in

Germany and England, gave us the discovery of America, the art of printing, the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo. It lessened persecution, it destroyed witchcraft and removed slavery. It abolished rotten boroughs in England, secured Catholic emancipation, extended the franchise, and disestablished the English Church in Ireland. Through the ministry of Gladstone, it is trying to do justice to-day to unhappy Ireland, where Conservatism has seen strong men die amid abundance, and babes even perish on the milkless breasts of their starving mothers, and a whole people in wretchedness, without making any efforts to save or to help. Radicalism gave a republic to France, wrested Rome from the temporal power of the pope, and gave to Italy the services of Garibaldi and Cavour. In this country, it is promoting temperance, elevating women, and modifying theology, improving religious literature, advancing science, giving the world a multitude of inventions, adding to the comforts and luxuries of life, and in thousands of ways benefiting and blessing the race.

Conservatism is not without its use. It affords us a guarantee of the permanence, when once accepted, of what Radicalism secures. The majority will act from habit, custom, usage, and adhere to the established order. Changes must come by evolution or revolution. Revolutions, indeed, are a part of the process of evolution, and sometimes desirable; but they are valuable in what they achieve in proportion as evolution has prepared the people for the condition they aim to secure. Observe the difference between the people of France in 1789, unprepared for a Republic, and the American colonies in 1776, easily adjusting themselves to changes. It is important that a large amount of Conservatism exist in the social organization. It is right that the people abandon cautiously what has become associated with their habits, their institutions, their life, and that they accept cautiously new theories, policies, and principles. But for this Conservatism, society would be characterized by so much instability, by such frequent changes, that commercial and industrial interests, and with them the interests of science and morals, would suffer. But, with this Conservatism, transitions are necessarily gradual and slow; and thus society is kept together, while the march of progress continues. A happy balance of Radicalism and Conservatism, the centrifugal and centripetal forces of progress, can be secured only by a continued diffusion of knowledge.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE advertising rates of *The Index*, considering the circulation of the paper and its class of readers, are low; and substantial business men begin to realize that it pays to advertise in these columns.

TO ANY person who will the present month obtain for us a new subscriber for a year, we will mail a copy of any book or books advertised in *The Index* this week by John B. Alden, or any other published by him the price of which does not exceed one dollar.

THE Unitarian Review's words in favor of compulsory prayers at Harvard are quoted by the *Independent* with approval, as "too much to the point to be omitted."

IS IT not a justifiable hope that, by applying the Method of Science to all questions, England may some day possess a philosophy, the absence of which during the last two hundred years has been a serious defect in her culture? Science she

has had, and Poetry and Literature, rivalling, when not surpassing, those of other nations. But a Philosophy she has not had, in spite of philosophic thinkers of epoch-making power. Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, have produced essays, not systems. There has been no noteworthy attempt to give a conception of the World, of Man, and of Society, wrought out with systematic harmonizing of principles. There has not been an effort to systematize the scattered labors of isolated thinkers. Mr. Herbert Spencer is now, for the first time, deliberately making the attempt to found a philosophy.—G. H. Lewes.

A DOCTRINALLY inclined correspondent of *Unity* says: "Trinitarianism teaches that there are three distinct Persons in the Godhead. . . . Unitarianism teaches that there is but one Person in the Godhead." If this universe is run by "persons," considering its extent and complexity, the more the better perhaps, for the reason, popularly expressed, that "two heads are better than one." Each "person" may be supposed to have control of a department, for instance, the weather, which in New England alone might afford scope for the ingenuity and resources of one "person," while Western blizzards, tornadoes, and floods might keep another "person" so constantly occupied that he (or she) would have no chance for a vacation summer or winter, and none too much time for sleep. But it may be that both Unitarianism and Trinitarianism, as defined by the words quoted above, are in error in ascribing the operations of Nature to one or more "persons." "Divine personality," says Emerson, "is a theologic cramp." We decline to confound the Universal Power which manifests itself in the world of mind and matter, and the contemplation of which fills every thoughtful and serious thinker with wonder and awe, with the petty notions, the narrow anthropomorphisms, of those who invest the source of all phenomena with their own personal qualities, and then discuss whether all these qualities are comprised in "one person," or "three persons" in the "Godhead."

For *The Index*.

IL PENSEROSO.

How are they faded,—all the morning glows
That changed the landscape to a fairy scene,
The sun-bright mists of amber, blue, and rose,
That prophesied a joy that ne'er hath been!

The hills that, like Jerusalem the blest,
Seemed made of precious gems too dazzling bright
For aught but angel feet thereon to rest,—
How have they lost their evanescent light!

The rapture of the morning hours, the fire
Of heaven's own tears within the rose's heart,
The wind notes swelling like a seraph's lyre,—
Where have they gone, when did they all depart?

The radiant hopes, pure as the unblown bud
Of June's own lily, that once rose so high
With every flood-tide of the pulsing blood,—
How are they perished,—perished in a sigh!

For it is noon,—yes, only noon: the way
Spreads dull and dry beneath the clouded sun,
Sore are the heat and burden of the day,
And we must bear until the day is done.

The poetry of life is o'er: the prose
Alone remains. Our flowers lie dead around.
Footsore and weary, longing for repose,
We tread with bleeding feet the thorny ground.

We lag and grovel. We no longer soar,—
Too tired are we, the skies too far away;
And, if we search them, we can see no more
The radiant angels of the dawning day.

Allegro.

Courage, O fainting heart! Tired of the road,
There are green pastures, waters still and bright,
By whose fair banks we may lay down our load;
For, lo! at eventide it shall be light.

Courage, O time-worn heart! Bear bravely on
A little longer, till the day is o'er.
At eventide, your burden shall be gone;
At eventide, it shall be light once more.

WALTER CRANE.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 4, 1886.

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

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

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For The Index.

Evolution and the Higher Sentiments.

BY CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

A new mental attitude toward all the great final problems of thought is necessitated by the changing beliefs of the day, which seems to many minds equivalent to a complete denial of the worth and significance of such problems, remanding them to the realm of poetry and romance and reducing life to its most prosaic level. Despite the unprecedented progress of the new doctrines of evolution, this system of thought is still regarded with great popular distrust and apprehension. One reason for this doubtless lies in the prominence given to the study of mere method as distinguished from the eschatological pursuits of the metaphysicians,—the old alluring search for final causes. Another reason of similar nature springs from the new importance bestowed by science upon the physical side of life,—the biological and physiological aspects of man's nature,—to the apparent exclusion of those more ideal possibilities attaching to him as a self-acting, spiritual being. The fact, also, that, to the average understanding, evolution seems chiefly occupied in the study of the small, obscure beginnings of things, confirms belief in its tendency to seek only the ends of a crude materialism, and to inculcate an ignoble view of life and human destiny. The discovery of intelligent motion in a speck of protoplasm has the singular effect in some minds to cheapen and degrade the conception of a living universe,—as if such a discovery lessened man's importance somehow, who would like to usurp to himself and the higher animals the entire realm of conscious existence. The vision of the ancestral ape obscures remembrance of all that has come after, the long line of growth and achievement which marks man's progress from his early condition of ignorance and barbarism to his present state; and Darwinism, in its popular interpretation, stands for a theory which, placing the emphasis of scientific

approval upon the monkey, stops there, lost in admiration of this initial discovery. It is a common mistake, shared by many of those who accept as well as by those who reject the main inductions of science, to believe that the value of certain human sentiments and affections is wholly determined by their origin. With the proverb, "A stream can rise no higher than its source," the opponents of evolution attempt to show that all the higher motives and impulses in man—as those of mercy and pity in the philanthropist, the sense of obligation, the religious instinct, the sentiments of love and domestic affection even—will lose in moral weight and significance as soon as the purely natural conditions of their origin and growth are demonstrated. Another kind of criticism is condensed in a single term of reproach,—“agnosticism,”—a word supposed to mark the final halting-place of all religious belief, and to stand as the last expression of the world's intellectual despair; a condition which exists chiefly by the critics' implication, and is by no means the necessary result of that intellectual honesty which the term agnosticism more correctly defines. The true spirit of agnosticism was set forth some time ago in two essays, entitled "Religion, Retrospect, and Prospect," and "Retrospective Religion," contributed to the famous Spencer-Harrison debate by the first writer. Perhaps the future conception of religion is to be supplied in the combined ideas of these representative leaders of the two most prominent schools of the day. Religion, being of two-fold nature, and existing in man's heart both as sentiment and impulse to duty, having its speculative and ethical aspects, it may devolve upon the scientific and positive philosophies to supply the two needful elements of rational belief and moral enthusiasm. The agnostic theory, as developed in Part I. of Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy*, is raised to the height of an infinite mental abstraction; while the *Religion of Humanity*, reduced to its practical analysis, is found consonant with many of the principles underlying the work of our Ethical Culture Societies. Strictly speaking, the agnostic theory defines only a philosophical relation and experience rather than any state of religious belief, which last exists simply as implication of the first. Belief in the Unknowable is reached, not by an act of faith, but by strict logical induction, and in the form, as Spencer explains, of "a necessary datum of consciousness"; and the basis thus afforded scientific philosophy is, in this constant assertion of a real though unknown force in the universe, not negative, but broadly affirmative and constructive in its main nature and influence. Doubtless, agnosticism, in its refusal to dogmatize upon the character and intent of this force, offers room for the conclusions of both pessimist and optimist, each of whom, however, is impelled to his peculiar views chiefly by circumstance and inherited tendency, and easily finds excuse for the same in the existing condition of things.

To those who believe that science, so far from aiming at the overthrow of religion, is continually supplying new material on which the wonder-loving mind of man can employ itself, it follows that all the other higher sentiments which spring from, or are closely allied to, the religious, and find expression in the varied forms of art and an improved social state, will also be preserved. We are often told that scientific thought furnishes no adequate motive to either artist or poet; that not only the sanctions of faith and duty, but the ideals of beauty also, must be destroyed, along with belief in their supernatural origin. This is not the place to enter upon a

discussion of the principles of art, or to follow Sir Philip Sidney and Shelley in a new "defence of poetry"; but, admitting that the office of each is the spiritual interpretation of the facts of life, this office is found to have been best fulfilled in the past by those in whom the gift of genius was united to a strong moral sense, and who did not hesitate to assume the burdens, material or spiritual, of their age. There were conditions uprooting to faith and mental peace in Dante's and Angelo's time as in our own, and which bore as marked effect upon belief and moral progress; and the entire period of the Renaissance was marked by awakening doubt and scepticism as plainly as by a rebirth of hope and higher belief. Always, the two go hand in hand,—doubt of old and worn-out error with strong and unflinching faith in the new truth of to-day. It is Lowell who justly condemns those as "nerveless poets" who can find no motive for glad utterance or inspiring fancy in the thought of their own age, and who are continually mourning the past as "the lost opportunity of song." The poor, weak sentiment uttered by one of the pre-Raphaelite school, when he says,—

"I was not born to set the crooked straight,"

and who describes himself as

"The idle singer of an empty day,"

finds no echo in the manful verse of Hosea Biglow, nor any of his honored compatriots in song. What a noble definition of the poet's aim and mission we find in the works of our own Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes, each of whom, in the hour of peril, gladly employed his high talents in the service of justice and national honor! Whittier describes his own work in this respect as that of one

"A dreamer born,
Who, with a mission to fulfill,
Had left the Muses' haunts to turn
The crank of an opinion-mill,
Making his rustic reed of song
A weapon in the war with wrong;
Yoking his fancy to the breaking plough,
That beam-deep turned the soil for truth to spring and grow."

It is natural that the art ideals of the present day should betray the signs of that spirit of intense activity and practical wisdom which rules the age. The artist of to-day is nothing, if not realistic,—a word of very destructive import to many people, who believe that truth is to be found anywhere but in every-day experience. For them, the Madonnas of Raphael and the floating angels of Fra Angelico make up the lasting ideals of the painter's art, beside which the works of the modern artist, who has abandoned belief in both Madonna and angels, and can no longer honestly paint them, appear dull and commonplace. But I find in many of the art productions of our own age abundant prophecy of the worthy results to be attained by art under the lead of a rational philosophy. Such are LePage's "Joan of Arc," the lion-pieces of Riviere, Millet's delineations of the peasant life of France, and the numerous works of our noted landscape painters.

And not only between, but in the lines of much of to-day's poetry, notably that of Tennyson, Browning, and Lowell, we find earnest and thrilling utterance of those truths which are agitating the thought of the day, and shaping it into new forms;—

"As I count our poet him
Whose insight makes all others dim,"

says Browning, while Tennyson stands pre-eminent as the poet who owns

"The faith, the vigor, bold to dwell
On doubts that drive the coward back,
And keen through wordy snares to track
Suggestion to her inmost cell."

The feeling of distrust toward the new philosophy is strongly directed against the supposed evil effect to follow in its practical application to the general conduct and affairs of life. A friend with whom I was once discussing this subject gave a singular illustration of what he deemed the encroaching spirit of modern unbelief, as he fancied he had found it in the changed use and character of children's toys.

With the utmost gravity he pointed out how the present sceptical tendencies of the age had penetrated even to the nursery and toy-shop, where a sentiment of practical utility and common sense now reigns in place of those pleasing fancies and illusions which once constituted the intellectual domain of childhood. Boxes of tools and miniature housekeeping sets replace the sugar hearts and tinsel ornaments of a generation ago, while books of animals and birds and easy travel description crowd the stories of Andersen and Grimm on the shelves of our juvenile libraries. Noah's ark is still retained as a favorite plaything, but manifestly less as an object of religious instruction than as a convenient means of imparting an elementary knowledge of natural history. These signs of growing self-reliance, and a disposition to original research, point to the most dangerous consequences in the mind of my gloomy philosopher, the rapid disappearance of all childlike happiness and sentiment; but there are more hopeful observers of the times, who are interested in the other side of the question, and who welcome the release of the child's mind, along with that of adult manhood, from the reign of credulous fancy and superstition. The superstitions of childhood are as painful to experience and as difficult to remove as those which afflict the world's older intelligence. Thoughtful parents and teachers are beginning to take note of that vast realm of the marvellous which lies within the boundaries of the actual, and to learn that a safer stimulant to the child's imagination is found in the writings of a Lubbock or Grant Allen than in our popular works of romance and adventure. The improved methods in education attest that the new era of mental breadth and freedom brings a peculiar boon to the young; and, though many of the new theories are overlaid with error and extravagance, they cannot but prove widely beneficial in their general result.

The sociological doctrines involved in evolution deter many thoughtful people from a full acceptance of its teachings. The theories of natural selection and the survival of the fittest seem, to the popular mind, to antagonize and set at naught those precepts of mercy and good will laid down in the accepted system of Christian ethics, and to sanction the principle that, in the struggle for existence, as for political preferment, "to the victor belong the spoils." False sentiment has so long usurped the place of reason in the conduct of charitable affairs that any attempt to introduce the more rigorous measures of social science would naturally be regarded at first with considerable distrust. Evolution deals with social problems in the same rational and impartial spirit as with intellectual, its office being not only to devise new and improved methods of work, but to gather up and apply to present uses whatever of truth or good result has been attained in preceding systems. For it is no part of rational philosophy, as many seem to think, to reject and count of little worth the accomplishments of the past. The point of view held by the consistent evolutionist is that of the widest historical survey, where past and present lie mapped before him in one continuous line of progressive achievement. He is a shallow reasoner who does not recognize that the labors and opinions of former ages had as legitimate a part

to play in the world's development as those on which we pride ourselves to-day. The fact that, according to the evolution hypothesis, life is seen to be a competitive struggle, where strength and ability win the day against weakness and inefficiency, gives rise to another grave misconception respecting the nature of scientific philanthropy, one fostered by the intemperate speech of some of its advocates as much as by the prejudice of its opponents, and which warrants to rash conclusion in such minds that among men, as in nature, only the elements of a bold and masterful success should be employed, and that it is man's part to assist nature in crowding the weak to the wall. A more just and careful use of the term nature will save us much needless confusion in this matter. To the evolutionist, the realm of the natural is not confined to the action of those rude, elemental forces which have given shape and being to the universe. Nature includes human nature, that vast range of feeling, knowledge, and aspiration conveyed in the thought of a progressive humanity. The impulses of pity and benevolence are utilized, not rejected, in a true social science. A product of the natural universe, man is also its chief helper, alike the promoter and recipient of those benefits which inhere in a continually unfolding order of nature and society; for

"Nature is made better by no mean
But nature makes that mean: so, over that art
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes."

The fact that, after ages of moral strife and conquest, man has attained his present degree of righteous and enlightened will power is proof that he is bound, by the very laws of his being, to an active participation in the onward movements of his time. The triumphs achieved through industry, patience, and growing skill are the best rewards life offers to man; and the race has its share of such triumphs in every noble impulse and pure affection wrested from selfish appetite, in those graces of mind and character which, springing from low, animal instincts, have now their part to play in the evolution of a still higher and ever-advancing social ideal.

The new thought of the age is as yet an unfinished structure, resembling Giotto's tower, full of rich promise and suggestion, but destined, in the critic's opinion, to remain forever bereft of the final touch of ideal beauty and perfection which should attest the fulfilment of the artist's dream.

"A vision, a delight, and a desire,
The builder's perfect and centennial flower
That in the night of ages bloomed alone,
But wanting still the glory of the spire."

That is the way Longfellow describes it. But turn we now to that most modern of poets, Robert Browning, and note in "Old Pictures in Florence" the use he has made of this same theme, sketching a picture of the unfinished bell-tower as it stands complete and perfect in his poet's vision, and crowned at the top, not with any of the symbols of that mediæval faith for whose use it was first built, but with a very different emblem, the national flag, sign of a resurrected and emancipated Italy.

"Pure Art's birth being still the Republic's."

But here also it is quite likely that the critics will find cause for complaint, drawing only the most melancholy conclusion from the lesson of the past, and protesting against the conversion of the lovely campanile into a flag-staff; but other minds, more open to receive what light of truth and prophecy springs from the world's present thought, will find here a most inspiring suggestion, and the true relation of use and beauty, opposite phases of the same truth, will be taught anew.

One age finishes the work of another. Giotto lays the foundation of a monument of national pride and greatness, which waits for a Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel, with Browning for interpreter, to complete. Thus, the thought of our own age waits for the broader interpretation of an age to come; and, meantime, conviction strengthens that the belief resting on the broad foundations of nature and experience is fitted, above all others, to fulfil man's highest needs, to serve as the pedestal of his strongest hopes and most reasonable desires.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD.

Dear Sir,—The following appeared in the *Sunday Herald* of Dec. 27, 1885:—

"Dr. F. E. Abbot's new book, the *Science of Theism*, confirms the opinion of the few best able to judge that he is the ablest philosophical thinker in America, and that his work seems to be the foundation of that deeper religion of the future, sure to come, which will satisfy both the head and the heart of man."

I think there are many readers of *The Index* who appreciate Dr. Abbot's reasoning in a similar way, and are desirous to know why a "consensus of the competent" cannot "sustain the fundamental positions of the philosophy he defends" (1), and how "his repugnance to certain theories betrays him into a most unjudicial spirit and misleading statements" (2). Why is it that "his main position must prove unsatisfactory to theistic thinkers generally"? (3)

G. H. Lewes (*Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I., Preface, p. ix) says: "I cannot agree that philosophy gains any refuge from difficulties by invoking the Unknowable: though it may admit the existence of the Unknowable, this admission is transcendental, and leaves all the purposes of philosophy unaffected. Deeply as we may feel the mystery of the universe and limitations of our faculties, the *Foundations of a Creed* can only rest upon the Known and Knowable." (4)

Frederic Harrison says, in the *Nineteenth Century*, "Mr. Spencer must remember that, in his religion of the Unknowable, he stands almost alone." (5)

There are, certainly, a number of such competent men who sustain the fundamental principles of Abbot's *Scientific Theism*, and will aid in the noble effort to harmonize science and religion, and to create a philosophy which must be comprehended by all rational beings. (6)

Yours truly,

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N.H., Jan. 20, 1886.

(1) The fundamental position of Mr. Abbot is that we cognize not only our own conscious states, but also the external world; that we actually perceive objective relations and know the universe *per se*. In this position, his disciples ought at least to know that he is not supported by what he would call the "consensus of the competent." There is a general concurrence among modern psychologists and philosophers that our knowledge is limited to our states of consciousness, whether its changing states be due to causes external or internal. Huxley, in stating Descartes' position, also defines his own, when he says that, "whatever the universe may be, all we can know of it is the picture presented by consciousness. This picture may be a true likeness, though how this can be is inconceivable; or it may have no more resemblance to its cause than one of Bach's fugues has to the person that is playing it, or than a piece of poetry has to the mouth and lips of the reciter." Lewes says, "The world is the sum total of phenomena; and phenomena are affections of consciousness, with external signs." John Fiske says that we know only states of consciousness in their relations of coexistence and sequence, likeness and unlikeness; and he adds that this is "one of the best established conclusions of modern psychology." "The consensus of the competent" is not our phrase, nor do we attach the importance to it that Mr. Abbot does. We simply say that it does not support him in his fundamental philosophical position. It has long since pronounced its verdict against this position, and this verdict is not likely to be reversed by Mr. Abbot's restatement of theories and doctrines with which

philosophic minds have long been familiar. His views as to the "consensus of the competent" may be seen in an article on "The Individual at the Bar," in reply to Mr. W. D. Le Sueur, in *The Index* of April 17, 1879.

(2) Our statement in regard to the "unjudicial spirit," etc., of some passages of the work,—a defect which often mars far greater works than this,—can be abundantly sustained by a reference to Mr. Abbot's treatment of the relativity of knowledge, in which he ignores the philosophic distinction, as held by thinkers, between the Knowable and that which, in consequence of incurable limitations, transcends the capacity of the knowing faculties; his treatment of Spencer's philosophy as a "mechanical" theory; his confounding of ancient realism and modern realism, or omission to state their most important difference; and his allusion to agnosticism,—not to speak of other points. We intend ere long, as we stated, to subject some of Mr. Abbot's positions and reasonings to criticism, when the justice of our remark regarding his work will, if we mistake not, be evident enough.

(3) Theistic thinkers, generally, dissent from the fundamental positions that we know the universe *per se*, that the universe is the noumenon, that the universe is an organism (without an environment),—which, however, was the almost universal opinion of antiquity,—and that the intelligibility, real or alleged, of the universe implies that the universe itself is intelligent.

(4) This is substantially the position of Spencer, with whom philosophy is the unification of knowledge, not speculations regarding the "Unknowable." At the same time, while our knowledge is of the relative, because we can only think in relations, it is, Spencer holds, impossible to get rid of the consciousness of an actuality behind appearances that is and must ever be unknown. Spencer's powerful reasonings on this point have not been met by Mr. Abbot.

(5) It is not Spencer's postulation of the Unknowable that Mr. Harrison finds fault with; for he says: "I habitually speak of him [Spencer] as the only living Englishman who can fairly lay claim to the name of philosopher,—nay, he is, I believe, the only man in Europe now living who has constructed a real system of philosophy. Very much in that philosophy I willingly adopt. As a philosophical theory, I accept his idea of the Unknowable." The phrase, "the religion of the Unknowable," has come to convey a false idea of Spencer's position. His clear correction of Mr. Harrison's statements ought not to be disregarded. Spencer has never proposed any object of religion, never suggested that men should worship the Unknowable. In reply to Mr. Harrison's idea that Humanity should be the object of religion, Mr. Spencer points out what has been the object of the religious sentiment in the past, and shows that religious evolution must be along the same line as hitherto. Here, far from standing alone, he has the concurrence of thinkers generally.

(6) A philosophy that can "be comprehended by all rational beings" must be so extremely simple as not to be entitled to the name of philosophy at all. Philosophy is the algebra of thought. It is, as Spencer says, "knowledge of the highest generality." "Knowledge of the lowest kind is ununified knowledge; science is partially unified knowledge; philosophy is completely unified knowledge." Mr. Abbot accepts Spencer's definition of philosophy, when he says that its function "is simply to systemize science as a whole,—that is, to gather up all the special facts and verified truths of the several sciences and rearrange them in one complete, comprehensive, and self-harmonious system" (*Index*, May 6, 1880). Such a philosophy can be "comprehended" only by clear-headed and profound thinkers.

B. F. U.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

Editors of The Index :—

Our continued welfare as a nation and as individuals depends upon the vigilance exercised in looking out for dangers ahead, and by keeping ourselves in harmony with such demands of the times as the best interests of society point out to us. The greatest demand of the times is that the labor question should be settled. This problem, in its different phases, is becoming more and more prominent, as a subject for serious consideration, in the minds of intelligent men and women. It is impossible to overestimate its national importance; for it has assumed a gravity which

every patriotic citizen must view with fear and alarm for the future. Even those who are indifferent to the question, so far as principles of justice and right are involved, should consider it from the stand-point of personal interest; for the law of reflex action arising from social conditions must show them that their welfare is as much at stake as those whom the question more directly concerns. Much has been written and said regarding the respective rights of capital and labor. The latest views of those who have made sociological laws a study, are, that for either to remain on a basis of enduring prosperity, a subserviency to the best interests of the other must be mutually observed. But, every day, their mutual relations grow more strained and antagonistic. Every day, we are confronted with an increasing class of facts which go to show that their difficulties contain no inherent tendency to right themselves. From Maine to California, the newspapers, in their record of daily events, have a large share of their columns monopolized by the reported details of strikes, of lock-outs, and of wages being reduced to starvation prices. We learn of thousands of working men and women who, living under a high degree of civilization never before attained, are utterly unable in any adequate measure to procure for themselves the common necessities of life. There is no need for me to dwell on these things, for it seems to me that they must stand forth with a startling significance before the minds of every intelligent reader of the daily news. And, certainly, he must be a supremely selfish man, who, with a knowledge of these every-day facts, is so wrapped up in what he considers his own individual interests as to refuse to throw the weight of his influence on the side of the cause which toiling millions represent.

Without bringing to our aid any false sentiment to magnify the distressed position which so large a number of the most useful elements in society are forcibly placed in, is it not enough to make that dispassionate philosophy which soars above the clouds of human passion and prejudice despair over humanity's prospective future?

In order to solve the labor problem, we shall have to discover, if possible, what dominant traits there are in man's nature which, if unchecked in their action, will produce the results from which the labor problem has sprung. It seems to me that we must, if we have not done so already, coincide with the views so fully elaborated by Volney in his work, *Les Ruines, ou Méditation sur les Révolutions des Empires*, that cupidity and self-love, unrestrained by the feeling of social obligation, are the motive forces which have given birth to all the varied manifestations of social wrongs and injustices, and which, to-day, we should look up to as being responsible for the vast extent of our labor troubles. Their voices are as potent with the laboring classes as with those who represent financial greatness. These principles were fully exemplified to me several years ago, while being employed as an operative in a pistol shop. The work was let out to contractors, who, in order to do the work assigned them, would hire the necessary number of men and boys. Though they made from two to three hundred dollars per month, the pay of the operatives rarely exceeded one dollar and a quarter per day, and in very many instances ran down as low as fifty and seventy-five cents. As might be expected, this unequal distribution of wages gave rise to many complaints, which were loudest from those who received the lowest pay. But, if by some lucky chance one of the operatives got a sub-contract, making it necessary for him to hire men and boys on his own account, he was sure to immediately put into practice the method of giving the lowest possible pay, which, as a principle, he was so loud to condemn before his position was bettered. The coming struggle must be between the State and this active principle of selfishness. A permanent basis of settlement of the pressing question of labor can never be reached until all individuals in society practically recognize their moral obligation to consider the progressive demands of the body politic as being paramount to their own selfish ones. Educated self-love will alone point out the expediency of pursuing this course. Not until then can we escape an extension of the evils which comparatively few individuals have brought upon the nation, by reaping for their own benefit the harvest which many hands have raised, but have not been allowed to share.

GEORGE H. HADLEY.

CHURCH INFLUENCE.

Editors of The Index :—

In the *Boston Herald* of December 10, among the reminiscences of William H. Vanderbilt, a statement was made that the great millionaire, in conversation about his railroad enterprises with a reporter who had incautiously assumed that they were intended, more or less, for the public benefit, had emphatically replied, "The public be d—d!" and had proceeded elaborately to affirm that his interest was solely in No. 1, and that regard for the public welfare had no share in it.

The *Herald* of the day following stated that "Vanderbilt's uncle was very much exercised when the familiar phrase, 'The public be d—d,' was ascribed to his nephew. 'I don't believe he ever uttered it,' said the old man, indignantly. 'Everybody who knew Will knew he never swore. Perhaps they meant that it was I who said it. It might have been. I do swear sometimes.'"

What strikes me as noteworthy in this affair is that the uncle, while shocked at the particular form of expression attributed to his nephew, seemed neither shocked nor in any degree surprised at the supreme selfishness which was avowed as the sole rule and motive of the nephew's business transactions. The profaneness must be promptly and emphatically repudiated, in vindication of the nephew's character; but the assumption of absolute selfishness as the right rule for business transactions, irrespective of the honesty of the transaction and of the suffering or loss experienced by the other party,—this seems not to have been thought of as needing either repudiation or apology. This was a matter of course; and, when the uncle admitted that the phrase in question might have been his own, since he did sometimes swear, the unscrupulousness therein avowed as the right rule of business seems not even to have been thought of. That was a matter of course for the uncle as for the nephew: how else could men accumulate millions? With both these men, according to the story, No. 1 seemed as thoroughly the sole consideration as it did to Mr. Squeers in his last conversation with Ralph Nickleby.

The view of the comparative objectionableness of the two matters above alluded to is a result of clerical teaching and church influence. The church to which the Vanderbilts belonged is no worse than others in this respect; for it may safely be asserted that nine out of ten members of every orthodox church in the country would receive, from the phrase above quoted, precisely the same impression as the uncle did. The *dashed* word they would immediately recognize as something *sinful*. The principle included in it, as elaborately expressed by the nephew and implicitly adopted by the uncle, would not of itself strike their attention. If their attention were called to it, they would admit it to be objectionable, out of harmony with the sermon on the mount and the golden rule,—not the right thing for a church member; but really, you know, the shocking thing is that a church member should allow himself to use profane language!

C. K. W.

TRAMPS.

Editors of The Index :—

The honest agriculturist asks, in despair, if he is always to be harassed by tramps; and there is only one answer: Until civilization advances to such a condition of refinement that all are influenced by their own intelligence to do exact justice by their fellow-man, tramps will exist; and the more terrible the penalty, the more audacious and reckless they will become. Cain was the first tramp in our record, and the curse inflicted upon him has been a greater evil to every organized community than to his species. Ishmaelites hover on the outskirts of society; and, to every evidence that the hand of man is upon them as a class, they make cruel reprisal. The modern practice of meeting them with shot-gun in hand and a savage mastiff to tear them to pieces only makes them more cunning, more in the spirit to depredate, and therefore more dangerous. The early settlers of New England suffered by tramps far more numerous and dangerous than those of the present time.

The savage Indian, smarting under the sense that his home had been wrested from him by an arrogant race who despised him and viewed him with satis-

faction only when his lifeless carcass rendered him harmless, and classed him with the wild beasts of the forest as *varmint*, to be destroyed at sight, and, in return, the savage cultivated his cruel instincts to return vengeance in kind,—and this was the tramp with whom our New England fore-fathers had to contend; and, so long as hate intensified hatred, the evils aggregated.

But these wild men were susceptible to the influences of practical humanity. There resided on the banks of the Connecticut River, in New Hampshire, near the present locality of Charlestown, a large landed proprietor, who spurned the belief that the land of the pagan was given to his race for an heritage, after the destruction of the inhabitants. He despised the doctrine as high-handed robbery and cruel murder. He scorned its source, and refused to take an agency under the system; but his domain was large, and he wished for neighbors. Wherefore, he constructed a meeting-house open to all. No lock nor latch was upon the door, only a wooden button, which could be turned at will; and he was as much edified by an Indian pow-wow as by Puritan worship, venerating sincerity, regardless of creed. His wood-pile was high and long, and a stone oven was as free to the Indian to cook his game as to the new settler or emigrant to bake bread. This brotherly treatment of the Indian softened his savage nature, and Moses Willard could leave his stock to roam or his farming utensils unhoused, with no fear that Indian tramps would commit a depredation in any form; and his family were as secure as any that resorted to the fort each night for protection.

Would not the dreaded professional tramp be less formidable for evil, if treated more in the spirit of humanity which influenced the good Quaker, Moses Willard, even though not practicable to be as broad in its scope? But there are honest tramps, into whose ranks all may fall, if visited by fire, flood, famine, or fickle fortune in any form, and compelled to leave a scene of thrift and the accumulation of a generation; and, to these, a gentle word or glass of water given in kindness may keep hope alive, and save them from sinking into the ranks of the degraded professional tramp. Then we are all tramps, marching up the incline with an impetuous rush in the din of turmoil and struggle, until the summit is reached, when the decline is made with constantly lessening bustle, and the forward ranks send back no sound to indicate their existence, and the front platoon sinks into silence, soon to be forgotten.

Let no perturbed spirit meet you there with upbraids that your ungenerous reception with shot-gun, savage dogs, and laws of extermination, drowned hope and created a professional tramp, lost to progressive intelligence.

J. F. WETMORE.

ALBANY, N. Y., Jan. 11, 1886.

DETECTIVES' DEMANDS ON EXECUTORS OF WILLS.

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of April 24, 1884, there was an article relating to the evil of the autocratic powers of the District Attorneys in this State, Massachusetts. Since that time, much public interest and action against this evil have been aroused, and some decisive steps taken to relieve it. I wish to call attention in like manner now to another evil which calls for vigorous measures, to the end that individuals, under the cloak of law, may not injure the living and the names of the dead, and get rich so doing.

To demonstrate clearly, I will cite one case, omitting names simply because it was requested. A respected and respectable old gentleman of Boston died some time since, and his only son was named and appointed as executor in the will. To him appeared, early in his labors, a man who presented a bill against the estate for mysterious services rendered by a firm of "licensed private detectives." Inquiry brought the statement that this man was one of this firm claiming pay of the estate. No details were given in the bill, none would be given on request of executor, but threats only of exposure, etc. The son, well knowing the character and life of his dead father, refused wholly to credit that any service had been requested even, much less rendered, and denied the claim, giving the claimant permission speedily to withdraw.

Although it is now some two or three years since

that date, no suit to compel payment of the bill, no further claim by that firm, has been made on the estate. Hence it is clear that no honest claim existed.

This case is one of several known to me; and it seems a particularly mean form of stealing, since, in a large number of cases, it would be likely to succeed in gaining the desired moneys, in making the minds of the friends of the dead uneasy, and in casting suspicion on the lives of those since dead.

It is difficult to see wherein is the demand for such a supply, if the paid police throughout the States do their full duty; and, if any one desires to discover any fact in regard to another which is right and proper for him to inquire into, there is no need of consulting detectives, whether "licensed" or not. Ordinary discretion and patience are enough to gain any ends, as above described. History shows, beyond all question, the evil of systems of espionage in cities, or large bodies of men, since it leads invariably to dishonesty on the part of the spies employed.

JOHN DIXWELL.

BOSTON, MASS.

WHAT JESUS MEANT.

Editors of The Index:—

In your last issue, I noticed, in "A Catholic's Reply to Rabbi Schindler," a quotation from the Douay version of the New Testament, part of which is as follows: "Jesus said to them, Amen, amen, I say to you, before Abraham was made, I am." This is made use of to show the divinity of Jesus or that he claimed to be equal with God.

Now, it seems to me that this view is, to say the least, very superficial, although it is doubtless held by many Protestants as well as Catholics.

When we consider that the name Abraham was often used to designate a particular line of descent, and that, in this case, if understood in any other way, the whole passage referred to would be an absurdity; when, too, we understand that the Jewish nation had long looked for a Messiah who would be a temporal king and leader, and that Jesus never claimed to be such, but evidently believed himself to be the exponent and representative of humanity in its grandest moral and spiritual aspects,—i.e., the Son of Man,—then it is not obvious that the lesson he wished to teach the Jews was simply this: that humanity was older than their particular race or people?

O. L. SPAULDING.

LUNENBURG, Jan. 18, 1886.

MRS. DALL'S "SHAKSPERE."

Editors of The Index:—

Will you allow me to thank Mrs. Underwood, through your columns, for her friendly notice of my "Shakspere" in *The Index* of January 7? No one ought to print a book who is not willing to stand the test of the severest criticism,—nay, who is not grateful for any honest rebuke. But some of the sharp criticisms of the New York press are far from honest. For instance, when Mr. Appleton Morgan, at the beginning of this month, accuses me in the *New York Tribune* of preserving traditions and not adding to the facts, easily accessible, he either had or had not read my book. If he had not read it, he had no right to notice it; if he had, he knew he was not writing the truth, but was misleading his readers. I have not preserved a doubtful tradition, with one exception; and that is not my exception, but Mr. Halliwell-Phillips', as no one knew better than Mr. Morgan. As soon as I discovered that the third edition of the *Outlines* had led me into one serious and several unimportant errors, I submitted my book for correction to two of the best Shaksperean experts in this country, that I might prepare the plates for a second edition. Neither of them pointed out the forged letter of Southampton to Ellsmere. I asked them why. "That is not your error," was the reply. "You had a perfect right to extract it from Halliwell-Phillips, so long as you gave every reader the proper reference." So writes Dr. Ingleby, quoted against me by Mr. Morgan. "You naturally relied upon Halliwell-Phillips," he says, and goes on to tell me of his residence under Halliwell-Phillips' roof, while his own criticisms of the "enclosing of Welcombe" were going on. Mr. Halliwell-Phillips himself laughs at my criticisms of his clumsiness, and invites me warmly to make him a visit. Mr. Dykes Campbell, the secretary of the Browning Club, thinks a large edition of the book can be sold in England.

How different these kindly greetings, from strangers who do not know me, from the sharp injustices of many critics here! It is certainly a very grave carelessness that I could not in my first edition spell Mr. Halliwell-Phillips' name right.

I had excellent proof-readers, who did not discover the error; but nearly every critic who commented on this dire mistake misspelled my own name, though he had my title-page before him! If I live, this little book shall be made so accurate that none of my country women shall be ashamed of it. If I die, I shall still have given to the English student the means of reference to all the facts in Shakspere's life and to their full discussion.

CAROLINE H. DALL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 23, 1886.

DATE OF THE OLDEST BOOKS.

Editors of The Index:—

Will you kindly answer through the columns of *The Index* the following queries. They are asked with a view of settling some points raised in a friendly discussion.

What is the supposed date of the oldest book in the Scriptures? (1)

Are the Scriptures the oldest and most complete literature extant? (2)

If they are not, please name the oldest writings and their date. (3)

A READER.

[(1) The oldest book of the Bible is probably Amos, 800 B.C. (2) The Hebrew Scriptures are not the oldest and most complete literature extant. (3) The oldest, or among the oldest writings, are the Chinese Book of Changes, 1150 B.C., and Book of Rites, of about the same antiquity; the Egyptian Book of the Dead, about 1500 B.C.; and the Indian Rig-Veda (hymns), 1400 B.C. Our authority is *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—B. F. U.]

BOOK NOTICES.

JAPANESE HOMES AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS. By Edward S. Morse. With Illustrations by the Author. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886. Price \$5.00.

Prof. Morse's work is an original monograph,—the first of its kind,—permanent in value, extremely interesting, admitting us to the interior domestic life of the middle classes of the Flowery Empire people in a very curious way. It is a rich and heavy volume of four hundred pages, and its three hundred illustrations are its chief attraction. The scientific precision of the descriptions is such that the book might actually be used by architects as a text-book; and yet the interest of the subjects treated is such, and they are presented in so bright a way, that popular interest is not lessened. The women of England and America can learn much from a study of the Japanese interiors sketched by Prof. Morse. Works like this change the tastes and art-habits of a nation.

The houses of the middle-class Japanese (we learn from Prof. Morse) are mostly one-story structures, unpainted within and without, yet with the stamp of extreme neatness and taste everywhere visible. They are mere frameworks, with their sides composed of sliding screens of white paper to admit the light. The universal verandah has also sliding wooden screens,—or storm-doors, as we should call them,—which are closed at night and during rain. Country houses are almost all thatched; city houses shingled with mere shavings of shingles, attached by bamboo pegs, like our shingle-nails. It follows from the use of all this paper and light combustible material that conflagrations are almost uncontrollable. The most valuable articles are by each family always done up and carried to another part of the town, when a fire breaks out in their neighborhood. Separate fire-proof buildings, called *kura*, heavily coated with mud, are usually in the yards of the well-to-do. During a fire, the streams of water are directed upon the firemen themselves, as they are engaged in tearing down buildings to stop the flames! It is amusing to see Japanese firemen at night on the roofs of burning buildings, with lanterns in their hands.

As there are no windows and doors like ours, so (except in country inns and some country houses) there are no fireplaces. Charcoal is the universal fuel, and the *hibachi* the omnipresent portable charcoal hearth, or box, over which hands and bedding are warmed in winter. The kitchens contain other

kinds of hearths and ranges. A peculiar feature of Japanese homes is their apparent emptiness, as if they were to let. They will have no truck or litter around: coal and wood are kept under the floor (you raising a board when you want them). There are no chairs or tables or beds in a house. The floors are always covered with cool, clean straw mats; and, on these mats, people eat, sleep, and die. They both receive guests and eat their food in a kneeling posture, resting the body on the knees and the haunches on the heels,—a painful position to foreigners. Food is served on lacquered trays. No clogs are worn in the house: it would ruin the mats. For bedding, padded comforters are laid on the floor, and others like them serve for covering: they are rolled up in the morning, and laid in closets. The Japanese interior decorations are exquisite in quiet reserve of tone. They keep their paintings and bric-à-brac, not on the walls or on tables, but in closets and drawers, hanging one or two at a time on the walls. For flower decorations, they will place in a vase a single spray of wild cherry blossom rather than a huge clump of murdered flowers. They will work into their room wood-work bits of wreck, burls, natural posts, etc., and are free in invention, endless in original designs,—the first requisite of great art, as Ruskin shows in the Gothic workmen. They observe another rule of great art,—avoidance of base bilateral symmetry (p. 135).

The old-gold screens, used in the rooms to obtain privacy when the *shōji*, or sliding screens, are rolled back, are well known to be marvels of decorative painting. "The six-panelled gold screen," says Prof. Morse, "is, beyond all question, the richest object of household use for decorative purposes ever devised. . . . On certain festival days, it is customary for the people, bordering the wider thoroughfares, to throw open their houses and display their screens." Prof. Morse, in speaking of a house where he was often received as a guest, mentions the perfect harmony of the tinted walls; the screens with their curious, free-hand ink-drawings, "or conventional designs on the paper of so subdued and intangible a character that special attention must be directed to them to perceive their nature"; the clean and comfortable mats; and the natural woods composing the ceiling. And then he draws a contrast between this exquisite taste and the taste that leads us to stuff our parlors with everything under the sun, disposed in the crudest and most barbaric fashion,—dusty carpets, suffocating wall-paper, and labyrinth of close-smelling varnished furniture. He prefers the Japanese taste, and with justice; though, in general, we think his enthusiasm for things Japanese a little biased and undiscriminating. Why certain of the Daimios of Tokio have built houses in the foreign style, for the transaction of their business with foreigners, was a puzzle to Prof. Morse, until he saw the manner in which a foreigner was likely to behave on entering one of their own dwellings: "If he did not walk into it with his boots on, he was sure to be seen stalking about in his stockinged feet, bumping his head at intervals against the *kamoi* [lintel], or burning holes in the mats in his clumsy attempts to pick up coals from the *hibachi* [charcoal-hearth], with which to light his cigar. Not being able to sit on the mats properly, he sprawls about in attitudes confessedly as rude as if a Japanese in our apartments were to perch his legs on the table," etc.

In nearly every house are either Shinto or Buddhist shrines, containing image, lamp, and offerings. "In front of these shrines, one may often see the inmates of the house bow their heads, clap their hands, and then, rubbing the palms together in an imploring gesture, pray with much earnestness. . . . Among the intelligent classes, the household shrine seems to be provided for the female members of the family only, the men having outgrown these superstitions. And it was interesting to observe that, in Japan, as elsewhere, the women—being as a rule less informed—made up the majority of those attending public worship."

"A household shrine to which the children pay voluntary and natural devotion is the birds' nests built within the house," generally in the most frequented room or portion of the shop. A little shelf is placed beneath the nest to protect the mats, and the gentle Japanese children watch the processes of nest-building and rearing of the young with curious eyes.

The elaborate tea-ceremonies, and tea-houses especially built for these occasions, are very odd features

of Japanese social life. "Many books are devoted to the exposition of the different schools of tea-ceremonies." But it would be an injustice to Prof. Morse, were we to pilfer any more of his honey. We have nefariously come away with bucket filled, it is true; yet have scarcely given a hint of what is left. And the general impression remaining with us is that the author, with characteristic alertness and energy, has used the two years of his university professorship at Tokio, and his three trips to Japan, to as much advantage as many others would have taken half a dozen years to utilize. W. S. K.

THE CONFESSORIAL EXPOSED, as it exists in the Church of Rome and the Church of England. By Saladin, editor of the *Secular Review*. London: W. Stewart & Co., 41 Farrington Street, E.C. pp. 92.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, having shown "how procuresses, pimps, panderers, and policemen, according to their different vocations and capacities for evil, had entered into an only too successful conspiracy to offer our womankind for sale on the shambles of lust, and generally to debauch the tone and temper of our times," the author of the pamphlet endeavors to prove that those who, in the wilderness of social blight, turn to the Church as to the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, trust only to be deceived. The work is based in part upon "The Priest in Absolution," issued in 1866, under the auspices of the Holy Cross. It is much to the credit of Saladin that several pages of his evidences are printed in Latin. Such filth can hardly fail to corrupt the imagination of the average reader.

MY GIRLS. By Lida A. Churchill. No. 2 of D. Lothrop & Co.'s Household Library. Paper covers. Price 50 cts.

This is a pleasantly told story of the friendships, loves, misfortunes, and independent pluck of four exceptionally bright girl telegraph operators out of employment, who formed themselves into a co-operative housekeeping association, and some of whom achieved success. There is evidence of crudity of thought and of youthful inexperience of the real world in these pages, but they are never dull; and, though some optimistic readers may object to the death of two of the most interesting and unselfish characters of the book, yet the remarkable successes attained by the other members of this group of "my girls" partly atone for the hard fate dealt out to the other characters.

PARLOR VARIETIES. Part II. Being the Second Series of Plays, Pantomimes, and Charades. By Emma E. Brewster and Lizzie B. Scribner. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. Paper. Price 30 cts.

This will be found a useful help in village lyceum and dramatic associations as well as in private theatricals. The following plays, etc., are given: "The Lover's Stratagem," parlor play; "Zekiel's Courtship," pantomime; "Bouquet of Rare Spirits," musical; "Cinderella," burlesque pantomime; "Dialogue for Five Little Girls"; "Beresford Benevolent Society," a short play; "The Rumseller's Exhibit," tableaux, with descriptive lecture and songs; "The Bachelor who lived by himself," pantomime; "That Boy Tom," parlor play; "Who Wins?" a one-act play; "Carboline," a one-act play.

"MIND" for January commences its eleventh volume, to which is appended a copious index to the ten completed volumes. These constitute a most complete record of the best recent thought by the foremost thinkers in the wide range of the various departments of mental science, and contain essays from some of the ablest writers in this country as well as in Europe. In the present number, the first essay is by John Dewey, giving a very clear and rational view of "The Psychological Stand-point" in mental inquiry. Prof. Karl Pearson contributes an interesting account of the peculiar philosophic views of Eckhart, the celebrated German mystic. William Mitchell treats upon "Moral Obligation." Joseph Jacobs argues for "The Need of a Society for Experimental Psychology." Prof. G. Stanley Hall and Joseph Gastrow, of Johns Hopkins University, contribute some "Studies of Rhythm." James McKeen Cattell treats of "The Time it takes to see and name objects." H. M. Stanley discusses "Feeling and Emotion." Carneth Read reviews Mr. Mercier's "Classification of Feelings." The other essays are one "On the Analysis of Comparison," by F. H. Bradley; and "Notes on Aristotle's Psychology." Among the reviews are one

on *The Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides by I. Abrahams; and of Ribot's *Les Maladies de la Personnalité*, by James Sully. The list of new books noticed is very full. Williams & Norgate, London, are the publishers.

In the *Andover Review* for January, Prof. Ladd, of Yale College, continues the discussion of the Harvard method of education opened by Prof. Palmer. Prof. Asa Gray, in connection with the memoir of Prof. Agassiz, recently published, presents a delightful sketch of the earlier or European portion of his life. Rev. F. H. Johnson considers "Revelation as a Factor in Evolution." Prof. Stearns furnishes a summary of the conceptions involved in the doctrine of atonement. A new department in the *Review* is opened by Prof. Churchill, under the title "Expositions of Contemporary Church Architecture." It is proposed to review several modern churches as books are reviewed. The first editorial is concerning the need which exists for the enlargement of the agencies and activities of local churches. An abstract of the recent Encyclical of Leo XIII. is given in a second editorial, with some comments. A third editorial replies to a communication to the *Review*, from Dr. Todd, of New Haven, commenting upon the last article on "Progressive Orthodoxy." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1, 1885	114,865	\$351,815,941.07	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1, 1886	120,952	\$368,981,411.36
Risks Assumed	14,334	46,507,139.16	Risks Terminated.....	8,247	29,341,638.87
	129,199	\$398,323,080.23		129,199	\$398,323,080.23

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To balance from last account.....	\$97,009,913.08	By paid to Policy Holders:	
" Premiums.....	14,768,901.83	Endowments and	
" Interest and Rents.....	5,446,052.35	Purchased Insurance	
		Dividends and Annuities.....	\$5,270,116.34
		Deceased Lives.....	3,211,900.00
			5,920,033.56
			\$14,402,049.90
		" Other Disbursements:	
		Commissions and	
		Commutations.....	\$1,228,679.84
		Taxes.....	266,656.50
		Expenses.....	991,954.14
			2,487,290.48
		" Premium on Stocks and Bonds	
		Purchased.....	469,882.87
		" Balance to new account.....	99,865,644.11
	\$117,224,867.36		\$117,224,867.36

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force or terminated.....	\$103,846,213.00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on	
" Premiums received in advance	50,080.73	Real Estate.....	\$49,228,930.16
" Surplus at four per cent.....	5,012,633.78	" United States and other Bonds..	39,366,104.00
		" Loans on Collaterals.....	3,856,500.00
		" Real Estate.....	10,992,720.45
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest.....	2,619,643.21
		" Interest accrued.....	1,217,329.85
		" Premiums deferred and in transit	1,438,189.55
		" Sundries.....	189,550.29
	\$108,908,967.51		\$108,908,967.51

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement, and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

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New York, January 20, 1886.

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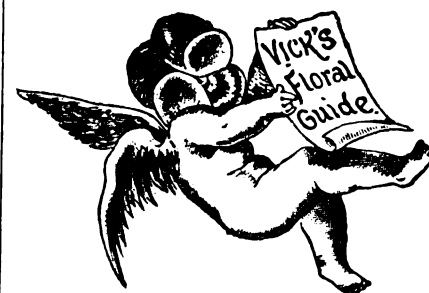
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

COMPLAINT comes from the Hindus that the idols sent them from Birmingham, Eng., are of poor quality; that the wood of which they are made is cross-grained, and covered with a cheap mineral paint, which comes off when the devotees kisses them. Besides, they say the designs are ugly.

REFERRING to the recent discussion at the Nineteenth Century Club between Presidents McCosh and Eliot, a contemporary says, "It will be time enough to insist upon teaching religion in the schools and colleges when the religionists agree among themselves as to what the truths of religion are."

THE Worthington Company, 28 Lafayette Place, New York, announce that they will soon issue Mr. Swinburne's study of Victor Hugo. Swinburne was an ardent admirer, almost a worshipper, of the French poet; and this wreath to his memory, woven by a personal friend and fellow-poet, is a masterpiece of eulogy.

A FEW days ago, in a town near New Haven, a man in a state of religious frenzy attempted, to use his own language, "to cut across lots to heaven" by hanging himself; but the rope broke, and instead of arriving at the celestial regions for which he started, as he imagined, this impatient fellow came more closely in contact with the earth than he was before he made the experiment of trying to "cut across lots to heaven."

THE Philadelphia Record thinks that professional educators and the public are more and more coming to believe that theological dogmas are out of place in a college, that this change, in the absence of some reaction arising out of unknown conditions, is likely to go on increasing in a geometrical progression; and "that colleges which used to have compulsory prayers twice a day will have no compulsory service at all is predictable for this reason."

PROF. AUSTIN PHELPS, in the *Congregationalist*, endeavors to answer a question as to the duty of a Christian stockholder in a railroad whose directors run trains on Sunday. The question is, "If it is wrong for me to take my dividends, is it right for me, by selling out, to tempt my neighbor to take them?" Prof. Phelps does not think the stockholder should decline to accept his dividends. "What is that," he asks, "but giving his property outright to the support of a Sabbath-breaking community?" As the *Springfield Republican* remarks, "The professor sees the point, and fights shy of it."

THE cabinet Mr. Gladstone has succeeded in forming is composed of men of intellectual strength and vigor. John Morley, secretary for Ireland, and Charles Russell, the new attorney-general, will undoubtedly, with the premier, favor Irish home rule. The dominant spirit of the cabinet is radical. The omission of the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Derby, and Sir Charles Dilke is noticeable. The first two cannot for the present indorse the new administration's proposed policy on the Irish question; and the name of the last rests under a cloud, which, it is hoped, however, will be dispelled by evidence to be brought forward in the divorce court, in which case Sir Charles will probably receive the appointment of foreign secretary.

THE Boston Herald, referring to the decision of Judge Shepard of Chicago as to the competency of people to testify in court who believe neither in a personal God nor in future rewards and punishments, remarks that such men—conscientious atheists and agnostics—have "had to stand aside and see miserable whiskey-drinking, fighting, swindling scoundrels devoutly kiss the book, and then lie away the fortunes and good name of honorable men. At last, thank heaven, the day has come when the more intelligent public, with sound judges to back them, declare outright they will not stand this sort of thing any longer. And now that honest men who devoutly respect the pure tribunal of conscience are, in many of our States, beginning to be put on the same high level of privilege with habitual liars and thieves, who must be terrified into telling the truth piecemeal with superstitious fears, is it too much to hope that the same even-handed justice may in due time be extended even to the brute creation?"

WHY do the orthodox clergy as a class oppose the opening of museums, picture galleries, and libraries on Sunday? Their Master never said that all places of instruction and amusement should be closed on that day, and that the churches only should be attended. The Bible does not contain a passage to the effect that Sunday should be observed as an exceptionally sacred day. Even in regard to the Jewish Sabbath, Jesus said, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." But the orthodox clergy and press are, to all appearances, as much opposed to open museums, art galleries, etc., as to open whiskey and beer saloons on Sunday. Nothing will satisfy them but church attendance; and anything in their

opinion tending to lessen this they persistently oppose in the name of religion and morality, and invoke the civil authority to aid them whenever possible, whether they can cite the words of Jesus on their side or not. How much shall be credited to disinterested devotion to truth and morality, and how much to devotion to their personal and professional interests?

DR. P. W. MOSHLECH, scientist and the master of ten languages, died last week at the Erie (Pa.) County almshouse, in his seventy-ninth year. He was a Prussian by birth. He graduated with high honors from the University of Bonn, made medicine a specialty, and practised several years in Paris; turned his attention to science, and afterwards to the languages. He numbered among his friends many illustrious men, and among them Darwin and Victor Hugo. At the beginning of our war, he visited this country, and accepted a position as professor of Greek and Hebrew in Bethany College, West Virginia, which he held but a short time, owing to the war excitement. He subsequently practised medicine in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and wrote for scientific publications. He was so much interested in his work that he neglected to make provision for his old age; and, when he could no longer pursue his profession, this man, who had associated with the most learned men of Europe, was compelled to apply to a poor-house for shelter and bread. Even after he entered the almshouse, he prepared a number of young men for college, and lectured occasionally before the Erie Historical Society. Although he died a pauper, he was more worthy of honor than Vanderbilt.

JOSEPH ARCH was recently dined at the National Liberal Club in London, by five hundred gentlemen. The host sat in broadcloth and evening dress, but the laborer's champion and representative adhered to his homely suit of gray. The home of the Prince of Wales, Sandringham Palace, is in Mr. Arch's constituency. This fact led Mr. Chamberlain at the banquet to say: "If anything could add to the cordiality with which you will receive that toast, it may be the fact that the Prince is one of the constituents of my friend on the right," adding, when the laughter and cheers had subsided, "The royal family has, however, higher claims upon our consideration." The *Ottawa Free Press* remarks: "Time brings its revenges. Not many years ago, a bishop of the State Church proposed that Mr. Joseph Arch should be ducked in a horse pond as an agitator; and the London Times, with characteristic short-sightedness, held the farm laborers' movement up to public ridicule. To-day, the same Joseph Arch sits in Parliament, by virtue of having defeated a lord as the Tory candidate, and the farm laborers, through their capture of the country constituencies, have turned a Tory government out of office. To those who take stock in the ravings of the London Times upon the Irish question, we commend a study of the result of its opposition to the farm laborers' movement."

THE NEW MORMON BILL.

The Index, through its editorial notes, has condemned more than once the iniquity of Senator Edmunds' new measure for suppressing polygamy, which has already passed the Senate, and now awaits the action of the Congressional House of Representatives. This measure should never become a law; at least, it should not unless the radical and central principle of it, its heart, be first cut out of it. There may be some features of the bill that would aid in enforcing existing acts, and to which no sound objection can be urged; but the important part of it, the proposition that would place the property and business management of the Mormon Church in the hands of trustees appointed by the President of the United States, annulling all power of that Church as a corporate body, if we rightly understand the measure, is an amazing piece of legislation to be seriously offered in this country. No attempt, probably, will be made to find any precedent for it. As Liberals, however, this fact of novelty does not trouble us. The amazing fact is the cool way in which the bill proposes that the United States shall go into the business of running a church. And how the United States government is going to do this without running counter to that clause of the Constitution which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," is a problem that greatly perplexes us.

We have looked in vain to see how this point was met in the senatorial discussion of the matter. It must necessarily be assumed that such able and experienced lawyers as Edmunds, Evarts, Sherman, Hoar (the latter only voting in the negative because of the reactionary clause abolishing woman suffrage), must have considered this question, and also that to their minds there is no constitutional obstacle in the way of the law. Their opinions are certainly entitled to great weight; but it were to be wished that they had elucidated this difficulty more clearly. Senator Morgan, of Alabama, has offered a resolution in the Senate setting forth the unconstitutionality of the proposed legislation; and, if this comes up for passage, some of the prominent constitutional lawyers who voted for the bill will have an opportunity for enlightening the public in this particular, which, we hope, they will not let slip.

Doubtless, the Senators who voted for the bill—and they made a large majority of the Senate, without distinction of party—intended to discriminate between the Mormon Church as a religious body, holding property for purposes of worship and other objects ordinarily regarded as strictly religious, and the Mormon Church as violating United States laws in the practice of polygamy; but the proposed bill does not clearly indicate this line of distinction. Its motive and basis, as we gather them from a careful reading of the bill, seem to be rather to discipline and punish the Mormon Church as a church, because it teaches polygamy and because some of its members practise polygamy, and a portion of its revenues may go to uphold this illegal practice. It may be that the Senators have positive information that the Territorial laws which this Congressional Act is intended to annul were passed with the direct purpose of sustaining polygamy. If so, Congress would have clear authority to annul the laws, and should do it, since they are in conflict with United States laws. But nowhere have we seen this reason stated. And, if this were the case (and no other supposition ought to be possible), all that would follow would be that the laws in question should be annulled, and the corporate business of

the Church as legalized by them should be closed up, and not at all that the business affairs of the Church should be managed by the national government.

We have always taken the ground, in these columns, that United States laws for the suppression of polygamy in Utah are entirely legitimate; and we sustained the previous Edmunds bill, which is now in operation in that and other Territories, as clearly within national jurisdiction. This we have done not only in the interest of morality, but in the interest of liberty and human progress. The Mormon Church has as clear a right as any other to hold such doctrines and institute such forms of worship as the convictions of its members demand. Equal religious freedom is fundamentally guaranteed in the United States Constitution, and should be guarded throughout the country as a sacred right. But this principle must be interpreted in terms that are not opposed to the civilization and humanity of the age. There are certain things that have been practised as religious rites in past ages and among barbarous peoples who have not been much affected by modern enlightenment, which no highly civilized nation can allow within its domain, under shelter of the plea of religious liberty. Widow-burning, the sacrifice of children, the cruel flagellations practised upon each other by the fanatical sect of the *Penitentes*,—these are acts which every civilized government should abolish as crimes, no matter what claims may be made for them in the name of religious creeds. Polygamy, in this country, has been made a crime of this class, though less immediately cruel than others of its kindred; and to permit it under the plea of religious conviction is to step backward toward barbarism. What the national government, pledged to religious freedom, has to do in respect to all such acts is not to yield any point which civilization has gained, but, in the name of liberty, to emancipate the victims from the thralldom of such superstitions as take the form of practical violence to human rights.

But, because the government is bound by a moral obligation, which the highest civilization imposes, to prevent Mormon polygamy, even though it claim the protection of a religious creed, it is also bound to be specially careful to respect all those religious rights and privileges which the Mormon Church has in common with all other churches and sects in the country. Mormonism, in its general creed, is not unlike the popular forms of evangelical Christian belief; and, aside from polygamy,—and it draws warrant for that from the Old Testament,—it is entitled to the same protection through the laws which is accorded to these sister faiths. The United States may possibly find that the practice of polygamy, though not originally a part of the Mormon creed, has become such a pronounced and central object of the existence of the Mormon Church that Congress would be justified in taking away from that Church the charter it has received from the Territorial legislature. But nothing could justify so anomalous and monstrous a step as that of the United States government taking possession of the property and revenues of the Church, and managing them for the Church. If this can be done under any pretext for the Mormon Church, it might be done under some pretext for the Catholic Church, or for the Methodists, or any of the Protestant denominations, in the Territories and the District of Columbia; and the State legislatures might follow the example in the several States. Indeed, the government might have such success in managing church revenues and doing ecclesiastical business that all the de-

nominations would be petitioning to have their financial affairs taken under governmental control. And, as a matter of equal justice, the rule should be all or none. As the national Constitution now stands, the rule is none. When the Constitution says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," we submit that it says pretty plainly that it shall not make a law giving the President the right to appoint trustees to conduct the business of any church. In time, a church thus distinguished might come to have a special prestige. In fact, the Senate has taken a step toward having an established religion in this country; and it is Mormonism!

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

I.

First Stage.

In considering the Southern Problem, an error of time is apt to lead to an imperfect understanding of its real nature. The common opinion is that it originated after the abolition of slavery and the close of the War. But this is a grave misapprehension. The War and the abolition of slavery were shoots from a common stock or source. This common stock or source was the union under one government of two contrary social systems. The problem is as old, therefore, as the Constitution of 1787. This instrument united free institutions and free labor to their opposites. The jealousies, irritations, and fears which sprang from this unnatural alliance gave rise to sectionalism, the slavery question, and to what in our day is called the Southern Problem. Difference of name is of no consequence. Fundamental opposition between the two parts of which the Republic was formed constituted then, and constitutes now, the root of the evil. It is this social antithesis with which we must interest ourselves, if we would obtain any clear insight into the present phase of an old trouble. Under the operation of economic laws, it became the foment of dissension, a principle of division. The problem from the adoption of the Constitution was how to mediate between counter impulses of opposing systems. Thus endowed, each must necessarily develop according to its own laws, and bring forth fruit after its own kind. But, with every accretion of the one or expansion of the other, the difficulty of averting collision would grow graver and more grave. No one believed at the formation of the Constitution that permanent peace could follow such an ill-starred conjunction. The fathers looked confidently for the solution of the problem to the ultimate extinction of the weaker or Southern system. To the grand divorce court of time they appealed. But Death, the stern judge in that court, suddenly relented toward the South; and the day of final settlement was indefinitely postponed.

Arkwright's invention of the spinning machine, which increased the demand for raw cotton, and Whitney's of the cotton gin, which multiplied the supply, breathed fresh life into the Southern system. Slave labor rapidly appreciated in value, and African slavery awoke as from the dead. As the tide of agricultural prosperity flowed in upon the South, the frontier posts of freedom were pushed steadily back upon the North. The boundary lines between the two civilizations became clearer and more clear. The hopes of the founders were dashed; and the problem, which had seemed to them in a natural and advanced stage of solution, grew dark and baffling.

The purchase of Louisiana is an instance of the inclination of misfortunes to flock together. Slav-

ery must needs have plenty of room. Otherwise, it will decline. Free labor is able to flourish upon a small fraction of the ground-space which is required for the maintenance of slave labor. To the Southern system, therefore, the acquisition of Louisiana was of the highest moment. New and vast regions thus made its extension and expansion possible, and confirmed its new lease of life. The wings of a great social reaction brooded over the Republic. The Southern idea, which the fathers believed to be in the way of early extinction, had rallied, contrary to the expectations of the doctors, and rushed with the hot blood of new hopes and passions into aggressive and tumultuous activity.

It was not long before the jealousies and irritations consequent upon this reaction appeared in national politics. The South was in possession of the government and the shaper of its policy. The embargo and the restrictive measures of Jefferson's administration, which had fallen with disastrous effect upon New England, were not calculated to allay the ill-will which was rising against the slave representation clause of the Constitution. The South, through it, enjoyed undue benefits and exercised undue power in the Union. It should, therefore, be shorn of them, and a new balance struck between the sections,—a balance that should correspond in reality to the political equities of the North. So New England reasoned. The Hartford Convention was the first encounter of the skirmish lines of the two systems. The fierce conflict over the admission of Missouri came five years later. If the contest on the part of the South at this juncture was migratory, that of the North was a struggle for self-preservation. The southern hive was swarming. Wherever a swarm alighted, a slave State would begin to grow. With its admission, new perils would arise to the free States and their institutions. With this danger impending, the injustice of the slave representation clause of the Constitution grew intolerable. Free men, and no others, should now be counted in the apportionment of representatives to new States. The free States invoked the original policy of the Republic to resist the reactionary movement. There must be no more slave States. On this ground, the North gave battle to the South. It was the first of our hundred years' war.

The combatants were so equally matched, and the consequences of the contest seemed so alarming, that both sides agreed to end it by mutual concessions and covenants. The Missouri Compromise restored peace and pledged the sections to harmony. Behind the 36° 30' boundary wall which the Compromise erected, the North rejoiced in its security against all future invasions of the slave power. At last, the problem was solved. A simple division line had vanquished the Sphinx. And the dear fathers,—how singular!—why did they not think of this wonderful device? Ah! why did they not?

The whole country turned now from this battlefield to other pursuits and interests,—to the consideration of purely economic and non-sectional questions, internal improvement, encouragement of manufactures, construction of national highways, completion of national systems of defence and finance,—to the doing, in short, with might and main whatever tended to increase the material and political greatness of the Republic.

But the enemy was sowing amid all these grand co-operative efforts the germs of contention. The new friends were to discover, at the end of their generous rivalry, old antagonisms ready to renew the ancient feud. The old grudge lurked in bank and tariff. The bright apples of a deceitful

peace turned to dust and ashes. The fiscal action of the Union threw the industrial machinery of the South into confusion. Public distress sprang up in crops everywhere, and a general explosion and collapse seemed imminent. Certainly, the ability of a common government to legislate for contrary social systems looked dubious enough. The tariff which nourished the North poisoned the South. The difference between the sections was positive, fundamental, and of kind. They were not "hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means." How, then, could they be ruled by the same laws? This was the Sphinx's riddle.

No marvel that the South demanded that the fires of this great fiscal engine be raked out, and that the tariff policy of the nation be reversed! But, if the continued operations of the machine, at its then speed, involved wide-spread ruin to the South, its sudden stoppage could mean no less to the North. And so it was a matter of life and death, whichever side prevailed. Awful, indeed, is the crashing together of two civilizations in the battle for survivorship. Neither could prevail and the Union, also; and, as this must be maintained at any cost, there were mutual surrenders again, and a fresh compromise. The fiscal fires were banked, and the breaks called into use.

At the conclusion of this second contest, the South was left in an extremely precarious condition,—its agricultural and commercial interests prostrated and its political ascendancy imperilled. Exhausted and anxious, there was no longer any doubt that, in the race of life, it was lagging behind its rival. Self-confessed, it was the weaker system. Its ultimate existence demanded of its sons fresh safeguards,—some weapon of defence that, in the darkening future, would enable it to protect its peculiar institutions, and preserve its federal position from that strong undertow of freedom which was wasting both. The leader who, more than any other, understood its needs, who was the incarnation of its spirit, invented the weapon. Nullification and State sovereignty Calhoun placed within reach of the slave power. There, for twenty years, he kept them,—the bow bent and the arrow ready for flight.

But this was not enough. The supremacy of the South within the Union must be newly fortified. There must be some additional offset to the superiority of the North in wealth and numbers. By the simple action of natural laws, that section had attained a majority in the lower House,—the slave representative clause of the Constitution, notwithstanding.

Texas, struggling for independence at this juncture, offered to the South an opportunity to repair this balance. Texas, with its vast areas and vaster pretensions, was, indeed, no ordinary object. Its acquisition was so absolutely necessary to the ultimate security of the slave system that it is no marvel that the existence of the Union was staked upon the issue. Texas was admitted. But the South, drunk with its success, and imagining that the iron of a still greater opportunity was hot, struck for more territory. The sparks kindled the Mexican war, and fired the free States to uncompromising resistance to any further aggrandizement of the slave power. The combatants grappled in a long and bitter conflict for mastery.

The result evinced the superior strength of the North. Oregon, California, and New Mexico were held as by a giant's grip, which no menace or assault or fury on the part of the South was able to break for an instant.

Upon the dying vision of Calhoun, the impossibility of preserving the union of two irreconcilable systems under the government established by the

fathers broke with a sort of despairing light. The wisest leaders of the North began to foresee that the conflict was irrepressible.

The party who loses is always ready to dissolve the copartnership. Not so, however, with him who gathers the profits. He is content to let well enough alone. "The Union,—it must, it shall be preserved," became the watchword of the North. "The Union,—it must, it shall be destroyed," became in like manner the watchword of the South. Blinded by passion, it pressed forward over every concession interposed by the North to the final plunge into the gulf of disunion. Vain were the magic of a fresh compromise and the repeal of an old one to avert the catastrophe. Escape there was none. And the two irreconcilable social systems crashed together in the storm of Civil War.

A. H. GRIMKE.

COMIC THEOLOGY.

As in the theatrical profession, so in the theological profession, there are various kinds of performers. There are those who do the high tragedy and the low comedy, some the singing, others the pantomime, and others, again, the *bouffe*. The pay varies, too, according to the talent and the drawing power. The performer who fills the house gets the most money. As there are Beechers, Pattons, Crosbys, and men like them, to play the higher parts, so there are Moodys, Talmages, and Sam Joneses to tumble in the saw-dust. Mr. Moody has just been playing a couple of weeks' engagement in Chicago, and his comic religion drew enormous crowds. To prevent people being crushed to death in the struggle to get into the tabernacle to hear this travelling expounder, the admission was by ticket only; and even the ticket-holders were required to be in their seats fifteen minutes before the beginning of the service, under pain of losing them. Persons who called at noon on Saturday to get tickets for Sunday morning's meeting found a string of disappointed men and women ahead, who were already too late. Every ticket was gone, although the tabernacle will hold nearly three thousand people. This will give an idea of Mr. Moody's popularity,—a popularity which is a great humiliation to learned and intellectual ministers of the gospel, whose dignified and eloquent discourses are treated with contempt by their congregations, who flock to hear the egotistical comedy of a popular "evangelist." More bitter still, those ministers are compelled outwardly to approve a performance which they inwardly dislike and condemn. The fun begins with Mr. Moody's rambling comments on the different sentences in the text, as he reads it; and he mixes up the text and comment in such a bewildering way that it is not easy to tell without the aid of a Bible which is Moody and which is Moses. On the first Sunday of his engagement, the text was from the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus; and here's the way he read it:—

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering; of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering. And this is the offering which ye shall take of them,—gold and silver, and brass. If you have not gold to give, why, you are to give silver; and, if you have neither, then brass will be just as good in the sight of the Lord, if it is given willingly. What God wants is heart service. And blue and purple and scarlet and fine linen and goat's hair. I have always been glad that goat's hair has been put in there. Any one can get goat's hair. That baby in its mother's arms can bring a few goat's hairs. You can go out on some of the back streets and

get two or three or a dozen goat's hairs from the people who have the goats. And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins and shittim wood, oil for the light, spices for anointing oil and for sweet incense, onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod and in the breast-plate, and let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them. And the result was God came and dwelt with them."

This curious text, as it reads here, is not half so ravelled up as it actually was by Mr. Moody. This is the way it reads in the *Chicago Times*, of Monday, after it had been put into grammar shape by the reporter for the paper. When it has been carefully separated, and we have rendered unto Moses the parts of it that belong to him, and to Moody the parts that belong to Moody, it will be noticed that there is not much difference in the quality of the ingredients, and that one is as valuable as the other.

The sermon began with a complaint, probably well founded, that the majority of Christians are what we used to call in the army "malingerers," fellows who were always on hand for rations, but never on hand for duty; who rode in the wagons on the march, and scented the battle afar off, but never got there. "There is a false idea abroad," said Mr. Moody, "that a few in the church must do all the work. The others say they have not the talent, and are continually asking the Lord not to send them." This is curiously like the malingerers; and we agree with Mr. Moody that they might at least offer a few goat's hairs, and even a whole goat occasionally, or a few stones to set in the "ephod." The ephods are sadly out of repair.

In the opinion of sane people, ignorance and weakness of mind are infirmities fraught with evil; and, to-day, the genius of all virtue is at work trying to cure them. Yet evangelists assure us that those defects are necessary, in order to understand God, and that without them preaching is all in vain. "For six thousand years," said Mr. Moody, "God has been using weak things that were despised of men to help his work along. One drop of God's strength is worth a ton of intellectual power. What is needed to preach successfully is supernatural power." Of the scores of intellectual ministers of the gospel in Chicago, where this was said, there is probably not one who will dare to contradict it publicly; and, therefore, they must all be considered as approving it. What a commentary is this upon their religion! It cannot be advanced by intellectual power. It must have supernatural aid or perish. It will not avail them to say that this is only the extravagant boasting of an ignorant man jealous of preachers who were educated in the colleges, and who have trained their minds by study. They indorse it by their silence, and by it their preaching and their doctrine must be judged. They concede the implied claim of Mr. Moody that he has been touched by the Holy Spirit, and that a tongue of fire has fallen upon him as it fell upon the other apostles on the day of Pentecost.

Wisdom can never be a disadvantage in the propagation of any truth,—religious, moral, or physical. Yet Mr. Moody said that "God took up the foolish, the weak, and the despised to do his work with." Why? Why should the "foolish" be better advocates of religion than the wise? In all the rest of his government, God uses wisdom and the wise as his most efficient agents. Why should he make an exception in the matter of religion and use "the foolish" there? Does Mr. Moody mean to say that his religion is itself foolishness, and that, therefore, the preaching of "the foolish" is most in harmony with it? If not, why does he

exalt folly as a missionary agent, and sneer at "intellectual power"?

Mr. Moody has a playful way of changing Scripture, and making revised versions as he goes along. He informed the vast congregation that, when Moses "was sent down into Egypt to free his brethren, he did not plead his inability to cope with the king, but he relied upon the power of God. He went out into the wood and cut the first stick he found. He did not look about for the finest one to be had; and it was an ugly-shaped stick, old and dry. When he was going down into Egypt, to bring his countrymen into the promised land, he was asked how he expected to free them from the bonds of slavery, and replied, 'With this stick.' And away he went, leaving the impression that he was clean mad."

There is nothing of all this in the Bible, neither in the old version nor the new. That makes no difference to Mr. Moody. It will probably be in the next version, which is just as well. "Old and ugly" as that stick was, it could be changed into a serpent at a moment's notice; and it became a scourge to the king of Egypt. "It was not Moses," said Mr. Moody, "but the God of Moses, and the God of that rod which he had with him, which caused the frogs to overrun the country. What we want to-day is the same power; and we can have it, if we look to God for it. God's way was not our way. He knew the walls of Jericho could be taken by the blowing of rams' horns. We would want horns of silver or gold,—something to look fashionable,—but the blowing of a crooked ram's horn was God's way." If what Mr. Moody says is true, that God chooses the foolish and the weak as tools to do his work with, surely the above specimen of preaching is "foolish" enough to convert a whole tabernacle full of sinners, although, as in the present case, they numbered three thousand souls. Delinquents who require anything more foolish than that to convert them must be hardened in iniquity.

People who believe in Mr. Moody's theology will easily see blemishes in this sermon, bits of wisdom and humanity here and there for which perhaps he will make apology at some future time. He said, "Every man could have a hand in God's work, if he would use what he had at hand." Though awkwardly expressed, this is good religion, if Mr. Moody means by God's work every good deed done, every act of justice, love, and charity, every prayer that includes within it the good of all the world. No doubt, in this "God's work" there is something for every man to do. There was also some very reprehensible wisdom in the statement that "people had an idea the world was to be redeemed by sermons, but the fact was rather that the people were preached to death." If Brother Moody continues to talk as wisely as that, he will soon be invited by the churches to cease preaching himself. There was dangerous wisdom, too, in the opinion that "there were many who could be saved by little acts of kindness upon whom an elaborate sermon would have no effect." This is not only wisdom, but genuine religion and rank heresy. O missionary of many words, how many of those three thousand in the tabernacle, do you suppose, thought you meant what you said when you told them that "thousands of nice garments might be made and taken to the needy, and kind words might be spoken in the home of the drunkard"? Probably, not one. How many of the three thousand went from the tabernacle to put the doctrine into practice? Certainly, not one. Do you have time to practise it yourself? A short time ago, a band of Indians passed through Chicago from the West on their way to Washington; and the name of

one of them was "Walk around and Talk." How many preachers there are whose parents ought to have given them that name!

"Christian life," said Mr. Moody, "ought to be crowded with little acts of kindness." This is true religion, no matter under what form of worship it may come. It might be made stronger by leaving out "little"; for acts of kindness ought to be of dimensions equal to our ability to perform them, and the admonition applies to every life, whether Christian, Mohammedan, Pagan, Jew, or any other in the world. The Christian does not need it more than the rest, nor less. So it was well said that, in practical charity, we should all do what we can; and, if we are not able to do much, we should do something. "The widow's mite," said Mr. Moody, "had brought more money to the work of Christ than any other offering ever did." This is notably true; and yet, in that case, the principle of charity was strained until it ceased to be a virtue. That "mite" was more than the widow could afford to give. She ought not to have given it, and the Church ought not to have accepted it.

Mr. Moody praises the woman who brought the ointment and anointed the Lord's feet with it, and he said that she had "created for herself the greatest and most enduring of monuments, and the story of her deed of love had been translated into three hundred and fifty different languages." This is fame, indeed; but the fly in that ointment was the unpleasant question of Judas Iscariot, "Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?" This is a question that has never been answered yet; and, while the act of Mary may be credited to her as worship, yet there was great force in the criticism of Judas. To-day, millions of dollars are being squandered for ointment to anoint the Lord's feet; while squalor and vice fester in the shadow of the costly temples. On the very steps of the church sits Lazarus. Mr. Moody is not responsible for that, perhaps; and, while there was in his sermon much orthodox foolishness, there was also in it a good deal of heretical wisdom and mercy, too.

M. M. TRUMBULL.

MOTION THE ULTIMATE PRINCIPLE.

Perrin's "Religion of Philosophy."

One opens this book with a certain misgiving, born partly of its size and partly of its title, expecting another of those obscure and prolix treatises which begin anywhere and end nowhere, and of which the times are prolific. But the reader, closing the book with a certain wonder and delight, "looks round him with a wild surprise," as had "a planet newly swum upon his ken." He rubs his eyes, and inquires of himself if it can be indeed true that the "open sesame" of the universe has at last been pronounced, among the many shouters of "open barley," "open wheat," of this and of that, and the real key-word of thought and fact has been spoken. On this, it may be indeed rash to hazard a dogmatic opinion, seeing that there are many experts in metaphysical reasoning whose criticism must first be successfully endured. Nevertheless, one may at least venture the conclusion that a notable step forward has been made in the most perplexing realm of thought, and many mists are cleared which have hung about the ultimates of speculation for centuries.

The first thing in the book which strikes the

* *The Religion of Philosophy, or The Unification of Knowledge.* By Raymond S. Perrin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885.

reader is the unusual lucidity and directness of its style. There is no evasion of difficulties, no going "about it and about" with many words to no purpose. What the writer has to say is said quickly and simply. His theory is stated early, and is then rapidly applied to the solution of the various difficulties of philosophers, beginning with the ancient Greeks and coming down, through Germans, French, and Englishmen, to the present day. In this review, Mr. Perrin is able to present us with one of the most connected, interesting, and intelligible *resumes* of philosophic thought with which we are acquainted. His own theory furnishes him with a natural clew to the various systems, which enables him easily to unfold their merits and their shortcomings, and to point out the causes of their failure to reach the end for which they set out. Were this the only merit of the book, it were well worth both the writing and the reading; but it is much more than that. It pretends, actually, to furnish us with the true key to the so-called problem of the universe; in other words, to give us the ultimate principle of fact and thought,—the one unity from which all things can be derived without assumption and without labor. The magic word is "Motion." Given "Motion" as the first principle and reality, and "all other things shall be added unto you." It is motion, external, objective, from one point to another, which gives us the idea of space. It is motion, internal, subjective, from one event to another, which gives us the idea of time. It is motion arrested, as when the moving hand is stopped by a table, that gives us the idea of matter. It is motion unarrested, as in the flow of ideas, which gives us the idea of mind. Matter itself is but a form of motion, as the physicists have proved that internal molecular vibration is the absolute condition of all matter; and, if Sir William Thompson's conjecture be adopted, that the ultimate atoms of matter itself are merely whorls of motion, which seems the logical conclusion of all the analogies, the chain is complete. The atom, the body, the material universe,—all is a development of motion; and all together form an interlocked and interacting organism of different motions.

And the mental universe is the same. Consciousness is a motion of the human organism. It begins in the sense of a relation (that is, a motion) between myself and some other object. If there were no other object and no motion, it could not arise. In a vast blank, it is not even possible to conceive of consciousness as awaking. This relation may be through a beam of light to the eye, or a wave of sound to the ear, or the stir of a nerve with pain, or the shudder of the body in arousing from sleep. It may be anyhow or to anything; but, to be conscious at all, one must be conscious of something besides himself.

Here, then, we have at the outset with Mr. Perrin a most encouraging augury of success. He gives us a key: he proceeds to show us how it turns in the rusty wards of the most troublesome riddles of thought and fact. There is no logomachy. There is no forcing the meaning of words. There is no rearrangement of materials. He gives us clearly his ideas of the genesis of the primal generalizations of the mind in plain terms, which anybody can verify by thinking about the subject, whether learned according to the schools or not. In other words, he appeals to common experience and the facts of the case. If these do not support him, he is quite ready to fall; for, of all men, he is as little concerned as was Socrates to make out a case. He is simply trying to see the thing as it is, and to state it as he sees it in nature. And, when he says that in the one fact of

motion are found the meeting points of all the fundamental conceptions, that matter and mind are but two general forms of motion, that space and time are but different aspects of motion, according as it is looked at as external (objective) or internal (subjective), he does not offer any proof. He would as soon think of trying to prove the existence of light. If a man does not see light, how can it be proved? It is a mere matter of fact, open to common apprehension,—that is all there is in it. So is this ultimate of "motion." As a fact, it does give a visible starting-point for all the other generalizations, as nothing else can. Try space or time or matter or mind in the place of Motion as the ultimate, and see what confusion immediately arises. You cannot get the idea of matter from that of time. You cannot get the idea of time from that of matter. Everything falls apart, remains discrete, separate, and remains so even when one endeavors to posit the common ultimate of "mind," as Anaxagoras did, and as popular thought does at the present day. From the idea or existence of mind, one cannot get the idea of space by any natural process or perception. "Mind" is obliged to create space to get it into existence,—as we see in the usual phrase, "a great creative mind," where mind is found to be deficient as an ultimate of thought, and one must add to it the ideas of "creative" and "great" to complete the conception of the requirements of a final cause, feeling dimly that a mind might chance to be too small or too idle to "create" space or motion.

Equally, indeed, from the idea of a "great creative Mind," the idea of matter does not logically follow. This Mind might or might not "create" matter; and, in fact, those who hold this view believe, generally, that there were eternal ages of Divine Mind alone "before the worlds were," and from everlasting to everlasting. This shows that mind cannot be the ultimate of thought and fact; for the ultimate must be the logical source and fountain of all the rest, the necessary spring of their being. Now, what Mind fails to do,—namely, involve all the others, and furnish in itself the necessity of their existence,—motion does with perfect success and ease. It borrows nothing elsewhere, it requires no additions. Let "motion" be, and all the rest are. It appears at once as the mother of space and time, the cause of matter and mind, an infinitely simple containing the infinitely complex. It unfolds to our view a perfectly homogeneous universe,—a universe of co-ordinated motions, limiting and diversifying each other, where there is no break between matter and mind, since both are forms of motion, and therefore mutually interactive. In other words, it shows us a universe perfectly simple, all of one piece, freed from mystery and delightful to study. Certainly, if "God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all," this would seem to be light enough to be God.

This is what Mr. Perrin claims, indeed; and, herein, he seems to agree with the apostle whom we quote.

To readers curious about these most weighty matters, in whose bosoms hide all the philosophies, religions, civilizations of the past, present, and future, we deeply commend Mr. Perrin's book. They will see how quickly and easily his "motion" unlocks the problems of the schools, what short work it makes of all the muddy mystics, Kant and Hegel and Schopenhauer, of the clear sceptics, Hume and Hobbes, of Positivist and Agnostic alike; how it transfers to the wonderful Greeks the crown of laurel in philosophic speculation also, as to those who have deserved best of the human race.

The author's criticism of Herbert Spencer and George Henry Lewes is made to carry with it the evidence for his own theory and the explanations of it. And no reader can possibly follow the writer's simple and straightforward elucidation of their complex sentences and cumbrous modes of thought without the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. When he sees how easily all that those sincere and comprehensive men have tried to say in scholastic and obscure phrase can be turned into the language of the street and the newspaper, "understood of all the people," he feels as if a new Columbus had sighted, by the substitution of the one magic word "motion" for their words, a new land beyond the mists of Agnosticism and metaphysics, whose continent should be the field of new and greater evolutions than the world has before seen. Mr. Arnold gives Americans the credit of "seeing clear and thinking straight," and this book seems to be the most signal example of these qualities yet produced by us. We may well be proud that so comprehensive and far-reaching a generalization has been made by one of our citizens.

It does not detract from the lustre of Mr. Perrin's generalization that all the philosophers of eminence have just been on the edge of saying exactly what he now says, but rather increases the force of it and the argument for its truth. Not to mention the Greeks, who had his idea, but not the physical knowledge necessary to establish the fact, we readily see that Kant's "Pure Reason" *a priori*, stripped of its verbiage and obscurity, is motion, pure and simple; that Hegel's "Becoming," where nothing is, but something is about to be, is again motion; in a word, that Spinoza's "Substance" is but one form of motion, and, therefore, inferior to motion as an ultimate of thought, much more of fact; that Descartes' "Immateriality of God and the Soul" brings us to a divine energy simply, which is motion and naught besides; that Hume's "Universal Scepticism" is simply a bewilderment from failure to name the actual, ever-changing motion which the universe is; that Spencer's "Unknowable Energy and Persistence of Force" shows the same failure to put his finger on the ultimate fact, which is as knowable and clear as the sun in the sky, needing only to be seen to be known,—namely, Motion, always and everywhere, the essence of the universe and of all its phenomena and laws. Mr. Perrin freely acknowledges that many have thought it, some said it, all held it, and only himself endeavors to give to it proper place and setting in thought. He simply would complete what Darwin began to show, that evolution is the one primal law and form of the universe, and there is no other anywhere.

I dwell the more upon the philosophical part of the book, because the Religion of Philosophy, which gives the book its title, is less complete and far less important than the philosophy itself. One may or may not go with him in this last part. His religious reviewers treat him as if that were his main intention, which it is not. He seems to us to have thought out his views there much less thoroughly than in the rest, and has descended more to the common line of reasons *pro* and *con*. Yet there, also, many things are well said, and sound learning is evinced. But it is needful for no one to receive that, if he prefers something else. But, meanwhile, Mr. Perrin has given us enough before, and a germinal idea, which may prove not less valuable and not less powerful in philosophy than Mr. Darwin's evolution has proved in science. One can only receive the book with gratitude and praise.

STARR H. NICHOLS.

THE UNIVERSE NEITHER ORGANISM NOR MACHINE.

Mr. Abbot, in his recently published work, opposes effectively, we think, the theory that the universe is a machine, and defends the conception that the universe is an organism. "Now, modern science," he says, "is reaching, nay, has almost reached, this sublime conception of the universe as a living and growing organism."

But, when carefully examined, this conception of a "cosmical organism" proves to be no conception of an organism at all. We have never seen any valid evidence or argument that the universe is an organism or that it is a machine. In our opinion, it is neither the one nor the other.

Organisms manifest the phenomena of growth, assimilation, reproduction, and decay. In other words, they live and die. They have an environment to which they are fundamentally related and from which they derive sustenance. They are sustained by the introduction of new material from without, which is assimilated and incorporated into the structure. "An organism lives only in relation to its medium." Such are a few of the main characteristics of all organisms, from monad to man.

What reason is there for the claim that the universe in its entirety has that mode of activity which is manifested by organisms, and which we call life? Has the universe grown by the assimilation of material from without? Has it existed from eternity, and yet been evolved, adjusting itself to external conditions? Does it reproduce its kind, and is it subject to decay and disintegration? Has the universe an environment upon which it acts and which acts upon it? Do its movements indicate that it possesses sensibility?

If it be true, as to us it seems to be, that what is the most fundamental in the conception of an organism forms no part of any conception of the universe which is warranted by science, then it is evidently unscientific rather than scientific to regard the universe as an organism.

George Henry Lewes, in 1877, wrote touching this point: "A definition, however abstract, should not exclude essential characters. The general consent of Mankind has made Life synonymous with Mode of Existence. . . . The universe assuredly exists, but it does not live: its existence can only be identified with life, such as we observe in organisms, by a complete obliteration of the speciality which the term Life is meant to designate. Yet many have not only pleased themselves with such a conception, but have conceived the universe to be an organism fashioned, directed, and sustained by a soul like that of man,—the *anima mundi*. This is to violate all scientific canons."

It is only as a metaphor or a simile that the word "organism" can be used in reference to the universe, as, for instance, when Strauss speaks of the cosmos as resembling "one of those tropical trees on which, simultaneously, here a blossom bursts into a flower, there a ripe fruit drops from the bough," to illustrate that worlds and solar systems have a limit in space and a beginning and end in time, while the universe, in its totality, is infinite and eternal; that "the cosmos itself, the sum total of infinite worlds in all stages of growth and decay, abode eternally unchanged, in the constancy of its absolute energy, amid the everlasting revolution and mutation of things."

More unscientific even, if possible, than the conception that the universe is an organism is the old theological idea that the universe is a machine. A machine is a structure in which the parts unrelated primarily have been put together in a certain juxtaposition, designed to accomplish, by

the concentration and direction of force through an artificial arrangement, some specific external end. It is not necessary here to point out the utter inadequacy of this conception to explain the universe. It implies the existence of some power outside the universe that created or formed the universe, and bears to it the relation of a mechanic to his workmanship. It is strange that so intelligent a writer as our friend Mr. Abbot should persist in connecting the name of a thinker like Spencer with a crude "mechanical" view of the universe, when, some years ago, in reply to a criticism by Mr. Abbot, Mr. Spencer distinctly wrote: "If his statement . . . has any meaning at all, it means that there exists some 'force operating *ab extra*,' some 'external power,' distinguished by him as 'mechanical,' which is not included in that immanent force of which the universe is a manifestation, though whence it comes he does not tell us. This conception he speaks of as though it were mine, making it seem that I ascribe the moulding of organisms to the action of this 'mechanical,' 'external power,' which is distinct from the Inscrutable Cause of things. Yet he either knows, or has ample means of knowing, that I deny every such second cause. Indeed, he has himself classed me as an opponent of dualism. I recognize no forces within the organism or without the organism but the variously conditioned modes of the universal, immanent force; and the whole process of organic evolution is everywhere attributed by me to the co-operation of its variously conditioned modes, internal and external."

We will conclude this article with an extract from a letter, which we have permission to quote, from a scientist whose name is known to all English and German thinkers: "Cosmical organism sounds like an atavistic relapse. It used to be the almost universal opinion of antiquity. But, after Descartes, it was thought a great improvement to look upon the universe as a machine instead of an organism (Voltaire, Paley, Hume, etc.). The incompetence of both notions has become palpable enough. The only data for establishing an analogy between the cosmos and an organism lie close at hand. They are to be found first in the evident unity of both, a unity due to the interdependence of all their parts; and then in the unitary purpose seemingly manifest in the interaction of these parts. Thus, all the speculations indulged in, in order to explain the organism and its purposive actions, were likewise applied to the cosmos. A formative soul and a directing mind were attributed to it (*πῦρ τεχνικόν, πῦρ νοερόν, anima mundi*, etc.). Schelling and his followers were also inclined to look upon the universe as a kind of organism. Drawing their inspiration from neo-Platonism, or, nearer at home, from Spinoza and Jacob Boehme, they assumed a creative principle deeper than consciousness, making it at the same time aim-fulfilling in analogy to the working of instinct. Hence, the philosophy of the unconscious (Schopenhauer, Carus, Hartmann). Granting the cosmos were really an organism, the same arguments against design in the formation of special organisms would also be valid with regard to the universe. But an organism exists and lives through interaction with its medium. The cosmos has no medium. *Ergo*, it is no organism, and is not alive. This is quite enough to extinguish this *ignis fatuus* of a notion, though it admits of being put out piecemeal."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

AN, strive again no human heart to wring:
Let no one feel thine anger burn or sting:
Wouldst thou be lapt in long-enduring joy,
Know how to suffer: cause no suffering.

—Omar Khayyam.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE University of the Science of Spirit of Boston was incorporated last week. Dr. E. J. Arena, "Old Theology" healer, is the President.

DOUBT, if not an *end unto itself*, is the very life almost of truth. It is the anvil on which the steel of knowledge is hammered. The doubt of our time is of that kind of which the poet claims it holds more honest faith than all the creeds combined.—*Jewish Reformer*.

SOME who are weary of the confusion of religious belief, which is so prominent a feature of our age, will be glad to learn of a work which aims to simplify the whole question of religion by demonstrating that "God is a principle, not a person"; a "universal fact, not a mystery." We refer to the *Religion of Philosophy*, by Raymond C. Perrin, the general merits of which are set forth in this number of *The Index* by an intelligent contributor. Copies of the book are for sale at this office, at \$3 per copy.

THE reconciliation of physics and metaphysics lies in the acknowledgment of faults upon both sides; in the confession by physics that all the phenomena of nature are, in their ultimate analysis, known to us only as facts of consciousness; in the admission by metaphysics that the facts of consciousness are, practically, interpretable only by the methods and the formulae of physics; and, finally, in the observance, by both metaphysical and physical thinkers, of Descartes' maxim, Assent to no proposition the matter of which is not so clear and distinct that it cannot be doubted.—*Huxley*.

THE London *Inquirer* gives this extract from a letter received from George Anthony Denison, Archdeacon of Brent:—

For the matter of my being able and ready to meet in all the courtesy of the Christian life those with whom I have little in common in respect of what that life is, I have this to say,—that I make one exception only to this my habit of life, and that exception is this: I refuse to receive into my house, "bid God speed," or hold any intercourse with man or woman who denies the eternal Godhead of the Son, lest I be "partaker of their evil deeds." To all other, I hold out the right hand, however impossible it be for me to admit either their manner of belief or their reasoning or their action.

MR. W. C. GANNETT, always broad and generous, writes in *Unity*: "It is time to take at last the absolute position that Unitarianism in its essence stands for its principles alone, and that they alone furnish the test of its fellowship. What makes a Unitarian? Emphasis hearty and complete on freedom, fellowship, and character as the supreme things in religion,—this and not our theism, however grand,—this and not our Christianity, however dear. In the light of our history, we pronounce it 'ethical' to be logical. And more,—it is growing unethical to be longer illogical. The issue has become too plain. We cannot much longer plead unconsciousness. Unconsciousness has saved our ethics hitherto; but, before long, ethics will glue our lips together before we ask one, true to our principles, but unable to say *God* with us, that door-pointing question, 'Can there be any doubt, sir, as to what you ought to do?' To us, that question has non-Unitarianism in it."

REV. OSCAR CLUTE, of Iowa City, is of the opinion that a preacher who comes to think that Unitarianism means only "ethics" is not, properly speaking, a Unitarian. We quote from an article by him in *Unity*:—

He holds, indeed, to ethics, and is in so far a Unitarian; for Unitarianism has always put great stress

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

The Banks of the Wye, and the Ethics of Wordsworthianism.

BY W. L. SHELDON.

An excursion to the Wye is also a pilgrimage. We like to visit a locality which has been associated in our minds with the composition of great poetry. Sometimes, it may be a scene of surpassing beauty and grandeur. In that case, nothing is gained for it by associations of this kind. We go to the locality for its own sake. We do not visit the Alps for the sake of Coleridge. The "Hymn in the Vale of Chamouni" adds nothing to Mont Blanc. The sublimity of the scene would naturally put the hymn out of mind. Sometimes, on the contrary, the locality of these associations may be very tame and uninteresting in itself. I recollect my surprise when travelling through the districts of Scotland associated with the life and poetry of Burns. The landscape was positively dreary. Mauchline, Ayr, and the banks of the Doon would not attract the eye of the stranger. And yet they have become consecrated in our minds through Burns and his poetry. And so, too, we are drawn to the English lake regions through the influence of Wordsworth. Grasmere, Rydal Mount, Loughrigg Fell, and Lake Windermere have a charm for us which all the romanticism of Scott has not been able to give to the much grander scenery of Loch Lomond, Ben Nevis, and Ben Venue. We think of the English lake region as the true birthplace of the poetry of nature.

We may not always be able to associate great poems with specific localities, and we may not wish to do so. We attach great interest to the place of composition only when it has been the theme and inspiration of the poem. English literature has given us several great hymns which are conspicuous for their depth of feeling and grandeur of conception. One of them comes from Milton, a hymn to the deity, as the poet summons all creation to bow in adoration. It is the "Morn-

ing Hymn of Adam and Eve in Paradise." Another comes to us from George Eliot, a hymn to humanity, in the lines of "The Choir Invisible." We have a third from Wordsworth, as a hymn to nature. It is the well-known "Lines composed a few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on the Banks of the Wye." These are typical poems. They have for their subjects the three great themes of poetic inspiration,—Deity, Humanity, and Nature. And yet to only one of them can we give a "local habitation." There is surely none for the "Morning Hymn to Jehovah." The mental vision of the blind poet Milton was its only locality. The temporary environment of the poet had nothing to do with the poem. The environment was not his theme. And so, too, with the lines of "The Choir Invisible." We do not know where this poem was written, and we do not care. We know that humanity was its theme, and the aspirations in the soul of George Eliot its real source and environment. And that is enough for us. But, with the "Hymn to Nature," it is different. We can associate a specific locality to this poem. It was in a single day, on an excursion along the banks of the "sylvan Wye," that Wordsworth conceived this exalted ode to Nature. Its theme and inspiration were the banks of the Wye.

It was this that drew me to the valley of the Wye. To the lover of the poetry of nature, this river and valley become idealized through the poetry of Wordsworth. The poem written on its banks has well been called the *modus classicus* of Wordsworthianism. It is more. It has become the *modus classicus* of the poetry of nature. The lover of nature goes to it for an expression of the feelings which he cannot put into speech, just as the devout mind may go to the Psalmist for the language of religious emotion. And so for him "Tintern Abbey" and the "banks of the Wye" acquire a hallowed significance. He early conceives a desire to visit a scene which has been so deeply woven into his visions of the beautiful in nature and so consecrated in his thought. It was to gratify an earlier longing of this kind that led me now to make this pilgrimage.

I have found the Wye in the west of England. I have come away from the lake region of the north, and outside the common route of travel. The stranger from other countries seldom comes here, though the beauty of the spot is well known to the English tourist. I am among the hills of Monmouthshire, close on to Wales and the Severn. This is the region of the "Wye." Here it nestles and pursues its course. It seems like a secluded spot all by itself; just the place to come and be with nature, and write its poetry. The river is a narrow, winding stream, moving in great, beautiful curves in its passage through the hills. The valley is scarcely wider than the stream, though here and there it stretches out into a sloping plain, but closes in again with the next bend in its course. A little railway runs up through the valley, moving along the banks of the stream, tunnelling through the hills or cutting along their sides. But it does not seem to interfere with the harmony of the scene. In rural England, the railway is like a natural feature of the landscape. The course of the river is not long. The "Wye Valley," as I refer to it, is this secluded region between Monmouth and Chepstow, a distance of perhaps thirty miles as the river winds, though I should say scarcely more than half that distance as the crow flies. The scenery is varied and beautiful. Sometimes it is quite soft and serene, then again it is rugged and wild; but it nowhere rises into sublimity. It was surely a chosen temple of nature for the poet.

The centre of interest to the traveller is in the

on ethics. But, inasmuch as he has eliminated from his teaching all the other characteristic thoughts of Unitarianism, he is no more a Unitarian than a Catholic or a Calvinist or a Jew is a Unitarian; for all these hold also to ethics. My questions of ethics are simply these: How far is it ethical for this preacher of ethics only to call himself a Unitarian, and so misrepresent his own position by giving it a name which has always included a great deal more than he includes in it? How far is it ethical for him to call himself a Unitarian, and so to misrepresent Unitarianism by conspicuously affirming that it means only ethics? How far is it ethical for him to use churches and Sunday-schools to teach only the thought of ethics, when he knows quite well that those churches and Sunday-schools were established for the purpose of teaching Unitarian thoughts of God and Christ and prayer and immortality in addition to the thought of ethics?

"A MATERIALIST" writes, in the *Westerly Call*, very sensibly in regard to the taxation of church property: "Any church or society have the privilege to erect as costly buildings as they please, and this government is bound to protect them in that right; but this government has no right to tax non-religionists to support them, or indirectly tax them by exempting the churches. We would defend with our lives and property, if need be, the right of any denomination to worship as they choose, claiming for ourselves the same right; but we protest against paying, or contributing in any way, for what we do not have and for what to us is absurd. Would not the churches consider it very unjust to exempt Paine Memorial Hall from taxation and at the same time tax them? And is it not equally unjust to the Liberals of Boston for them to pay an annual tax of \$1,000 on the Paine Memorial, while the churches are exempt? If there is any just cause for exempting church property from taxation, we should be glad to be informed of it. We know no reason why Trinity Church, of New York, or Grace Church, of Providence, or any other church, should not be taxed in the same proportion as the poor man's cow or the widow's mite. 'Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may.'"

For The Index.

CREDO.

In tiny sand, in seed, in bud, in leaf,
In fairest flower,
In lowest life, howe'er it spends its brief
And passing hour,
In the dull clod's deep heart enshrined is God,
Or wondrous Power.

O Spirit of the stream, the wood, the cloud,
In all, through all,
I wis not if, in secret or aloud,
Thou knowest my call,
Nor if, in happy ways or darkest maze,
I stand or fall.

To all the elements I am related,
Earth, fire, and air,
To myriads of living forms created,
Or low or rare:
Our kin in regal state, our kin who lowly wait,
Are everywhere.

To all the noblest, brightest minds of earth
Akin am I;
To all who, favored ill, in woe have birth
Under the sky:
With ruth for those who sin, heights fairest may I win
Ere I shall die.

Yes, higher still: 'tis all we know of heaven
To live aright;
To feel, though dearest hopes and joys are riven,
Nearer the light,
Whether to us may come, when human lips are dumb,
Or life or night.

But if, awaiting us, at death's dark portal,
No faces shine,
Fairer than fairest dream of life immortal,
With light divine,
When soul and body rend, then may forever end
This life of mine!

ANNA OLOOTT COMMELIN.

neighborhood of Tintern Abbey, a few miles up and down the stream. The Abbey itself is a beautiful ruin. It rests in the valley on the banks of the river, with the village of Tintern in the background. The outer walls are still standing, though the blue sky overhead is now its only roof and canopy, and the smooth greensward under foot its only pavement. The beautiful stone-work of the great west window stands out against the sky. Many of the pillars remain in their old position, and cast their dark shadows upon the ruined walls as the sunlight streams in through the archways and shattered windows. Some of the walls of the monastery adjoining the Abbey also remain standing. The ivy and creeper have made themselves at home everywhere, climbing the walls, trailing around the pillars and up along the sides of the windows. Nowhere in England or Scotland have I seen a more beautiful ruin. The history of the Abbey dates back into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But the time of its lapse into a ruin I do not know.

Below the Abbey, as we descend the river, the scenery becomes rugged and wild. The waters of the stream grow turbid from the ebb and flow of the surging tide as it sweeps up in violence from the Severn, and raises the waters of the Wye to a great height along its banks. The valley becomes narrow, the hills grow steep and woody. The road no longer winds along the river, but ascends the hills. We look with awe and delight upon the mass of color as it continues to spread itself out anew with every change in the landscape, while we watch below and follow the course of the winding stream. Everywhere, we see the patches of dark and sombre green from the mournful yew-tree, resting like shadows upon the pale and delicate tints of autumn which make up the background of this mass of color. As strangers, we grow fascinated with the "gloom profound" of this solemn and mournful tree. A few miles down stream, the valley widens out again suddenly; and the river winds in a great sweeping arc beneath a line of precipitous cliffs, where the wild game has defied the English huntsman for centuries. We can ascend these cliffs eight hundred feet above the valley. The view from their summits is supremely beautiful. In a single glance, we can take in the winding stream, the rolling hills, the precipitous cliffs, and, in the distance, the broad estuary of the Severn. It is the "Valley of the Wye." At the next angle of the river, we come out upon the picturesque ruins of Chepstow Castle and the old town of Chepstow. The castle rests upon a commanding height, where it has gone through many a siege. Its ivy-clad walls and towers carry us back to the mediæval ages, to the time of William the Conqueror. Within, it is now only a mass of ruins. Below Chepstow, the Wye passes out into the plain, and so on to its confluence with the Severn.

Above the Abbey, on the other hand, as we ascend the river, the scenery is altogether different. The tides of the Severn no longer affect the stream, and the waters begin to have their "sweet, inland murmur." It is now "the sylvan Wye." Nature is no longer rugged and wild. All is now soft and serene, a fair and beautiful landscape. The winding stream, the sloping hills, and the blue sky, all blend into a harmonious whole. The river continues true to its name as it winds in sweeping curves along its narrow valley between the hills. We can wander along its banks for miles, catching with every turn a new and varied scene of beauty. Here and there, we shall come upon a cluster of hamlets; and wherever there is a cluster of hamlets there is sure to be the little parish church, its stone walls overgrown with ivy.

Sometimes, the little church rests upon the hillside; and, then, it is all the more picturesque. The sloping hills are cultivated sometimes even to the very top. The pretty hedgerows in their lines of darker green wind all over their sides, and rest like a beautiful network upon the cultivated slopes. And, above the hill-tops, the clouds float in the azure overhead. The serenity of the hills blends with the serenity of the sky, and the stream reflects the serenity of both. Here it was that Wordsworth composed his "Hymn to Nature."

And so these banks of the Wye have a peculiar significance to the traveller. We are attracted by their beauty, it is true; but we come to them rather for the sake of Wordsworth. We would see what he saw and feel what he felt. We come to the Wye. We wander up and down the stream, along the hillsides, beneath the beautiful sky; and we enjoy it deeply. But this is not all. What is the spirit of the scene? What new revelation of herself did Nature make to this poet through these banks of the Wye? What new conception was it that led Wordsworth to pay this exalted tribute to Nature? This is what we come here to learn.

Nature can appeal to us in three very different ways. It can be the "brute nature." All this mighty maze of things is only so many material substances,—earth, sky, water, and air, atoms, molecules, crystals, and cells, all moving in one stupendous plan at the will of a deity outside of nature. Nature is nothing, deity everything. This vast universe appeals to us not by itself and for its own sake, but as indicating the hand of an omnipotent agency outside of the universe. Nature is but the handiwork of deity. Its poetry is its summons to the worship of the Creator. It would lift us from nature up to nature's God. A hymn to nature becomes a hymn to deity. It is this conception which inspires the poet Thomson, in the "Ode to the Seasons," as he exclaims in the fulness of his devotion,—

"These as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
Is full of thee."

Another aspect of the poetry of nature appeals to us in a tenderer way. It touches not our minds, but our hearts. It is the personification of all the various objects of nature. We can mourn with Burns over the fate of the "Daisy," as though it, too, had a consciousness of its baffled and defeated life, as though we saw in it the reflection of our own earthly destiny. In the fancy of Shelley, we can exult with the "Cloud" and soar with the "Sky-lark." We can weave our whole environment into a beautiful tissue of poetic fancies and speculations. We can put life and thought into everything, and see the reflection of our own life everywhere. It is all very beautiful, but it is not true. The daisy does not feel as we feel, the cloud does not exult as we exult, the lark does not soar as we soar. This is poetry, but not the truest poetry. Neither is the other aspect of nature altogether satisfactory. It is scarcely a true definition of the universe of existence to classify it into "matter and deity." As though matter were only the crude world-stuff for spirit to play upon! As though we knew what matter was! As though we could explain the law of gravity or the origin of a crystal! It is not for us to deify a lump of clay more than we would deify a soul.

And so there is a third aspect in which Nature may appeal to us. She may appeal to us for her own sake and through her own majesty,—not as deity, not as personification, but as in herself an infinite order of existence and an infinite reality. Nature is not simply an unreal shadow

and reflection of an Unknowable. Nature is real. Nature is actual. In contact with Nature, we are in contact with infinitude itself. The great organ of the universe is playing for us, and we bend low to catch the strains of the solemn music. We are in contact with reality, and the voice of the infinite is speaking to us. We have a right to worship, and we ought to worship. It is the mood of the poet, in the presence of Nature,—

"That blessed mood,
In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened, . . . we are laid asleep
In body and become a living soul;
While, with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."

This is what I understand by "Wordsworthianism." It is this new conception which gives to us all a poetry of nature. There is for us a sense of spirituality everywhere. And it is this, as I understand it, which makes the poetry of Wordsworth so attractive to minds of almost every shade of religious conviction. Agnostic, theist, and Christian,—they all can go to this poet for an expression of their feelings toward nature.

Viewed in this light, my pilgrimage to the Wye has been a pilgrimage to nature. As I wander on the banks of the stream, all these varied scenes have a new meaning to me. It is no longer "as a landscape to a blind man's eye." These hedgerows winding over the hillsides, the cattle grazing on the banks, these mournful yew-trees, the stream itself, and its reflection of the sky, the ivy growing on the ruins of the Abbey, these hills and cliffs rising above the river,—I cannot look upon them all simply as "mute, insensate things," as automatic activities of matter, as evanescent reflections of an unknowable reality. No: I must feel that they have a worth of their own. They may not think as I think and feel as I feel. They may not have a life like mine. But they belong to an infinite totality. They are genuine links in the chain of the universe of existence. They are "their own excuse for being." On these banks of the Wye, I am in contact with the totality of nature.

And, now, I fancy I can enter into the mood of Wordsworth on that memorable day, July 13, 1798. I can trace all his steps along the Wye. All the varied scenery of the river is reflected in the poem. I think of him setting out from Chepstow, accompanied by his sister. They pause a moment, to view the beautiful ruins of Chepstow Castle. Then they follow the stream as it winds in its great arc beneath the jutting cliffs, and so on up the narrow valley, as it bends and sweeps between the rugged hills. They stop again at Tintern. They go into the old Abbey, and lose themselves for an hour in contemplation of its ruins. As they look up at the canopy of the blue sky and look down at the greensward under foot, as they see the ivy and creeper winding around the pillars and trailing over the walls, they feel that nature has taken possession of the Abbey at last. It is for them to feel the exquisite blending of the warm tones of nature with the "frozen music" of the crumbling architecture. Again, they go on up the river. Their mood is softening with the pure serenity of the changing scene. The "wild, green landscape," the sloping hills and the winding stream, the "woods and copses," "the pretty hedgerows," the "pastoral farms," the "wreaths of smoke sent up in silence from among the trees,"—they see and feel it all. They are on the banks of the "sylvan Wye." I can fancy the very spot where at length they paused "under the dark sycamore." The valley

has widened, the range of hills has broken its outline, and their sloping sides stretch out in various directions. It is the culmination of the beauty of the Wye valley. The joy and the beauty of the day come over the poet like a flood. The recollections of a lifelong communion with nature revive in his thought. Under the spell of it all, he composes his poem. Nature, too, has now her hymn.

And yet there is in this commemorative ode to Nature one line of sentiment which these banks of the Wye might not seem to suggest. It is the well-known allusion to the "still, sad music of humanity." This, too, in a sense, is a new feature in the poetry of nature. What was there in this Wye valley to stir so new and strange a sentiment? What has nature to do with humanity? Do we not, on the contrary, sometimes fly for relief from humanity to nature? And did not the poet do so himself? And why did the thought follow him there, as though it were of Nature herself and a part of her poetry? We must go to Nature herself for the answer.

We come from London to the Wye. It is thus that we feel the contrast. Nature suggests to us what humanity lacks. London is typical to us of colossal power. The stranger in that city will only feel an awe at the thought of the human race. But London, alas! is also typical to us of colossal discord. The energy is enormous, but so is the waste. The wealth seems boundless, but so does the poverty. We feel that humanity is not working together. There is a sense of a "disconnection, dull and spiritless," which prevails in human things. We awake to a consciousness that the grandeur of our race lies chiefly in its colossal possibilities. And then we go to nature. We come down to these banks of the Wye. Here everything is reversed. We become conscious, somehow, of an order, a unity, a harmony in nature. This is what we mean by a sense of "nature's peace." Nature is typical to us of a colossal harmony. And yet we ourselves carry in our hearts the burden of our race. And the contemplation of this harmony in nature stirs within us the "still, sad music" of the harmony which might be and ought to be in humanity, but which does not exist. And so we fly to Nature for relief in the sense that we fly to her for inspiration. We would mingle with this universal order and unity. We would not stay alone forever with Nature. We would not lose ourselves in her music. We go to her that we may be stirred into activity again, as we would be stirred into renewed activity by a symphony of Beethoven. The sense of an infinite order outside of us in nature awakens in us an aspiration for a like order in humanity. We feel ourselves anew impelled to grapple with the possibilities of our race and to create out of them a religious reality. The poetry of nature leads us back to the poetry of humanity. We renew again our consecration to duty. This, as near as I can understand it, was the message of nature to Wordsworth on these banks of the Wye.

And so Wordsworthianism is a revelation for the future. Nature opens wide her arms to the poet. I look upon this valley of the Wye, and then I feel what new regions have been opened for the poetry of the future. I think of Ruskin mourning over the waning beauty of the world, as he pictures to his mind the geological changes which may efface the grandeur of the earth and reduce it to the level of monotony. And I think of Wordsworth, and his assurance,—

"Nature never did betray the heart that loved her."

And I have faith that she never will. The "light of setting suns," the "round ocean," the "living air," the "blue sky," and the "mind of man,"—

these will continue. The stars will swing in their spheres, the grass will grow at our feet, the Daisy will have its Burns, the Cloud its Shelley, the Rivulet its Bryant, and the whole wide universe of nature its Goethe, its Emerson, and its Wordsworth. One lesson, however, a pilgrimage to the Wye can teach to the traveller, like the "Morning Hymn to Jehovah" and the lines of the "Choir Invisible." This "Hymn to Nature" has no local habitation. The valley of the Wye was its occasion, but nature altogether was its inspiration. We cannot localize the poetry of nature. We can feel this poetry anywhere. There are rivers as beautiful as the Wye all over the world. Every breeze, every flower, every blade of grass, every drop of dew, and every star can tell us the same story. Nature can speak to us at home. We can list to her voice. We can sue for her peace. We can aspire for her all-pervading harmony. And so the same pure message of nature can come to us at home that came to Wordsworth on the banks of the Wye.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. ABBOT'S "SCIENTIFIC THEISM."

Editors of The Index:—

The public owes a debt of thanks to every man who, in these days, has the intellectual courage and zeal to attempt what promises no money, no popular fame, but only to instruct in the region of pure intelligence, in which very few people have any interest, though it is really of supreme moment and the ultimate ruler of the world. To this class of works belongs Mr. Abbot's *Scientific Theism*; and it is written with an unwonted animation of style, and is of marked power.

It deserves high regard from all religious people for its pure and lofty sentiments and conceptions. No one can read its descriptions of Deity without some stirring of religious fervor. The book is thus one of the many writings, now multiplying, which seem to show that human thought as well as human feeling must have a Person for a God. But its avowed pantheism will be an objection to the more rigid theists.

But for two faults, this book would be, what we all wish it were, a perfect specimen of Scientific Philosophy and a proof of Scientific Theism, which it claims to be. These faults are false premises and an illicit conclusion.

His first and preliminary premise is that, in all the sensible forms, we have an immediate perception of the external world as *non-ego*, and that this is the implicated affirmation of all modern science.

The appeal to material sciences, such as astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, in proof of a principle so purely psychological and metaphysical, is a proceeding singularly irrelevant. These sciences have no voice on this question, because they have not investigated it, it being entirely beyond their sphere. It is very true that, whether scientists or not, men do generally assume that the extra-organic objects of sense are *non-ego*. But that is not the assumption or implication of the several sciences as such. These only affirm that the objects of sense are of such or such sensible quality and quantity and form and relations. The deeper question of their egoistic or non-egoistic nature belongs not to them, but wholly to the science of psychology and to metaphysics, which is philosophy proper, and should be scientific.

The one "modern science" which has a right to speak, and which has spoken as a science proper, is very clear and quite unanimous in asserting that the objects of sense are subjective states or modes of the *ego*. This our author admits and affirms, and tries first to refute it, and then to ridicule it toward the end of the book. He refutes it by showing the transcendental difficulties of some of its advocates. But that is an illicit process. Because philosophy cannot weave all the discoveries of science into a grand ultimate unity, that does not prove that all its supposed discoveries are false. That it cannot as yet thus co-ordinate the doctrine of the subjectivity of sensible phenomena is no proof of the falsity of that doctrine.

Mr. Abbot imagines that he intrenches himself in

a position beyond successful assault by identifying phenomena and noumena. But the idealist may also do that, as Hegel did long ago; and, perhaps, I may be allowed to mention myself as always thinking in that line. We have, then, subjective noumena instead of non-egoistic noumena. How to construct these into a total ultimate philosophy is what remains to be done, and it will doubtless so remain for some time to come.

The next premise of scientific theism—the first that is intrinsic to the argument, the other being necessary as a preliminary—is that the universe is infinitely intelligible, whence he infers its infinite intelligence. His argument, fully expressed, stands thus: The intelligible is (always) intelligent. The universe is intelligible. Therefore, the universe is intelligent. The argument is perfect so far, but the major premise is false. The intelligible effect may reveal an intelligent cause, but that it itself is intelligent is another thing. All human mechanism is intelligible, but it gives no sign or proof of being intelligent. So, though the world is to some extent intelligible, it is not therefore intelligent. Besides, all intelligence directly known to us has feeling; and we have no evidence that the external world has any feeling, which as an organism it ought to have. The novel interpretation of intelligible as "immanently relational" does not make it intelligent; for everything is immanently relational, and we have no evidence that everything is intelligent, but very much proof to the contrary.

It is also a serious error to say that we know nothing but relations, for these presuppose things which must be known as a condition of knowing their relations. Perhaps both are designed to be included under the one term. This would make it intelligible so far, but not so far as to convince many people that all the relations of the sensible universe constitute an organism infinitely perfect, animated, eternal, self-conscious, intelligent, purposeful, and self-directive.

While *Scientific Theism* is not satisfactory as a philosophy, nor always conclusive in its reasoning, it is here like all other metaphysical treatises, and among such works it ranks high. It is an honor to its author and his country, and ought to be well studied by the trained minds of the world as one of the great forms of human thought necessary to be thoroughly understood and intelligently rejected before the true form of thought can come. W. I. GILL.

WHO ARE THE AGNOSTICS?

They are those who claim that, beyond the region of phenomena, we do and, so far as we can judge, can have no knowledge, and that, consequently, of the first cause of all things and of an unseen world of spiritual beings, we know and can know nothing. But this is only a negative description, and there is a positive as well. As a moral and religious principle, Agnosticism is the opposite of "that deficient human sympathy, that impiety toward the present and the visible, which flies for its motives, its sanctities, and its religion to the remote, the vague, and the unknown."* It is an expression of "that generous love which cherishes things in proportion to their nearness."† God, if there be a God, it says, exists for us incarnate in the habitual order of the world, so that, for any helps we may desire, we must look to this, and not for anything beyond; we must look to one another and ourselves, to

"the fidelity

Of fellow-wanderers in a barren place
Who share the same dire thirst, and therefore share
The scanty water: the fidelity . . .
Of fellow-heirs of the small island, Life,
Where we must dig and sow and reap like brothers."

A favorite joke with those to whom Agnosticism is abominable is the defining of its confessors as know-nothings. But one has only to consider who some of the Agnostics are, to see that such a definition has to them no very striking application. Prof. Huxley is an Agnostic, Prof. Tyndall is another, Herbert Spencer is another, George Eliot was another. And these are not exactly know-nothings. They were and are persons of marvellous intelligence, the sum of whose knowledge is appalling to the most of us who, over against their mountains, see our mole-hills infinitesimally small. But what

* George Eliot's *Essays*. † Ibid.

they know concerns the visible and the near, or what is gained by slowly reaching outward, step by step, from these; by the patient watching of external facts and the silencing of preconceived opinions. There is no charge that is brought more frequently against the agnostic principle than that it disdains the super-sensible, that it confines itself to things that it can touch and taste and see and hear and smell. But Prof. Tyndall says, "The domain of the senses is almost infinitely small in comparison with the vast region accessible to thought that lies beyond them." "By means of data furnished in the world of the senses, we make ourselves at home in other and wider worlds traversed by the intellect alone." Agnosticism is not then exactly knowing nothing, for all the vast result of science is within its scope,—all that the astronomers, the geologists, the biologists, the chemists, the historians, the archaeologists, have amassed for our instruction; all that the novelists have written; all that the artists have created; all that the poets have sung. He would be very diligent who should exhaust a hundredth part of all which the Agnostic's treasury of knowledge obviously contains.—*John W. Chadwick.*

BOOK NOTICES.

CITY BALLADS. By Will Carleton, author of *Farm Ballads*, *Farm Legends*, etc. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

It is not strange that the generous reception accorded to one after another of Mr. Carleton's books has incited him to further composition. But, as his *Farm Festivals* was distinctly a falling off from his *Farm Legends*, and that from his *Farm Ballads*, so here we have the lowest deep of all, at least so far. It is greatly to be hoped that hereafter he will not feel obliged to publish a new volume every year. It is entirely possible that, if he should suffer himself to lie fallow for a time, and not expect a regular annual crop of some two hundred pages, something might ultimately spring up as good as "Betsy and I are Out," or the precious story of the unwelcome baby that grew to be so precious in the father's eyes. The scheme of his latest volume is extremely artificial. The different poems are put forth as respectively the journals of a young student and an old farmer for the first time visiting the city. The book is still further divided into sections, such as Wealth, Want, Fire, Water, Vice, Virtue, Travel, Home. The only poems that rise above the level of sheer wilfulness are "Yes, it's straight and true, good Preacher," and the burlesque, "How we fought the Fire," which, by a pardonable device, is not a city ballad, but a country reminiscence. The four best lines are these:—

"The Deacon lay on his first wife's bed,
His second wife's pillow beneath his head,
His third wife's coverlet o'er him wide,
His fourth wife slumbering by his side."

On the whole, it is not a little surprising that Mr. Carleton, having set out to write a volume of city ballads, should not have got more of the city vastness, noise, and wonder into them. If he couldn't get these things directly from the city, he might have got them from a few hours' reading of Walt Whitman. It is sometimes complained that the text of articles and poems is written for the illustrations. If Mr. Carleton's had been, his work would have been better; and they would have been for him something "to live up to."

J. W. C.

THE Art Amateur for February contains an abundance of pleasant art gossip about New York exhibitions and studios, including a detailed account of the Japanese collection of ceramic ware now on exhibition and sale in the gallery of Mr. Edward Greey, of New York. It is said to contain fine specimens of Imari, Hirado, Naheshima, and Satsuma porcelains, which are eagerly sought by connoisseurs to fill up gaps in their collections. Music and the drama have their share of attention, Stephen Fiske giving us an account of Mrs. Thurber's new American Opera Company and of Modjeska's personation of Camille at the Fifth Avenue. Theodore Childs' sketch of the career of Walter Gay is very interesting and encouraging, showing the recognition which good work receives, even in the midst of the strife and emulation of art in Paris. The art hints and notes contain a mixture of shrewd, practical wisdom and technical direction, with high ideal thought. They must be very help-

ful to young artists. Photography is not neglected, and an interesting paragraph gives an account of M. Lesseps' use of it to report exactly to him every day the appearance of the work done on the canal. Home decoration and embroidery are not forgotten. The most pleasing picture in the number is Edith Scannell's illustration for her sister's book, *Sylvia's Daughter*. A charming little maiden sits on a stone-wall, gazing off into the distance. The action is natural and free, and the picture full of thought and pleasing.

"ST. NICHOLAS" for February is more than usually interesting and readable. We have space only to mention a few of its articles. "Fish-spearing through the Ice," by J. O. Roorbach, with two illustrations of winter scenes in New Jersey and Wisconsin; "Around the Bay of Naples," by Frank B. Stockton, with seven pictures illustrative of Neapolitan life; three chapters in the life of George Washington, by Horace E. Scudder, with four illustrations and a map; "Among the Law-makers," by Edmund Alton, with pictures of the English Houses of Parliament, exterior and interior; "An Electrical Engineer," by George J. Manson; "The Firm of Big Brain, Little Brain & Co.," by Frank Bellow; and "The Real King," by John R. Coryell, are each one worth the price of this single number for the information given. There are also stories and poems in profusion; and, among these, Mrs. F. H. Burnett's delightful "Little Lord Fauntleroy" carries off the palm. Cupples, Upham & Co.

AMONG the many attractions offered by the February *Wide Awake* are the short stories by Sally E. Young, F. E. Fryatt, Edmund Collins, and Elbridge S. Brooks, and the serial stories of Charles Remington Talbot, Harriet Prescott Spofford, and Margaret Sidney. Amanda B. Harris writes of "Nathaniel Hawthorne"; Mrs. Mary Treat, of "Spiders"; Nora Perry, of "Autograph Hunting and Autographs"; Mrs. Sherwood, of the late King Alfonso of Spain and a sister of his; Mrs. Fremont, of Louis Napoleon; and Agnes Watson, of "Some Florida Chameleons." Three full page and over forty smaller illustrations elucidate the poems, stories, and graver articles of this superb number. D. Lothrop & Co.

THE popular rage for bicycling has broken out in a new direction; and, in consequence, we have the Columbia Bicycle Calendar for 1886, a very artistic and handsome calendar for those who are interested in this mode of locomotion. On the slips devoted to each day of the year, the notable cycling events, opinions of the highest medical authorities in regard to the healthfulness of this form of exercise, the benefits of tricycling for ladies, etc., are noted. The face of the calendar gives a charming combination of cycling scenes, in which both ladies and gentlemen are actors.

FOUR pretty valentine poems, each prettily illustrated, mark the February number of *Our Little Ones*. There are stories of a "Cat Hospital" and a "Doll Hospital," of a monkey's ride on an elevator all by himself, of a squirrel's visit to a school-room, and of a little boy and some swans. Emily Huntington Miller, Florence B. Hallowell, Sydney Dayre, Rev. Edward A. Rand, and Mary N. Prescott are among the contributors to this number. There are beautiful pictures on every page.

EDUCATION IN DORCHESTER.

The Dorchester Art and Grammar School, Clara M. Bisbee, Principal, entered its second term of the year, on Monday, February 1. This school offers peculiar attractions to those who would secure the conditions of good health and morals, with a thorough education in music (vocal and instrumental), oil painting, and the English branches. Pupils are specifically trained for the Latin and High Schools or prepared for an advanced course in the school itself. Number limited to thirty. A few pupils will now be received on the very low terms of *twenty-five dollars* for the remaining half year.

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SCIENTIFIC THEISM.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

GEN. HANCOCK leaves behind him what is better even than his well-deserved military fame,—the memory of an unblemished manhood.

THE death of Horatio Seymour, following swiftly that of Gen. Hancock, removes another prominent citizen of this country, a Presidential candidate cordially supported by his party, and a man whose ability and integrity commanded for him the respect of all his countrymen.

FRENCH friends who heard Prof. P. W. Chastanier, of Paris, on Tuesday evening, last week, at Chickering Hall, on the history of the *mise en scène* of the French theatre, inform us that the lecturer has that charming accent which marks the speech of Parisians who belong to the cream of society.

DR. CYRUS HAMLIN's lecture before the Parker Memorial Science Class last Sunday was the most lucid and comprehensive statement of the Eastern Question we have heard or read. The remarks by Mr. Anagnos in criticism of some of the lecturer's views, adverse to Gladstone's foreign policy, although rather brusque, were instructive, and added much to the interest of the occasion.

THE Springfield *Republican* observes: "The vote of the French Chamber of Deputies to sell the crown jewels, and to devote the proceeds to the establishment of homes for aged workmen, is good poetic justice and fair enough democracy. The hard hands of the people earned the money that bought these treasures, and they can well be turned to account now that crowns are no longer the fashion in France. The vote is a particularly characteristic declaration of confidence also in the republic."

THE London *Inquirer*, referring to an extremely lenient sentence passed, simultaneously with Mr. Stead's release, on one of the scoundrels belonging to the class he attempted to expose, says: "On the merits of the late trial and the justice of the sen-

tences passed in connection with the abduction case, we are not now expressing any opinion. But the revolting inadequacy of the system under which offences such as we allude to are expiated by one month's imprisonment calls for protest, and the contrast inevitably set up by the synchronism of the two events forms a painful commentary on the state of opinion on matters of deepest social interest."

A FRIEND inquires as to the purpose of the University of the Science of Spirit in this city, of which Dr. E. J. Arens is chancellor. The doctor informs us that the institution is "for the purpose of imparting knowledge of the science of spirit, and of the creation of the spiritual universe, and of the origin and phenomena of matter, and thus to make manifest the relation between God and the soul and between the soul and the body, and thereby promote man's moral and physical health." Dr. Arens does not believe in spending time on the small questions, such as occupy the minds of our scientists. He tackles only the biggest problems; and, if he gets floored every time that he grapples with the infinite, it makes no difference with him. He renews the struggle with that good nature and confidence which show he is wholly unconscious of defeat.

IN an editorial showing how sectarian colleges are hampered in their efforts to secure first-class teachers, the Boston Sunday *Herald* observes: "Let us, for a moment, imagine a high endowment for the foundation of a college of science, in which each department should have its special professor, with the requirement that each incumbent should not only be an original investigator, having the reputation that accompanies good work, but should possess the added grace of being a member of some evangelical church; and we hazard the conjecture that the chairs could not be filled, or, if filled, would not only exhaust the field, but leave sad gaps in other colleges. A lucrative field is here open for aspiring graduates who can cling to dogma and yet make a record in silence. Such a man would find the arms of a hundred crippled chairs widely outstretched to receive him. The reason why Catholic colleges are usually reduced to atrophy, as regards a scientific department, is not that they would not like to add this vital feature to their curriculum; but it comes from the very grave difficulty of finding men of science who are at the same time well grounded in the dogmas of the Church. Thus it is that a non-sectarian college—other things being equal—will possess a vigor and freshness, an elasticity and vitality, which stand in bright contrast to the usual character of the sectarian college."

A WRITER in the *Church Review* (London) thus comments on Bradlaugh's taking his seat in the House of Commons: "The 'irony of fate' never received a more noteworthy illustration than in the House of Commons on the 13th of last month. A Conservative government, in place, but not in power, looked helplessly on when, after five years'

struggle against one man's right to his seat in Parliament, that man took the oath and his seat; and the Conservative 'leader of the House,' attempting to interfere, was promptly suppressed by the speaker in whose re-election his party had just—because they couldn't help it—acquiesced. We hope and believe that the same circumstances which thus enabled Mr. Bradlaugh to enter upon the performance of those duties which he owes to his constituents will hold back the government from any fresh attack upon him in the law courts. Two things only remain now to be done,—the passing of an Affirmation Bill of wide scope, and the expunging from the records of the House of Commons of the unconstitutional resolutions with which the sessions of 1880–84 have disgraced them. Mr. Bradlaugh and the people of Northampton have apparently triumphed at last. We congratulate them. Of all those who have taken part in the 'Bradlaugh Question,' Mr. Bradlaugh himself is the only one whose record is perfectly clean. The fact that his personality is detestable to them should not prevent honest men from acknowledging this."

THE *Independent* says that "any college is justified in making it a bar against the election of a professor of ethics, or history, or political economy, or Greek, or geology, that he is an atheist. If that is narrowness or bigotry, then make the most of it. We are not ashamed of such bigotry. . . . The abler and brighter and more specious an atheist is, the more we do not want him in a Christian college as the pattern and instructor of our children. He can do all the more hurt. It makes no difference if he is the best geologist living. We may then, perhaps, call him in for an occasional lecture; but we do not select him, and pay him to do work against the faith we believe." Although, in the words quoted, the "atheist" only is mentioned as unfit to be a professor in a college,—the word "atheist" being an opprobrious term, used apparently to conceal partially the actual exclusiveness and bigotry of the writer,—it is evident from the editorial from which the extract is taken that its author would exclude equally all "who disbelieve in the Christian religion." The *Independent* would not have a college limit its appointments "by denominational lines." Oh, no! but it would, nevertheless, have the limits established by "lines" that would make impossible the appointment to college professorships, not only of Huxley, Tyndall, Haeckel, Vogt, and scores of other distinguished scientists, but of all those "disbelievers in the Christian religion" who now teach at Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins University, the Michigan State University, the Iowa State University, and at all other first-class educational institutions. The pious editor's declaration that he is "not ashamed of such bigotry" would only make it appear more offensive, but for the indication the article contains that the real human nature in the author is actually ashamed of the unbrotherly and exclusive position his theology—the fossilized thought of half-civilized ages—compels him to take.

ANOTHER UNITARIAN BATTLE.

For a year or two, the Unitarian denomination has been congratulating itself on the establishment, within its borders, of an era of harmony and peace. Its National Conference, though retaining the long-fought-over Preamble, had distinctly declared that it was not to be regarded as an "authoritative test of Unitarianism." The "Year-book controversy" had been decided on the principle of home rule; that is, of enrolling in the list of ministers the name of any person whom a Unitarian Society had chosen as its minister. The good suppers of the new club at the Hotel Vendome were evidently stimulating to good fellowship. And, meantime, the solid walls of the denominational building in Boston have been growing upward, alike satisfying the denomination's pride and betokening its prosperity. More recently, it has been announced that a portrait of Theodore Parker, an excellent likeness, has been specially painted for this Channing memorial edifice, and will have conspicuous place within it; and, to crown all, the American Unitarian Association has just published with its imprint, as one of its missionary books, a volume of Theodore Parker's selected writings. No more significant sign could be given that the old controversy over Parker is meant to be considered as denominationally settled, and the very bitterness of it, if possible, buried.

But, in the midst of this "era of good feeling," suddenly sounds forth the tocsin of war. And this time, for a novelty, the battle has broken out in the West. Hitherto there have been conflicts between Eastern and Western Unitarianism; but, in the West, Unitarianism, though weak in numbers, has been, at least in late years, so predominantly radical in its tendencies that there has been little room for open war. The conservatives, seeing no chance for carrying their points, have contented themselves for the most part with a silent protest; and the radicals had been led to believe that they were going to win their victory by the peaceful processes of evolution. Now, all is changed; and the parties are preparing for battle. *Unity*, which represents the radical tendencies, but has been conducted on the policy of admitting no controversies in its columns, has been compelled, in spite of its name, to show that it can defend its positions and principles, if attacked. And the attack has come in a way which cannot be ignored. The conservatives are the challenging party. They have questioned the right of *Unity* and its editorial writers to be regarded as working for Unitarianism or even (in the case of some of the writers) as having a moral legitimacy within the Unitarian ranks. In fact, the conservatives have attempted the old problem of defining Unitarianism; and their definition embraces certain theological doctrines, which, they frankly say, ought to exclude from them some of their brethren.

This conflict becomes more important and inevitable from the fact that the conservatives are led by the Secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference, Mr. J. T. Sunderland, who holds a good deal of official power in his hands. He was, until a few months ago, one of the editors of *Unity*, but retired from that position because of the difference of view between himself and his co-workers; and now, with the editorial help of Mr. Herford, minister of the Arlington Street Church, Boston, he has an organ of his own, the recently established *Unitarian*, whose special mission it is to make Unitarianism stand for Christian theism and worship. This is published in Chicago, and is a near neighbor of *Unity*. Another weapon on the conservative side is a little paper called *Our Best Words*, published and edited by Mr. Douthit, the

zealous minister of a small Unitarian society in Shelbyville, Ill. But Mr. Sunderland, both by his ability and his office, is the more important opponent; and he is a frank and honest one. He plainly told his brethren of the Western Conference, before they re-elected him secretary last May, that he conscientiously believed that Unitarianism, in its Western churches and organizations particularly, needed these restrictions, and, if elected, that he should work with a view to secure them as far as possible. And, very soon after his election, he recommended, "as secretary," that the churches of the Western Conference should adopt as basis of church organization the following form: "In the love of truth and in the spirit of Jesus Christ, we join for the worship of God and the service of man." He also recommended a statement of similar tenor, but more elaborate phraseology, for all Western Unitarian conferences. And this he did for the reason he had given in his annual report, that such a basis as that which the Western Conference and some churches had adopted—namely, "Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion"—was not sufficient to exclude from positions of active influence in churches "Agnostics, Spiritualists, and Materialists."

It seemed to us at the time that, after Mr. Sunderland had given fair warning of the course he should pursue, the radicals of the Conference, who had a large majority, stultified themselves by re-electing him. We know that they wanted to show that Mr. Sunderland's theological views did not operate as a bar to his receiving their full fellowship and confidence. Were they not contending for the principle of fellowship and co-operation in religious work, in spite of difference of religious opinions? and was not this very vote for secretary to test their own faithfulness to this principle? But it is one thing to be ready to fellowship and work with another person of different religious views on entirely free and equal terms, each doing what he individually can to advance his own views as well as promote common aims; and it is another and quite different thing for a body of persons, who have announced their faith in certain principles and a corresponding policy of action, to put into a position where he is to do their work to a considerable extent for them a person who has announced that he holds and will endeavor to execute a contrary policy and principles. This latter thing is what the radical majority of the Western Conference did. It was magnanimous and fraternal; but it was not rational, nor did fellowship in freedom require it. If they thought thereby to preserve peace, the hope has been disappointed. Their action has probably precipitated the conflict.

It is not natural for Unitarian societies to receive from an official hand beyond their own borders, even as a recommendation, any kind of formal statement, especially a theological one, to which they are to subscribe. The traditional spirit of individual mental liberty and congregational independence starts up in protest. This has doubtless been the result of Mr. Sunderland's policy as secretary. And when, in a correspondence with Mr. Connor, minister of the Unitarian church at East Saginaw, Mich., he plainly intimated that, unless that gentleman held certain theological views, he (Mr. Sunderland) did not think that he had any right to the name Unitarian or to be preaching in a Unitarian church, we do not wonder that Mr. Connor should have burst out in an indignant letter against the assumption of any other Unitarian minister to define Unitarianism for him. The spirit of Mr. Connor's letter was not so good as his cause; but this defect could not prevent fair-minded readers from seeing that he

was defending a principle which has been professedly dear to the Unitarian heart, however great and frequent may have been its violation in deed. And so the Western Unitarians are taking their positions for the battle. Unitarianism in the East has not yet been much affected. Our amiable neighbor, the *Christian Register*, is still serene in its visions of harmony; the denominational building on Beacon Street is going on toward completion, undisturbed by the cry of war; and the Unitarian Club still smokes the pipe of peace in the Vendome's elegant supper-rooms.

The principle, however, which is at stake in this new Unitarian battle, is a large one. It is nothing less than this: Shall all dogmatic tests of whatever kind be laid aside in religious organization and fellowship, and the ethical test alone remain? Shall the two fundamental principles of Unitarianism, reason in religion and supremacy of character, be followed squarely through to their ultimate conclusions without fear or favor of any theological beliefs, or shall the denomination now intrench itself on some kind of beliefs concerning God, immortality, and worship, and the spiritual authority of Jesus? We understand the Western conservative Unitarians to take the latter of these alternatives, and the radicals to take the former. The radicals are really contending for the principles of the Free Religious Association, and for their right honestly to stand on that ground and give to Unitarianism so broad a meaning as to cover them. Their ethical honesty in doing this is called in question by their opponents, and such an impeachment of their honor inevitably incites them to self-defence. But they assume no apologetic attitude, but boldly claim their right to take Unitarianism forward to new meanings. Mr. Gannett—the last man against whom any charge of ethical dishonesty can hold—makes clear, by an able and uncompromising article in *Unity*, his own position and that, probably, of his colleagues. He sees and states the issue plainly, and is ready to meet it. Averse by nature to controversy, he yet knows there are some things better than peace. Coming from a man of such acknowledged devoutness, his statement should open the eyes of the conservatives to the narrowness and untenableness of their position. Says Mr. Gannett: "Reason and doctrine, say these friends, fix Unitarian fellowship; reason and *not* doctrine, say we. Character and a creed, say they; character and *not* creed, we." *The Index* can but hope that those who are battling for reason rather than doctrine, and for character and *not* creed, will win.

WM. J. POTTER.

WEBER'S "HISTORY OF EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY."

The University of Strassburg had long been a centre of culture and science, when it was reorganized under the German empire in the year 1871, after the cession of Alsace-Lorraine. Goethe, Herder, and other heroes of German thought are well remembered having been students in the wonderful city on the Ill, where Erwin von Steinbach's cathedral grandly towers into the sky. It was a great change, though; but many professors who had been teaching in the time of the French government remained in their positions, and perhaps the most prominent among them was the philosopher Prof. Alfred Weber, a man as much acquainted with the drift of French culture as with German philosophy.

Weber is a native Alsatian, and has been educated in French colleges and universities at Strassburg and Paris. Yet his love for the kindred race

on the other bank of the Rhine, his acquaintance with and appreciation of German thought, induced him to visit German universities also. His patriotic attachment to Germany is the more noteworthy, as during his younger years there was no hope for a reunion or closer connection with the old Fatherland. So much the more he aspired, with all the sincerity of his fervid enthusiasm, to keep his country in close connection with the growth of scientific and humanitarian ideas in Germany. Naturally, a man like Weber became the interpreter of German thought to his French countrymen. Without mentioning national prejudice, it is, indeed, or at least it appears to be, very difficult to the French mind to grasp and understand German thought; and it is remarkable how often French scientists, for this very reason, either ignored or misinterpreted the works of their German colleagues. I refer to such facts as the miscomprehension of Kant's philosophy by Comte and Laplace's* being ignorant of Kant's nebular hypothesis.

Weber has done more than any other Alsatian or Frenchman in bridging over the gap between the two nationalities. His work, *Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne*, will be an everlasting monument of his merits with special reference to this fact; for his chapters on Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, etc., are most brilliant, and at the same time clear and exhaustive. Thus, he introduces the philosophic ideas of his Teutonic brothers to his French countrymen. It is a book which unites the elegance of diction, for which the French are famous, with the German depth and thoroughness.

The beautiful Alsace has been a country of thinkers and authors as much as any other German province. It was, in the Middle Ages, a stronghold of German civilization and thought. From Eticho, the first Alsatian duke, down to the seizure of Strassburg by the French under Louis XIV., in the end of the seventeenth century, many Alsations were among the foremost champions of progress, liberty, science, and art. One of the very first German poets mentioned in the history of literature is Otfried von Weissenburg, an Alsatian, who translated the gospel into German. Reimar von Hagenau and Gottfried von Strassburg are bright stars in the galaxy of the German Minnesang. It was in Strassburg that Gutenberg, of Mayence, established the first printing-press; and here Schoengauer lived, who was famous for his engravings in copper. Master Eckard, although no native Alsatian, preached in Strassburg. He and his disciples, Johannes Tauler and Rulman Merswin, were most effective harbingers of the Reformation. Then, in the great spiritual contest of the Reformation, the most prominent literary men on either side (perhaps with the single exception of Hans Sachs, the mastersinger of Nürnberg) were Alsations. I refer to Sebastian Brant, the author of *The Ship of Fools*, Geiler von Keisersberg, Wimpfeling, Thomas Murner, who so effectually satirized Luther, and Johann Fischart. In the Napoleonic wars, no fewer than three Alsations

were famous generals; namely, Kleber, Kellermann, and Rapp.

These are facts which prove the value of this beautiful country. Certainly, the French lost much, when they were obliged to surrender it to Germany. And the profit which they might have derived from the Alsations would have been greater still, if they had been more appreciative of their virtues. No doubt, Weber's book is one of the most benign services ever rendered to France by Alsations. It will contribute much to reconcile the old hostility, for all works of art and science are peace-makers. I gladly take occasion to mention that recently (during the last month) the fourth edition of this History of Philosophy has been published; and, as I glance through its pages, I find that the book has increased in size as well as with regard to its contents. I have shown elsewhere that Weber belongs to that class of philosophers who must be regarded as the most sound and healthy in our days, breaking a path for a better view of life than is given in either optimism or pessimism. Weber accepts the doctrine of monism, and traces, like Schopenhauer, matter and spirit back to the same source; namely, the will. But he differs from the pessimistic philosophers. According to Weber, it is not the mere will,—that rude desire for existence,—but the will as the aspiration to something higher,—the will of doing the good and of realizing the ideal. ("La volonté, non la volonté qui tend à l'être et rien qu'à l'être comme chez Schopenhauer, mais la volonté qui tend à la réalisation du bien, de l'idéal.") I call such view of life meliorism;* and also Weber, in his latest edition, has accepted the term. In the preface, after defining his position with regard to optimism and pessimism, he says: "S'il nous était permis de désigner notre point de vue par une néologisme, nous dirions que ce n'est ni l'optimisme satisfait, ni le pessimisme désespéré, mais bien le meliorisme, fondé tout à la fois sur les faits évidents que l'optimisme ignore et sur les aspirations imprescriptibles que le pessimisme étouffe."

I conclude with the statement that Weber's book, as it is the best work of its kind in French, has not its equal in the English literature. In this country, a translation of Schwegler's History of Philosophy, a German work, is generally used as a text-book. Let me add that Weber's work is in every respect its superior, and will be a welcome source of information to any scholar of philosophy who is acquainted with the French language.

PAUL CARUS.

"THE IDEA OF GOD."

Mr. John Fiske's book on this subject is quite popular as the avowed creed of an evolutionist, and in this light chiefly has it been noticed. It is creeds which are still things of chief interest to the majority. If the creed is satisfactory, it is of small consequence whether his proofs and defences are sound and just. Philosophy exactly reverses this order of interest. It cares nothing for creeds, but only for sound rational methods and logical processes with their results. In this light let the book be once reviewed in perhaps the only weekly in the world that has a constituency able to appreciate such a process.

We shall not stay to consider his exposition of the genesis of the idea of God, because the idea itself will demand all our time.

As a lofty mountain spreads its base afar, so Mr. Fiske begins his approach to his own idea far off, by contrasting it with the action and influence of another idea opposed to his own. This

favors rhetorical exhibition, if not elucidation of thought. He represents all modern atheism and all the conflicts of modern science and religion as the effect of the notion of God as transcending the world, and the world as being a mechanism of his creation, instead of being considered as the working and manifestation of his power and presence. This view, he argues, shuts out God from the world and from all agency in it, unless he interfere with its laws, and so confound science and dishonor his own work. God is no longer necessary; and, if the world is eternal, he never was necessary.

This conclusion is not necessary from even the false premise of a mechanical universe. The perfection of this mechanism for its ends in a moral economy may consist in requiring the hand of its Maker all along or at intervals, to meet the emergencies arising from the action of the free moral will. This is conceivable; and that is enough, since we are dealing only with thought.

Further, for an extra-natural agent to act on nature and use nature or in any wise modify its course is not necessarily a violation of its order. The human volition does modify nature's course continually. Any superhuman volition may do the same; and, if such agent is invisible, the result will be a miracle, whether its effects appear through the organism of a prophet or human medium or directly in the changed phenomena of nature.

This does not in any wise imperil or impair either science or religion, because science itself observes its own boundaries and nature's fixity, together with the interactions of the higher forces. All that we need here is due proof of superhuman action in relation to nature's action and forms; and this we can know by knowing nature's own regular and necessary action and the difference of its action in all such superhuman interpositions, so that all through it is a scientific observation. It is not the mechanical construction of the world which is here the source of our trouble, but the mechanical notion of human and superhuman action relative to nature as a mechanism, as if that action interfered with the nature, plan, and laws of the mechanism, as Mr. Fiske assumes.

The Church has never been much divided on the question of the immanence and emanence of the divine Being relative to the universe; and very few Christian divines, if any, have held either one, to the exclusion of the other. For all alike hold that the universe is finite, and other than God as well as infinitely less than God. They must therefore all hold that, in every possible meaning, God must transcend the universe. They must also logically allow—as they do, the Greek as well as the Latin—that the created universe is really something, that it constitutes some complex of forces, so that of itself it can and will do something, else what is the wisdom of creating it a thing utterly powerless and useless? They also claim with united voice that this created universe is not to be worshipped, because it is not God, but that it is yet worthy of the creative fiat of the Infinite. They only differ in that some of them more than others vaguely identify or unite the agency of God with the agency of nature; and the Greek Fathers, perhaps, do this more than the Latin. Not always; for the Synoptics and Platonizing Christians—who were, for the most, numerous among the Greeks—made matter an eternal force other than and independent of God (and, indeed, so did Aristotle and some of the Latin Fathers and theologians down to a late date). But, whatever their minor differences, all the Christian Fathers and theologians have equally been at an infinite remove from the cosmic philos-

*This fact is not so much known as it ought to be. I quote from J. B. Stallo's excellent work, *Modern Physics*, p. 280: "The nebular hypothesis, in the form in which it is now generally held, is due to Kant, and differs in several essential particulars from the hypothesis of Laplace. This latter hypothesis is limited in terms to our planetary system; and there is no indication in any of the writings of the French astronomer, certainly none in his *Exposition du Système du Monde*, that he ventured to extend it to the entire universe, as was expressly done by Kant. But there is a difference still more important between the hypothesis of the two thinkers. Kant's assumption was that 'all the materials composing the spheres that belong to our solar world were, in the beginning of all things, resolved into their elementary substance, and filled the whole space of the system in which these spheres now move.' This assumption is common to all recent forms of the nebular hypothesis. . . . The assumption of Laplace, on the contrary, is simply that the atmosphere of the sun, at one time, extended beyond the orbits of the farthest planets; and that the formation of the planets and their satellites, as well as that of the comets, was due to a gradual cooling and contraction of this atmosphere."

*Of the essayist's *Monism and Meliorism*. New York: Christern. 1885.

ophers, who merge God in an eternal universe, conscious or unconscious. No writer should confound these two systems of God and the universe, and attempt to advance the latter view in the name of the former, as coincident with Jesus and Paul.

I claim that this cosmic view, so far from exalting, as its advocates claim, degrades the notion of God. Though it may allow that God is more or less a sort of mentality as adumbrated by our own, yet, as it confines his action to nature and conscious finite beings as the modes of his agency, it limits him, because these are limited. Metaphysicians may affirm the infinity of space, if they choose; but the assertion of the infinity of its contents is a self-contradiction, unless all space is absolutely filled, which no one can affirm.

Further, this notion degrades Deity to the rank of the lowest organic beings, and even inorganic beings, and does not anywhere raise him above the rank of organic beings; for that were to transcend the universe. And, if that were allowed, we could assign no limit to his possible action, whether in accordance with or in counteraction of some natural forms and motions.

This notion furnishes no advantages in relation to science and natural laws. It does indeed secure by necessity regularity of nature's action, but so does the conception of the world as a created unconscious complexus of forces. It has indeed the peculiar distinction of keeping its God constantly occupied, like a blind Samson, grinding in the prison house to keep the mill going,—a form of activity we do not covet for God or man, relative to their creations or inventions. It keeps God always at work, without ever being able to effect an achievement. According to the counter-theory, he is able to achieve some works at once,—to speak and it is done, to command and it stands fast. Cosmic Theism says virtually that God is the universe and no more, since he does not transcend it. Christian Theism says that God is the creator of the universe and infinitely transcends it, and is able to vary it at will, and also to work with infinite variety in many ways transcending our imagination, which is limited by our experience; and we suppose he is always so working, as implied in his infinity.

The doctrine of a cosmic Deity immanent in the universe, if pondered a little more deeply, will disclose a new and more startling aspect. Mr. Fiske holds firmly to the doctrine of modern psychological science, that all phenomena are subjective states, which finds clear expression in this book as follows: "In the deepest sense, all that we know is mind. . . . States of consciousness we call material qualities, and matter is nothing but the sum of such qualities," and much more of the same kind. All the known and knowable universe, then, it is agreed, is *ego*, the known *ego*, states of consciousness, the *ego* in said states. Immanence in the universe, therefore, is immanence in the individual, sensible *ego*.

It is evident that the writer did not think of this in the course of his exposition of the divine immanence in the universe. His thought has slipped down to the old pre-scientific notion, still popular, of the universe as non-egoistic. In unfolding his theology, he has entirely forgotten his psychology. He thinks only of one universe, as all-embracing, vast, boundless, fit area for the infinite presence and affording sufficient scope for the action of his infinite energies. Hence, in close connection with this, he gives at length the common proofs of the unity of the universe, which are utterly needless to one who keeps in mind that all phenomena are modes of one subject: so that the universe is not only a unity, but a conscious unity; and doubt is impossible.

Now, to come to the genuine concepts of science, that the universe is a complex subjective state and that the immanence of God in the universe is only his immanence in me and others like me, it does not take much of a deity to fill the immensity of the sensations of a human being or any number of them. A deity confined to such a domicile will never command much reverence.

If, as it is alleged, this immanent Deity operates all the universe, he operates my sensibility and no more. He is thus made the subjective energy of all my sensitive being and experience, and so identified with me. He and I cannot be discriminated. From psychological science, I learn that I am the immanent subject, active and passive, of all my own conscious states; that is, of all the universe. From theology, with Mr. Fiske and others for teacher, I learn that this immanent subject-agent of all my consciousness, or the universe, is deity. As he says, "The universe is not a machine, but an organism with an indwelling principle of life," which is true; and that principle of life is called by Fiske God, and by psychology it is called man, the individual *ego*, conscious and subconscious. God is thus but another name for self,—certainly a practical truth often exemplified.

It is well said that a liar needs a good memory. The same need belongs to the system-builder and special pleader, unless he happens to have hit upon the truth, which is clearly not the rare luck of our author here. His unconscious transitions from *ego* to *non-ego*, in his conception of the universe, are matched by his unconscious transitions between two opposed conceptions of matter,—as forceful and forceless. He says: "The conception of matter as dead or inert belongs, indeed, to an order of thought which modern knowledge has entirely outgrown. If the study of physics has taught us anything, it is that nowhere in nature is inertness and quiescence to be found. Matter is indestructible, motion is continuous; and beneath both these universal truths lies the fundamental truth that force is persistent." This can be true only of non-egoistic matter and motion, of which it is confessed we know nothing; and it is clearly known matter and motion of which he speaks. And this is only sensation, which often ceases altogether and starts again.

But, to meet him on his own false ground, it is to be observed that this ert living matter, quivering with energy, he elsewhere, and close by, describes as intrinsically inert. Its energy is pronounced to be a foreign element which pervades matter, shapes, animates, and directs it as its "principle of life." In answer to the complaint of Leibnitz, that Newton's law of gravitation had relieved God from duty in the physical world, Mr. Fiske says: "Now, the fallacy of this argument of Leibnitz is easy to detect. It lies in the metaphysical conception of the word 'force.' Force is implicitly regarded as a sort of entity or demon, which has a mode of action distinguishable from that of Deity: otherwise, it is meaningless to speak of substituting one for the other." Thus we are here told that it is a fallacy to suppose there is any force distinguishable from that of Deity. Astronomy, physics, and chemistry, he says, know only forms, impressions, and motions, never any push or pull in changes of places; and all phrases implying force and its action are used only by way of convenience or by mistake. It is not in matter to produce its own motion and changes, and the only explanation is God. Like some old-time preachers, he thus strips his energetic, living matter of all its force and life, that he may ascribe them wholly to God, or rather erect them into an unknown god. The force persistent through all phenomenal changes is the cause of the changes,

the eternal almighty power which pervades and animates and energizes the universe,—that is, my sensations.

Now, this force, this god almighty in the material world, cannot be discriminated from the material world itself. Matter and its force are never known apart, and never can be. If the force is not a sensible phenomenon, it is not immediately known, but only inferred; and the question is whether we are to infer that it is intrinsic or extrinsic to known matter,—that is, whether or not it is one with matter. The simplest inference is that they are one, that matter is intrinsically forceful. Then we have a unity intelligible and competent, for aught we know, to be the sole author of all that the universe unfolds. We then need no other god, so far; and this refutation of atheism is good only for those who are content to split matter into form and force, and call the latter god, and forget that the form in which the god dwells is the conscious sensitive states of the *ego*, and that their animating and animated subject ought to be considered as also *ego*.

WM. I. GILL.

THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

II. Second Stage.

Disunion, the answer of the South to the problem, the Sphinx rejected, and, rejecting, devoured its victims. The belligerent systems were forced back under the same general government. The War wrought no miracle. The properties of the two opposing social principles survived untouched. There were the same irreconcilable differences. There would be the old irrepressible conflicts. The pacific co-existence of these contrary systems under one government or under two was simply impossible. Disunion, therefore, had it succeeded, would have failed to cure the disease. The same old feud would have broken out again and again, in that event, between two nations instead of between two sections; and the international quarrel would have lasted until one of the powers had fallen under the dominion of the other. The extinction of one of these forces became then the condition of national unity and greatness. In accomplishing this object, two mistakes may be made: we may rely too passively upon natural causes or too positively upon personal ones. The first was the error of the founders of the Republic; the second, that of its preservers. Nature may be assisted in her labors. It is assistance, however, which should be offered. We must not attempt to supersede her office by any pragmatic action of our own. This personal aid is never wholly useless, and sometimes it is of the highest value.

That there should be but one social system under as there was but one political government over the two sections, the strongest motives now enjoined. National unity demanded it. Justice could not be established, domestic tranquillity insured, the common defence provided for, the general welfare promoted, the blessings of liberty secured, by any possible combination of circumstances in which this master element was wanting. This was the posture of affairs at the close of the War.

The abolition of slavery was, of course, an important step toward extinction and uniformity. By it, a powerful principle disseminated itself through the South. The idea of individual freedom, self-ownership, travelled like light to the remotest spaces and the darkest corners, passed like heat through all conditions and strata of degradation and oppression, and stirred into consciousness the manhood of four million slaves. It was

the seed-corn of a social revolution, whose fruition lay then and now afar off.

The wound which emancipation inflicted upon the Southern system, though deep, was not immedicable. It rallied to repair this hurt to such effect that the slavery of a class formed itself upon the stump of that of the individual. African slavery was metamorphosed into African serfdom. The old fly-wheel which the War had fractured was skilfully replaced by a new one, hardly less powerful or efficient. It was a stroke whose consequences, had it succeeded then, the wisest could not have foreseen. It astounded the North. The instantaneous alarm which ensued disabled the North from being "amazed, temperate and furious, loyal and neutral, in a moment." But that which it is possible to be in a moment, that it certainly was in amazing measure,—loyal and furious. It precipitated itself upon the African serf-power with the fierceness of a tiger. It was in this temper and with this expedition that the gigantic task of reconstructing Southern society was entered upon by the North. To avert this impending danger and fortify its own ascendancy, that section adopted a policy of enforced conformity toward the South, prescribed conditions for its readmission into the Union, demanded security for the future. The condition prescribed and the security required were nothing less than the entire and radical reconstitution of Southern society upon the model of free institutions. This was the Northern fiat method of solving the problem. Congress said: Now we will make the Southern States over after our image. In the image of the free-man of the North, we will form master and slave; and they shall be equal. But it forgot that the soul of time must first move over this mass of aristocratic and servile habits and passions; that the first object of the legislative fiat should be the dispensation of light. The schoolmaster, the common-school system, are the pioneers, the pathfinders to the new earth. All the lower instincts, the whole brute creation of both races, ought to have been considered, in any general scheme of social reconstruction. The extension of the notion of property, free labor, individual responsibility, must necessarily precede the birth of the notion of public relations and responsibilities. These were the conditions to the success of the congressional experiment. They were violated in every particular. Scared at the rise of a serf-power in national politics, the North erected the negroes into citizens; and thus the blacks, without preparation or warning, were launched upon the unknown sea of self-government. Without chart or compass and in thick weather, they sailed upon their voyage of discovery. The fate of eleven States was thrust into the baby grasp of four million political foundlings,—four million foundlings crying in that dark night for light, and literally with no language but a cry. Of such material the North built the breakwater between its supremacy and the South. What followed? That dreadful decade of anarchy and misery. Misrule and a carnival of corruption on the one hand, the darkest atrocities and a saturnalia of blood on the other. The new citizens, without experience or moral leadership, fell easy dupes to gangs of political adventurers and scoundrels,—unresisting victims to organized malignity and violence. At bay and in the last extremity, the South fought with the fury of fiends. We can see now that the issue was never doubtful. The utter helplessness of the new citizens, their appalling poverty and ignorance, could not furnish a foothold for Northern ideas or the social fulcrum necessary to the overthrow of the Southern system. The North needed a place to stand upon. It wanted an ade-

quate prop for its lever. In its alarm and anger, it neglected to provide them. The power was too great. The improvised ground trembled and sank, the artificial fulcrum split and crumbled under the strain and pressure. Failure was a foregone conclusion, and it came at last in the terrific explosion of 1876.

A. H. GRIMKE.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

DR. PAUL CARUS will give a free reading on Tuesday, February 23, at 3 o'clock P.M., at Mrs. Martin's, in the Hall of Otis School, off Brimmer Street. The subject will be poems by Schiller, Heine, and others. German scholars are invited.

THERE will be a lecture at Fraternity Hall, Parker Memorial Building, by Dr. Samuel Kneeland, Sunday evening, February 21, on "Thorwaldsen's Sculptures." The lecture will be illustrated with oxy-hydrogen light. Tickets of admission, 25 cents, which are for sale at *The Index* office and at Oliver Ditson & Co.'s.

TO KNOW things as they are to us is all we need to know, all that is possible to be known. A knowledge of the Supersensible, were it gained, would, by the very fact of coming under the conditions of knowledge, only be knowledge of its relations to us. The knowledge would still be relative, phenomenal.—*Lewes*.

IN a suit for damages against a Brooklyn railroad company for the loss of a leg, the plaintiff's counsel, in summing up in court, said:—

My client, gentlemen of the jury, has lost a leg. Look at him. You can see that he has to use crutches to take the place of that useful limb. So, with only one leg, he is doomed to go through life, with one leg to go down to the grave,—the grave over which the sweet daisies and pretty—er—dandelions will wave their heads in sorrow, and the grass will gracefully grow.

DR. MONROE, in his *Iron-clad Age*, evidently had in mind a certain class—a very small one, we hope—of his subscribers, when he wrote: "Did you ever observe that the man who owes you and doesn't intend to pay, or has robbed you under legal forms or overreached you by betraying your confidence, will never answer a letter calling his attention to the matter? Not one in a thousand of such fellows will vouchsafe a line in reply to a civil letter from the man they have robbed or fraudulently overreached. This is one phase of human nature. It is an infallible mark of inherent scoundrelism."

IN a recent lecture on "A Religion of Morality," reported in the *Philadelphia Times*, Mr. S. B. Weston said: "The signs of the times point out the fact that the religion of theology is dying, and a religion of morality is slowly but surely rising. People are not over-fond of exertion in matters of religion; and the religion of morality demands of us, however perfect we are, to rise still higher, for it requires not only individual rectification, but the rectification of human society. I believe that moral ideas and endeavors are the life and soul and inspiration of all that is best and most essential in religion, and that character and humanitarian deeds are far truer and nobler fruits of religion than any kind of theological creed."

REV. JOSEPH COOK, in his opening lecture in Boston this season, began by saying that he stood upon the platform as with one hand on his father's grave and one on his own grave. His robust appearance impaired somewhat the effect of the latter part of the statement. He thanked all for

their sympathy with him in his loss, and paid a tribute to his father's memory. He then referred to his experience as a traveller around the world. Next, turning to agnostic doubts, he said that "the buzzing of any bee in the West is sure to be heard at the antipodes." He objected to sending any uncertain sounds to the missions, alluding, probably, to the probation after death heresy. Evolution, he said, was being reduced in importance, agnosticism growing less arrogant, and the wave of doubt had passed. Spencer's books would not be bought, except as curiosities, ten years after his death. Cambridge was changing to theism. To those who regard theism as better than Christianity, this was gratifying, since Cambridge has always been Christian. New England universities were changing, and it would not long be safe for individuals to urge their doubts. Whether they would be boycotted or not, he did not say. He opposed the scheme to join the evangelical and unevangelical churches. It would lead to "conglomeration." The unevangelical must abandon their views. The chief peril of the Church was in receiving individuals who call themselves orthodox, but are, in fact, Universalists. The lecturer next referred to and disposed of several heresies. One religious journal had advanced the monstrous idea that a man has "a second chance in probation after death." Mr. Cook's notion is, it will be remembered, that a man has not even one chance "in probation after death," although there is a small chance after *breath*. After prayer by two other ministers, Mr. Cook gave a list of books which he recommended to be read, passed to a consideration of Gladstone's course, discussed Irish troubles, home rule, etc., and bade Gladstone God-speed. All the foregoing was merely a prelude to the lecture proper, which was begun with a quotation from Shakspeare, and was mainly a repetition of the lecturer's views as to "total surrender" and deliverance through Christ "from sin and the love of sin." Mr. Cook's hearers cannot complain that he does not serve them with a *variety* of thought, be its quality what it may.

MR. JOEL LEWIS, of Orwell, Ont., for many years prominent as a free thinker in that part of the Province, died on the 6th inst. at the age of eighty-three. Mr. Lewis was an ingenious and skilful mechanic, a successful farmer, and a public-spirited citizen. He was radical in his religious views, and generous in supporting, by his personal influence and money, the liberal movements of the day. A friend writes of the deceased, as follows: "To the very last, his faculties were unclouded. He called the whole household to his bedside, all by name, and gave a kind word to each, and then passed to that rest which he had longed for. He was questioned just before he died by parties who hoped to elicit something that could be used as evidence of a recantation as to his religious opinions. His answers were in every case unusually clear and to the point. He died as he had lived, a true man and a philosopher. By undue influence in the time of the family's bereavement, the orthodox people obtained the consent of the widow to have a clergyman officiate at the funeral, although this was contrary to his distinctly expressed wish the day before he died. Some of his religious opponents regard it as a great victory." A victory won by performing over the body of a man when dead religious services in which the man when alive did not believe, and which he had asked might be omitted at his funeral, is a "victory" which, while it disturbs not the dead, reflects no credit upon the intelligence, the liberality, or the moral sensibility of those capable of regarding such ceremonies as a sort of triumph over the aged free thinker or his opinions.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

THE DEAD GODS.

BY HUDSON TUTTLE.

The dead gods! Can the gods die? Aye, die, and be buried out of sight beneath the wreck thrown from the seething waves on the coast line of the ages. There they lie on that desolate coast, against the black background, deserted, pale, dead, past all resurrection or second coming. About them lie the ruins of the races that bowed to their shrine,—the broken column, the crumbling temple, brooded over by silence profound, impenetrable.

Dead tribes, dead empires, dead races, dead civilizations, and dead gods scattered as sea-waste along the interminable shore line which extends into the night of the past, lost in clouds and mist.

In the lovely age of a new earth, fresh, strong, and exultant in its youth, arose the Persian civilization. Above the lofty walls of Babylon, centre of Magian faith, arose the more ambitious towers devoted to her gods,—proud gods, lording it over their abject subjects.

They forgot their lineage. They ignored their ancestors; for beyond them, the terror of a savage race, were the fetiches, of which they were the union and concentration. Innumerable minor fetiches became in them one, blended in the sun, most glorious object of worship in the heavens. Light and darkness, Ormuzd and Arimanes, good and evil,—how naturally the antagonism falls! The vast empire, stretching from Indus to the Mediterranean, received with unquestioning devotion the religion of light. The Magians were the priestly order,—more powerful than kings or nobles, whom they created and cast down at a word; for they were directly endowed by the gods. The king might rule the people, but they ruled the king. Theirs was the court of final appeal. When the oracle was consulted, the deity spoke; and disobedience called down divine wrath.

How honored were these gods! The finest marble, the hardest granite carved into exquisite forms and polished with incredible labor, formed the

walls of their temples which, within, were encrusted with silver, gold, and precious stones. On their altars burned the perpetual fire, consuming the first and best of the flocks; for grateful was the odor of roasting flesh to the nostrils of these deities. In the very shadows of these vast towers, the people dwelt in hovels, uncomfortable for beasts, and were content with innutritious pulse and sodden cake. Oh, then was the paradise of the priests and the high tide of godhood! The people were all believing, and doubt was unknown.

It was a grand belief,—this worship of light and flame as the emblem of the Creator. Nature wrote in her symbolism the profoundest distinctions of the analyzing mind. What is more glorious than the sun bursting out of the eastern darkness, flooding the world with dazzling light? Life awakes at the coming of the lord of day. He is the creator of the life he evokes. How sad is his setting in the mists of evening, and terrible the darkness!—more terrible to the uncultured, as their fancy peoples it with invisible beings. The beast of prey lurks in the shadows, and the enemy takes advantage of it to approach. It was opposed to light; it was the antagonist to good; it was the symbol of evil. Here was founded the religion of which the Magians held the key, and swayed the destinies of the Chaldean and Persian civilizations. When Babylon had reached the zenith of her glory, resting on the lovely Euphrates, could send her orders to remotest tribes by a single messenger and have them obeyed; when the summits of her broad walls gave ample field for the manoeuvre of armies, and she could throw wide her hundred gates, allowing a host to march from each,—then with the splendor of war came the splendor of the priesthood; and the gods were supreme. There was the divine Father Ormuzd, "The King of Light," god of the Firmament, of "Goodness" and Truth; addressed as "Eternal Source of Sunshine and Light," "The Centre of all that exists," "The First-born of the Eternal One," "The Creator," "The Sovereign Intelligence," "The All-seeing," "The Just Judge." He rested on a white throne in the regions of pure light, and was the "Eternal One."

So far removed was he from the paths of men to heed their cries or minister to their cares, Mithras, the Mediator, came between the father god and the children of men. He was the sun-god, and they kept the twenty-fifth of December as his birthday. Then it is the sun from its southern journey perceptibly begins to return northward, or is born again; and they celebrated the event with far greater ceremonies than we now do our Christmas tide. And again, on the vernal equinox, or easter day, they held festivities which for splendor never were excelled. The "annual salutation of Mithras," the "Mediator" and "Savior," was an event in which the whole people participated; and neither time nor expense was spared to make the pageant attractive. It lasted forty days, which were devoted to thanksgiving and sacrifice.

On the appointed day, long before the light of morning, the great city Babylon, the centre of the fire-worship, was astir; and her myriad population swarmed the streets, washed and dressed in gala attire. The vast brazen gates looking to the east were wide swung; and the procession began its march to the holy Mount Orontes, there to salute the rising sun. First was the high priest, bare-headed, his tiara borne by a page; and behind him followed a long train of Magi, in robes of spotless white linen, chanting hymns, and swinging over their heads silver censers, in which the sacred fire was burning. Behind them, in single file, came three hundred and sixty-five noble youths, representing the days of the year, clad in scarlet to represent flame. Then came the chariot of

the sun, empty, but decorated with garlands, drawn by white horses harnessed with burnished gold; and led behind this the most superb white horse to be obtained, his forehead blazing with a diadem of gems. Then came the king in a chariot of ivory and gold, and an endless train of courtiers and nobles riding on camels, followed by the people. Slowly, they ascended the mountain; and, gaining its summit, the vast host faced the east, overlooking the purple plain, where on the remote horizon the first red blush of Aurora, goddess of morning, heralded the coming of her lord. The stone altar was prepared in front of the breathless ranks, and piled with odoriferous woods and frankincense, on which the beautiful white horse, devoted to the god, was placed. The high priest assumed his tiara, wreathed now with myrtle, and, taking the silver censer from which streamed the sacred fire, held it aloft while he watched for the coming of the sun. When its rim first appeared, he lighted the offering; and, as the fragrant smoke arose in the clear, still air, the Magi sang a hymn of praise to Ormuzd, source of all blessings, who had sent the radiant Mithras as a savior to mankind. Then the high priest offered prayers, and all the vast multitude joined in a chorus of praise; and beggar, priest, and king prostrated themselves before the orb of day.

Wonderful pageant, yet not so tender as that given in honor of Mylitta, virgin mother of Tam-muz, the incarnation of Mithras, the holy son of Ormuzd. She was represented as bearing in her arms her infant son, and the mothers of Tyre and Babylon bowed at her shrine. To them, she was the affectionate, all-loving mother, whose tender heart would be touched by their appeals, and intercede for them with her son. She was exceedingly beautiful, and the erring sinner could appeal to her with more chance of success than to the stern father. She had incarnated the divine nature without sin, and her son had suffered death for the salvation of men: hence, she had a right to plead. She was the "Celestial Virgin," "the Mother of God," "the Great Mother," "the Immaculate One."

Glorious age, when the gods were nigh unto the children of men, and daily conversed with them, daily told them that their followers should possess the earth, and force the heathen nations, who knew not Ormuzd or Mithras, to bow at their shrine! Arimanes, the Evil One, the Darkness, should be bound at length, and the garden of Paradise be regained.

What a beautiful dream of these gods! The sands drift in waves like the sea over their morning empire, and stagnant pools breed miasm, where the walls of Babylon swarmed with armed myriads and the towers of Babel provoked the deity by its cloud-piercing ambition. The mighty kings whose frown or smile was like a decree of fate, the leaders of armies and of States, the hero clad in brazen armor guiding the neighing war-horses in the thundering chariot, the countless swarms of warriors, gone—all gone; and the sands drift and the slimy pools fester in the sun. The bright orb rises as of old; but no Magi await his coming with swinging censer, no altar on the mountain tops, no sacred groves, no priests with flaming sacrifice. The empire is dead, the priests are dead. Ormuzd, the Father, Mithras, the Mediator, Mylitta, the Holy Mother, her beloved son, Arimanes, the Evil One, all dead—dead; and the desert sands drift, and the slimy pools fester in the sun.

By the side of the Persians lies another people, as remote in time, and occupying a wide extent of coast,—for they are hundreds of millions strong and of countless generations,—the Hindus, whose religion still exists, though its vitality is gone.

Over all that fruitful India, religion came to blight and blast with its doctrine of caste and childish whims, which destroyed the pleasures of living. The Brahmins encouraged beliefs entirely to their advantage, and ruled by inherited prejudice they had thus established. There was a host of gods, of whom Brahm was the eternal one, the unthinkable and infinite. Brahma came as his emanation, a lower degree, yet too far removed to require honors, festivals, or temples. Vishnu and Siva are the gods of good and evil. Siva is the destroyer; and his companion, Doorga, is the chief of the female deities, and her altar often streamed with blood, even of human victims.

Vishnu incarnated himself in Buddha, and Krishna was another incarnation. Their mothers were "Celestial Virgins" and were "Saviors." Of Buddha, it is said in the sacred books, "he gave his life like grass for the good of others." He was called the "great physician," "Saviour of the world," "the Blessed One," "the Anointed," the "Messiah," the "Only Begotten."

The theology taught by these gods was as gloomy as the shadows of the Indian jungle or its rock-hewn temples. Life was a struggle to free the spirit from the sin of having entered the flesh. The physical world and everything connected therewith were evil. It was the earliest form of primitive Christianity. The welfare of the spirit could only be gained by crucifixion of the flesh. The devotees sought the caverns in the densest forests. They abode with wild beasts, and sustained themselves on roots and herbs; they wore garments that chafed the flesh, whipped themselves with thongs, or wore crowns of thorns piercing the brow, submitted to the extremes of hunger and thirst, heat and cold, to overcome and subdue the flesh. From all parts of the vast empire, streams of pilgrims came to wash away their sins in the sacred waters of the Ganges. Vast numbers gathered to celebrate the days sacred to their gods. The temple car was drawn at the head of the imposing procession; and, as it passed through the living lines of prostrate people, some in their infatuation threw themselves beneath the crushing wheels, and by their zeal gain the approbation of their gods. The people are there still; but other gods are jostling these sad old deities, who die supine and paralyzed, while the tide of thought sets by them.

As a daughter to a mother, so was Egypt to India. At a time history speaks not of, the former was a colony of the latter; and then the people carried their gods with them. There on the banks of the Nile, mysterious river, flourished a civilization unlike any other furnished by the ancient world. The labor of a dense population easily fed was used by the priesthood for their own purposes. The gods wanted temples; and the bodies of the dead must be carefully preserved against the time the soul returned again to occupy them. Egypt became a land of temples and of tombs. The gods gave the priests absolute authority, and they made the people slaves. Into the rocky cliffs, they hewed enormous galleries, faced and columned from the flinty stone, and written over all the walls with hieroglyphics recording pious thoughts and godly deeds. To the banks of the sacred stream, on vast foundations, they brought the titanic columns and blocks, and erected temples as colossal and gloomy as the mountain caverns. The gods had said that the body would be demanded by the spirit; and, unless preserved, the lone spirit would be compelled to wander forever without one. Hence, the care of the bodies as well as of the souls fell to the priests; and they embalmed the dead and wrapped carefully, awaiting the resurrection.

When Egypt was at her prime, the Nile flowed through the most fertile and best-cared for country on the globe, bringing the waters of Central Africa to 'nourish the gardens and palm-groves; and in its little valley, hemmed in by deserts, the population was crowded in villages, and teeming cities along its banks. It mirrored a thousand temples; and between were the towering Pyramids, fresh from the hands of their builders. Colossal images of stone guarded the temples, of which the Sphinx is a remaining example. All was alive, active, breathing the intense zeal and superstition which prevailed.

Osiris was the active creator, and the sun was his emblem. He was the "oldest Son of Time, and courser of the day."

With Amon dwelt the exalted goddess Neith, in the sphere of pure ether. Her temple at Sais exceeded in colossal grandeur any before seen, and her power was written on their walls in characters deciphered by Champollion:—

"I am all that has been, all that is, and all that will be. No mortal has ever raised the veil that conceals me. My offspring is the sun."

The Holy Family of Egypt presented a beautiful and charming picture. As Osiris was the active principle of creation, Isis was the passive. She was the prolific mother; and, between them, they are represented as bearing the cross, mysterious emblem of life, which, in a later age, the Christians adopted as the symbol of life immortal gained thereby. In her arms, she bears her beautiful infant Horus, the incarnation of the All Father. In the hieroglyphics, she is styled "Our Lady," "Queen of Heaven," "Mother of God," "Immaculate Virgin," all of which were afterward applied to the Virgin Mary. She is represented as standing on the crescent moon, with twelve stars over her head, and holding her son in her arms.

The twenty-fifth of December was his birthday, and the occasion of national rejoicing. It was realized, in order the more forcibly to impress its significance on the minds of the people. The high priest, followed by the priesthood, the king, and nobles, marched in procession to the village where Horus was said to be born; and there found the infant, in a manger, awaiting them. The mother, thus exalted for a time to act the part of the mother goddess, with her infant, was borne to the temple, crowned with flowers, and followed by crowds chanting sacred hymns of joy. When they came to the Nile, the high priest launched a miniature ship freighted with the choicest fruits of the land, as an offering to the "Immaculate Mother." Over the rejoicing multitudes, the Pyramids arose like miniature mountains, the temples cast gloomy shadows, and the sphinxes gazed with stony eyes.

O beautiful gods, remorseless gods! not content with ruling this world, who sat over the Stygian river, in your cavern temple, and at midnight's awful hour judged the dead! Fearful judgment! for, if adverse, the body, of beggar in his rags or Pharaoh in his purple robes, was cast to the crocodiles, and thus the soul forever and forever doomed to walk in Stygian darkness.

A thousand years have gone by, when the wandering souls, it was said, would return and claim their bituminized dust. A thousand years have three times past, and decay has made the dust its own. A few of these god-commanded mummies are preserved, curiously gazed on with rising gorge, dreadful preservations of ghastliness; but the ashes of the Pharaohs, the Thothmes, and a score of dynasties, have fertilized their native soil.

That grand civilization, at which the world gazed with charmed wonder, is dead. The Pyramids, useless efforts of labor, the crumbling

columns of colossal temples, gnawed by the sharp sands in which they are half-buried, are all that remains. Egypt, once able from her bursting granaries to feed the world,—now none so weak as to do her homage. The race that tent beneath the ruined arches of her former greatness know not of that famous time, and are an alien race. The pageantry of the gods is no more. They are dead,—Osiris and Isis and Horus, Amon and Neith, with all their train of dependent deities,—dead, and nothing remains. Ay, their mummies! Did they embalm the gods as well? Surely, and a museum boasts of having the only perfectly preserved mummy of the god Apis. That god is a curious sight, lying down with head erect, wound in every direction with linen bands. By his side are ranged the embalmed remains of sacred cats, storks, and the ibis. Poor dead gods! Was it not enough to die, that these remains should be preserved, to mock your godship and awaken the laughter of the unborn ages?

You cannot preserve the perishable. Time will crumble adamant to dust; and, although the mummy outlasts the god-idea it represented, it shall vanish. The sharp tooth of the desert wind shall level the last block of the Pyramids, and not even the Sphinx shall remain a monument to the history it will not reveal.

The gods of Greece! How fascinating the mythology of the classic race! Its gods were so human, and approached so near the ways of men, their devotees unconsciously felt for them the love they fully returned. What a flood-tide of intelligence in that age when Plato and Socrates searched for spiritual truth, Aristotle philosophized, Æschylus and Sappho sang, and Phidias made the white marble breathe! The gods were not the terror of their worshippers: they were their fellows. They evoked the loveliest conceptions of beauty in the imaginative Greeks. The temples erected for them have been models of architecture since their time, and admit of no improvement. Their sculptured images, freed from the coarse symbolism which forced itself forward in other races, were perfectly human, and hence divinely beautiful.

Jupiter ruled over the firmament, Pluto over the nether world, and Neptune over the sea; and there were Bacchus, Adonis, Mars, and a host of inferior deities. They were all susceptible to the softening influences of love; and what an array of goddesses shone in the Pantheon,—Juno, Minerva, Venus, Proserpina, Ceres, and countless lesser goddesses and nymphs, perfected in every grace!

Ceres was the mother goddess, affectionate, tender, and true, the perfect type of womanly loveliness. What a wonderful festival was hers, when the autumn brought its harvest! It was the Mysteries as celebrated by women. They gathered on the seashore, and for several days performed prescribed rites. She was the goddess of humanity, and hers was the shrine of Compassion and Peace.

There were the greater Mysteries, wherein the secrets revealed by the gods were taught. The Mysteries were the church of Greece. If the initiated revealed the secrets, he met the vengeance of the gods; and the stigma of non-observance was far greater than that attending infidelity at the present time. Socrates was given the hemlock because he neglected the worship of the gods.

Every five years, all Greece assembled at Eleusis in Attica, to celebrate these solemnities. The vast concourse tented on the plains around a splendid temple erected over a cavern, in which, at an earlier time, the rites were first held. This temple was of divine architecture, its endless colonnades chiselled from purest marble, without spot or stain.

It stood on a swell of ground, and could be seen rising in snowy beauty by the vast multitude. Over its front was a colossal statue of Jupiter, calm, beneficent, all-powerful; and, on either side, a statue of Ceres smiled on the passers-by. The novitiate was led to the door, crowned with myrtle. There he was washed in a fount of holy water. Then he was asked: "Are you pure and spotless from the world? Are you free from crime?" Then, as the door opened, an impressive voice chanted: "He who enters must be pure, or the gods will destroy him. He who passes this portal goes into a shadow, from which only the just return. O weak, thoughtless, and improvident mortal, daring to penetrate the realm of the gods: aspire to truth and perfection, and strive to discard the flesh and the world!"

The Mysteries were celebrated for nine days, during which all distinction of rank was abolished. The first day was for social gathering. They bathed in the sea, offered sacrifice to the gods, marched in processions. Every ceremony had a meaning which was fresh in their minds. What a delightful episode in their lives must these ceremonies have been! and how they bound the people together! The gods were in every respect human, and their favor was gained by homage and tribute. They were regaled with the fragrance of the altar; and, the more sumptuous the offering, the better were they pleased. When angry, the sacrifice must be greater; when exceedingly wroth, human victims were required to appease them. The husbandman offered to Ceres cakes made from the grain she had given him; he poured out wine to the god of the vineyard. The sailor threw an offering to Neptune into the sea. There was a goddess presiding over birth, over marriage, and over death. Every river and lake and stream had its presiding divinities; every grove and mountain. The passions and the thoughts were guided and controlled by them. A delightful world, when such exquisite gods and goddesses rule the affairs of men, with whom they form such close communion! Poetry grew on such celestial food, and art attained unparalleled perfection. Such gods, surely, are immortal. Their temples are indestructible, their altars will retain the constant flame.

The temples are in ruins; the marble shafts, the finely wrought architrave, win the admiration of a race unknown to their builders; and the sculptured images are treasured as priceless specimens of art. History records the daring deeds of heroism,—the march of the ten thousand, the defence of Thermopylae, the devotion at Marathon, the brighter pages of the achievements of orators, statesmen, philosophers, and poets. The old race is dead. The shrines are deserted. No gathering of wives on the seashore in honor of Ceres; no hosts camping on the plains of Eleusis; no waiting for the death of Adonis; no festivities at the Christmas-tide; Jupiter no more the god of thunder. He is dead. Ceres, the immaculate mother, Venus, Isis, Pluto, Neptune,—oh, the endless line of dead gods and goddesses, whose departure seems to take the poetry out of nature and existence! With the Greek and Roman civilizations which they led to the flood-tide of glory, they passed away, and now linger on as sweet and beautiful interpretations of the phenomena of the world. We now meet the hard facts of experience, behind which we expect no hidden god. The Greek might say that Aurora blushed when the sun kissed her pale brow; but, with us, it is simply the revolution of the earth. He could fancy a saucy nymph in echo: we can find nothing but reflection of the waves of sound. He could picture Neptune lashing the sea: we only the effects of the

wind. He was affrighted at the thunder, as the voice of Jove in anger: we know it is nothing but an overcharged cloud. Oh, what a matter-of-fact, unpoetic world, with the gods dead, and reality and certainty everywhere!

Most influential on the strong tide which set past historic headlands, entering into and forming a part of the civilization of the present, is Jehovah of the Jews. He was at first a vagabond god, imprisoned in a chest or ark, slung on poles, and carried on the shoulders of his priests, as they fled to the desert from a people they had robbed. Moses, chief of the priesthood, an initiate in the mysteries of Egypt, bestowed on his patron god the character ascribed to Osiris, and called him, in language he had learned, the All-powerful, the Great I Am, propitiated him by the burnt offerings he had learned were acceptable to the Egyptian gods. The movable ark or shrine, having Jehovah boxed up, ready at all times for transportation, was a brilliant forethought of a leader of a wandering band of barbarians. Having their god always with them assured success; and, to preserve the box, the priesthood formed a body guard. When the Jews roamed the desert, their god, beside his box, had a tent or tabernacle, the curtains of which he had ordered exactly how to be made, even to the rings thereon. It was a tent, but much larger, better, and cleaner than the foul coverings of his followers. When they had conquered the land he had promised them, then Solomon built him a temple,—not so large or beautiful as those other nations had erected for their gods, but sumptuous for such a poor and weak nation as the Jews. The temple was better than a tent, and large enough for the Jewish people. They had one god, and wanted but one temple; and other nations were forbidden, in their selfish exclusiveness, to join in their worship.

But whether in his box, in a tent in the desert, amid the lowing cattle, bleating sheep, and the shouting herdsmen, the dirt and squalor of nomadic life, or behind the purple curtains of the Holy of holies in the temple of Solomon, with attendants in fine linen burning frankincense or offering up the smoking blood of the firstlings of the flocks, what a terrible god he was! He had neither friendship nor love. He was a shrewd, cunning, conniving Jew, bargaining, trafficking, envious and jealous of other gods, and sanctioning unmentionable atrocities. He would at times, on the slightest provocation, smite his chosen people as remorselessly as he would their enemies. He led them up from the desert, a horde of covetous Bedouins, and showed them the promised land, flowing with milk and honey. It was a fruitful land; for it had been long occupied by a race of agriculturists, who had by labor conquered the desert, and made it bloom like the rose. They had built cities and villages, planted orchards and vineyards and fields of grain; and when that horde appeared, following the priests carrying their god-box, over all that bright land were peace and plenty, and the happiness these insure. Then Jehovah spoke, and gave this land to his followers. They must take it by the sword, and he would go with them. He would even lengthen the day by causing the sun to stand still in the heavens, that they might have more time to murder. Spare no man, was the bloodthirsty order. Kill men, women, and children, except the virgins, whom they had better have killed. The white hairs of age, the prattling babe, the strong man, and the pleading woman,—all the people of a province, the most lovely and happy the sun ever shone upon, consigned to butchery, that this chosen people of Jehovah might despoil them of their homes!

History is just; for the Jehovah who urged this deed, when his people became possessed, and had erected a gorgeous temple for his dwelling, submitted to the ignominy of their captivity, and heard their vain cries from the slavery of Babylon.

In the age of his glory, he could say that he trod the winepress of the gory nations alone, and his garments were red with the blood of the slain. "I will dash them one against another, even the fathers and the sons together, saith the Lord: I will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy, but destroy them." With mighty boast constantly repeated, he called his Jewish people his chosen ones, who were to own the earth and to whom all nations were to bow. The temple they had built would become the world's shrine, and into their laps the products of all climes would be poured as a peace offering.

Great promises, egotistic boasting of proud rascality, abject selfishness, and shameless crimes,—all gone. The Jewish tribe receives justice at the hands of time, and the slaughtered warriors and innocent babes of Canaan are avenged. Scattered from their country, as chaff before a strong wind, is that people who, ejected from the land of the Nile, came over the desert, with that god-box slung on poles, to the promised land. They have received, instead of homage and titles, the scorn of the world and the buffets of all people, aliens and foreigners, wherever they go. Their country is little better than a desert; the city of their pride is half in ruins, and of no consequence except as a relic; the boasted temple vanished in dust; and Jehovah,—dead, and not even the box, borne over the desert by the sweating priests, remains for decent sepulchre!

Are the gods all dead? Nay: they may die, but they reappear in other forms and under new names. The monotheism of the Jews was modified into the trinity of Christianity. The Father God was supplemented by the Son Jesus Christ; and the third person was established in the Holy Ghost, a sort of second emanation from the Father. It was a strange conception, at which human reason revolted. How God could be his own son or Jesus his own father, how one could be three or three one, was a mystery, which to attempt to solve was a sin. The difficulty was overcome by the church Fathers teaching that belief should come without examination,—in the words of Celsus, neither giving nor receiving any reason for their faith. Julian, the last of the philosophers, says that "the sum of all their wisdom was comprised in the single precept *believe*."

That belief was considered praiseworthy which received the most incredible statements. As Tertullian says: "I maintain that God died. Well, that is wholly credible, because it is monstrously absurd. I maintain that, after having been buried, he rose again; and that I take to be absolutely true, because it was manifestly impossible." Founded on such an all-receiving credulity, the new doctrines grew. The Godhead became strong, and for nearly two thousand years tyrannized over the minds of men. It stripped the dead gods of their garments, with which it clothed itself, and paraded before the world.

The Emperor Constantine,—Constantine the Great, as the early Church delighted to call him,—after a life of most atrocious crimes, assassinations, perjury, and murders, with the blood of his wife and son on his hands, called on the pagan priests for absolution. They told him that for such crimes they could not save him from the vengeance of the gods. Then it was he turned to a priest of the new Christian faith, and was assured that, however great his villainy, if he professed belief, he would become pure and spot-

less. From that moment, he declared himself the protector of the new sect. With him began persecution for free thought. In vain, says Renan, to search the Roman laws before his time for enactments against abstract doctrine. He brought persecution and the sword.

Then came the carnival of theology. The night of ignorance rapidly gathered over the world. The philosophers, sages, poets, orators, statesmen, perished; and none arose to take their places. Men stopped in greater pursuits to wrangle over the most indifferent distinction of creeds. The fantastic speculations of Asia were grafted on the growing stem; and it bore as fruitage a complicated system of theology, the despair of reason. This theology taught that man was created perfect, and fell. Having committed an infinite sin, only an infinite sacrifice could atone therefor. God himself must suffer, did suffer on the cross, that sinners might be saved thereby.

The Hindu Siva was transformed into Satan, the Greek hades into hell, and the priesthood, not content with ruling this life, claimed possession of the keys of the next. They decided who should be saved, who lost. This life was at best a vale of tears, and the horizon of its brief day was lurid by the reflection of the gulf of hell. Only a chosen few were to be saved. The great current of humanity swept onward, broad and deep as a mighty Amazon, and poured over the edge of the gulf of death into the abyss of hell. There was no respite, no forgiveness, but eternal torture. And God—who, in his all wisdom and power, might by a thought change all to Eden—smiled at the suffering he had created! I need not enlarge on this awful picture, nor mention the minor doctrines which sprang from the fundamental belief in the fall of man. For a thousand years or more, the nations calling themselves Christians suffered the chronic spasms of theological nightmare, and cast aside the real world for dreams. It was enough if God commanded through the most ignorant priest. To hear was to obey. Europe became a battlefield where the contending armies decided the whims of doctrine by the sword. The dungeon, the rack, the fagot, were the chosen means for conversion of heretics. If belief was the one thing required, and simple belief saved the soul from hell, it were better received at the hands of the inquisitor than not at all! Beautiful theory, the culmination of this system of theology!

Here is a little instrument, into which, like the ends of the fingers of a glove, you place your fingers. There is a screw on top pressing down on the sensitive nails. You can bear one or two turns of the screw. "Do you believe now that three times one are one, and that Jesus Christ was his own father?" "No." Another turn, that starts the blood. You wince, but say, "No." Then the priest says he must save you, and turns down until the nails start. "Now do you believe?" "Yes," you cry through the white lips of pain,— "yes." Then you are saved, you are a Christian.

Saved from what? Hell and the devil; for, mark you, now the devil is first in the Godhead. He captures nine souls out of ten, and the other narrowly escapes. Not only was Europe a battlefield, her hillsides whitened with the bones of the slain and the air darkened with the smoke of burning cities: she precipitated her hosts against Asia, in a useless effort to gain the sepulchre of God, and wasted a million lives in the vain effort.

What a stifling night was that when the Church with its theology reigned supreme, and lorded over the minds of men! To think became a crime, and the all-believing fool the type of Christian grace. At the time Giordano Bruno was burned at the

stake because he thought, the darkness seemed impenetrable, and poor humanity without effort to free itself from the fetters of darkness. What was there to save in this ever downward course of bigotry and superstition? What power could free the mind from its fear of God, the devil, and the priests?

Knowledge came. One thing had been left out of count, when the God-appointed hierarchy bound mankind. They forgot that thinking was man's heritage. Set him to counting his beads and praying over dead saints, he will weary after a time, and begin a new order of thought for himself. Then have a care; for, when he begins to think, the old boundaries will not confine him.

Knowledge came. Knowledge, calm of brow, clear of eye, the earth beneath her feet, the stars for a diadem, bowing before no shrine, offering prayers to no superior power, uncompromising with ignorance, pitying credulity, scorning unsupported belief, came like the dawning sun; and darkness, bigotry, and superstition vanished as wreaths of fog in the light of morning.

Knowledge came, asking no favors of king or priest, in the proud consciousness of invincible strength; and the fetters which bound the nations broke like bands of straw. Knowledge came; and Theology, which had grasped the throat of humanity and held it in the dust, loosened its hold. Mankind awoke from the stupor of ages. Against the black background of the past, it saw innumerable gibbets from which its thinkers swung, the scaffold still gory with its best blood, the smoke of the dying fagots; and hailed with shouts of joy the advent of knowledge as their savior. The hordes of superstition are pushed back, snarling with thirst of hate's slanderous tongue; and their gods are incapable of arresting the flood of light which overthrows the teachings of fifty generations of their devotees.

Ahrimanes, Siva, Satan, poor devil, was first to die. Robbed of his horns, his cloven foot restored; resolved into a human being, with some excellent qualities; resolved into a myth, the impersonation of a principle,—he disappears, leaving not even a shadow. Jesus, the Christ, the Son, the Saviour, the central embodiment of the legends of Adonis, of Horus, of Christna, of Prometheus, of Mithras, of Hermes,—freed from which, he becomes a self-sacrificing, true, and noble man, giving his life for the good of others, in the same manner that they have done.

The God who created all things in six days, and sat a personal ruler, like an Asiatic tyrant, on the throne of the universe, could not endure the presence of Knowledge. The Infinite cannot be circumscribed, nor calculate and plan. The Infinite must know without thought, and think without reason. The terrible beliefs which have wrung the soul; the creeds against which the heart has rebelled, amid torture; doctrines on which eternal welfare, it was taught, depended,—long since dead, are galvanized for the last time into mimicry of life. Poor dead beliefs,—the fall of man and his redemption through the blood of another, and all that pertains thereto! Dead, and, dragged after the ignorant, tortured into the grimace of life! It would be a dreadful spectacle for a man to have the corse of his dearest friend bound to him. Still more dreadful to be fettered to a dead creed, a dead belief, and obliged to drag it after him.

The power has departed; and the anathema, "Believe or be damned," is the threat of impotency. The fiery tongue of flame cannot be used to compel faith; but the old hate is retained by the old ignorance, not yet quite driven out of the world.

In the Churches of to-day, the preachers hold

the corpses on their feet, dried into mummies, and make believe they are alive. They grin with the horrid contortion which shows the pangs felt in the olden time by many a martyr. The audiences make believe they enjoy the spectacle, and that the preachers are honest. It appears well, but is all a sham and a farce. A spectacle at which we may laugh or weep,—a preacher, with dead ideas, preaching to a dead church.

Shall we weep at the fleeting glory of gods, and turn aside, saying, Life is a cold reality: there is no warmth in this certainty? Of all impotent cries of weakness, this of want of warmth is the most impotent. What has it to do with the matter? The truth comes: we have no question whether it pulsates with love or the cold certainty of fact. A Saviour's all-absorbing love may kindle the heart: what of it? That makes it not true. There are better ways of kindling the heart than contemplating selfishly the sacrifices others have made for us. They who are best pleased to hug a delusion, even though they know it to be such, must retain their fond idol. Knowledge has no dungeon or gibbet: she abhors persecution, and her savior is the growth which is the birthright of the soul.

Slumber on, dead gods, in your eternal sleep! Were you gods, you had not perished! You were created from the minds of men, and bear the impress of the finite. Creeds, dogmas, beliefs, doctrines, moulder in decay along the shore, like seaweed and salt sea spume,—beautiful imagings or grotesque and horrible as the misshapen forms and devil-fish which are concealed in the drift. Sacred books,—Zend-Avesta, Vedas, Shastas, King, Koran,—gather dust on your most holy pages! for, as ye were written by men, when men were filled with the superstition of ignorance, better can now be written, if bibles are required.

Free soul, emancipated from the bonds of darkness, breathe full breath and think without fear! The god of to-day scorns the cringing slave, the narrow bigot, the weakness of ignorance. He demands a brave and fearless mind, which accepts not defeat, and conquers the forces of nature and binds them to its will.

When we look down this long vista, the road over which mankind has travelled, wearily and with pain, through the countless centuries, the tortures of body, the more refined and excruciating agony of spirit, all this suffering borne for the gods, imposed by the gods, and for the sake of religion, to save souls never lost, come up before us in one black mass of world-pervading woe, and we say, Just is the doom of such gods and such religions! Our temple of worship is the universe, our savior is knowledge, our religion to embody perfection in our lives by ordering our conduct in accord with the laws of the world, and our prayers for the perfect strength and trust which come from understanding.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EGO UPON ABBOT.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Gill informs your readers that Dr. Abbot's recently published work would be valuable but for two faults, which are that "the premises are false and the conclusions illicit." This language is brusque; and if not so sustained by argument and exposition that it must be taken for the necessary verdict of all sound critical judgment, rather than the dictum of an individual, it is arrogant. Mr. Gill makes a show of sustaining it: first, by a string of assertions; and, secondly, by setting up a man of straw and knocking it down again. This could not seem sufficient; and I was about saying to myself that he should be either less assuming in manner or more convincing in matter, when it luckily occurred to me that he is the

author of the universe he inhabits; that all which appears to him as *non-ego* is the product of his *ego*; and that, accordingly, Dr. Abbot's book and Dr. Abbot himself, so far as known to him, are creations of the same prolific *ego*. This timely reflection at once rebuked and checked my incipient objection to his style. Of course, he has a right to take liberties at pleasure with his own productions, as he has a right to call himself a goose, if so inclined, though it would be highly indecorous in another to bestow upon him that title.

D. A. W.

For The Index.

THE WANDERING JEW.*

He passed across the twilight waste,
A spectral shadow, dimly traced,
And vanished far, as one in haste.

And ne'er, through night or weary day,
He may his endless wandering stay,
Though generations pass away.

And fading, as the fading grass,
The fleeting generations pass,—
Or visions in a magic glass.

And seeking evermore, in vain,
A respite from his inly pain,
He comes again, and yet again.

Once, as he sat beside his tent,
A stranger came, with wandering spent
And 'neath his heavy burden bent.

An hungered and with travel sore,
Deep sorrow in his face he wore,
And sought to rest beside the door.

Upon the stranger sad he turned,—
His heart with sudden anger burned,—
And from his threshold fiercely spurned.

Whereat, a deadly shudder went
Through all the earth and firmament,
As of the heart of nature rent.

And straightway, on his burdened breast,
A hand of iron, stifling, pressed,
And drove him forth in wild unrest.

Through that inexpiable crime,
To goad him on, from clime to clime,
Throughout the flight of coming time.

And evermore, from waste to waste,
A spectral shadow, dimly traced,
He swiftly flees, as one in haste.

Threading the city's crowded street,
With none his stranger-form to greet,
He passes on with hurrying feet.

And where Palmyra, ruined, stands,
Alone amid the desert sands,
Who ruled, a queen, o'er antique lands.

He finds no rest where wearily
He ploughs, unknown, the weltering sea
That moans in lone immensity,

Nor where, through waxing, waning moons,
The billows chant their mystic runes
Along the wide and windy dunes.

He treads the barren desert drear,
Where pyramids their shadows rear
O'er kings, through fear who ruled, in fear;

While stars, deep in the solemn night,
A glorious company of light,
Gaze silent on his evil plight.

He pierces far, with venturous prore,
Through boreal regions, white and frore,
'Mid whirling snows and wintry bore.

And longing aye his soul to steep
In soothing slumber, sweet and deep,—
A dreamless, everlasting sleep,—

Still his inexpiable crime
Shall goad him on from clime to clime,
Throughout the flight of coming time.

And evermore, from waste to waste,
A spectral shadow, dimly traced,
He flees afar, as one in haste.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

BOOK NOTICES.

SOCIAL WEALTH, the Sole Factors and Exact Ratios in its Acquisition and Apportionment. By J. K. Ingalls. New York: The Truth-seeker Co., 33 Clinton Place. 1885.

Mr. Ingalls thinks we are now living under a system of "capitalistic aggrandizement or commercial

*The weird legend of the Wandering Jew has furnished a theme for many writers, notably Eugène Sue, in his famous and powerful novel of that name. When freed from the narrow, theological bias which the monkish superstition of the Middle Ages gave to it and endowed with a wider application, it possesses an obvious humane significance.

monarchism" unparalleled in the world's history; that the impoverishment of the many for the enrichment of the few is openly or tacitly held to be a part of the social evolutionary order, and demanded by the laws of trade; that our political savants give us nothing but contradictory theories, while obsequiously bowing to the dominant plutocracy; that, on the other hand, we have imported from Europe a great variety of proposed panaceas, all the way from the extreme of anarchism to that of a socialism or communism which would have all social industry controlled by the State. Mr. Ingalls believes that in this conflict of thought there is a natural relation between the worker and the soil, and "a principle of law which will give an equitable share of the products of industry to each who shares the labor, and a just principle of agreement and consent in regard to such production and division." He holds that natural capital is land and labor, and "artificial or institutional capital, certain private rights created by custom, statute law, or by the arbitrary will of some conqueror or ruler, which enable one to force exchange or command labor without equitable return, through usurped dominion of the land, ownership of the person, or other civil services." On this basis, he develops his thought, criticising freely Henry George and other writers on industrial and economic subjects, and presenting his own views generally with clearness and strength. Some of the author's "isonomic definitions," such as Interest is "a fraudulent claim of one party to an exchange, by which a charge is made for the 'flight of time' between the inception and completion of an exchange," or Profit is "a false entry in the business ledger, in which a dealer charges time for the same thing," or Rent is "an immoral tax," will be unhesitatingly rejected by most readers of *Social Wealth*, who will appreciate the real merits of the volume and the intelligence, earnestness, and independence of its author, while dissenting from some of his conclusions.

B. F. U.

THE RAGE OF THE AGE. A Story by Alice Huntly Payne. New York: Oscar Dryer, 228 Eighth Avenue. pp. 260.

In this interestingly told story, which is intended mainly to show the inequalities of woman's position in the world as contrasted with that of man, but which deals incidentally with the various other social questions which are being discussed to-day from differing stand-points, we find depicted in detail the characteristics of many small villages, both East and West. The "little leaven" of liberal and reformatory thought, "the rage of the age," set to working through the efforts of one family in the village of Byfield, is traced in its influence and effects on the lives and characters of half a dozen or so of the inhabitants in a very thorough and analytical manner. The major part of the people thus influenced migrate, as is natural, from their native village and early surroundings, and encounter a series of varied experiences and success, which the last chapters summarize in briefly told stories, narrated by the chief actors in them. The author deals scathingly with free-love theories and sophisms, against which she seems to have a particular enmity. The book, though a little crude in style, is pure in tone, inspired by a high moral purpose, and will be found interesting reading by those who have a lively interest in the social problems of the age, such as woman's place and possibilities in society, liberality in religion, marriage, divorce, etc. We quote specimen passages from the more didactic portion of the story: "It is a noticeable fact that the majority of the men who rise to eminence in a metropolitan life are these same restless, dissatisfied country youths. They rise over the city born and bred, not so much from their superior ability as by the steadfast determination which they bring to their work. Their bodies are strong to endure unusual strain; and they are willing and able to labor sixteen and eighteen hours a day, to insure themselves success." "Next to not knowing the whole personal history of a new-comer to a small village is the sin of growing up under their eyes and going out into the world where wealth is earned, and perhaps a name. That others should recognize talent, ability, or genius, it is not incumbent on them to forget how he used to wear patched trousers when a boy, or went by the name of 'bull-head' or some other fanciful name to commemorate some act of stupidity, to which all people are sometimes liable."

S. A. U.

HAPHAZARD PERSONALITIES: Chiefly of Noted Americans. By Charles Lanman. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. pp. 387.

In his preface, Mr. Lanman explains that, in his "protracted experiences as a merchant's clerk in New York, a newspaper man, an author and artist, and an official in Washington, it has been" his "fortune to make many good friends among the noted men of the time"; and of a few of these he makes these pen pictures. Among the most interesting of the forty notable persons of whom personal reminiscences are given in this volume are Longfellow, Irving, Bryant, Clay, Edward Everett, Horace Greeley, John Howard Payne, the explorer Kane, Dickens, Alexander H. Stephens, Gen. McClellan, and Martin F. Tupper. Mr. Lanman, in these memorials, has kept true to his expressed intention, to give only "such interesting revelations of character as have come under my own personal observation"; and there is, in consequence, only original matter, new to the public, in these *Personalities*. Many letters from the distinguished men of whom he writes, addressed to Mr. Lanman, are given in this volume.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Independent* asks, "Why does not the Church reach the masses?" Says the *Catholic Review* in reply: "The answer is very plain and simple. Because they have not the Mass, to begin with."

DR. OSCAR SCHMIDT, Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Strassburg and author of *The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism*, one of the ablest volumes of the "International Scientific Series," died last week, at the age of sixty-two. He had belonged to the University since its reorganization by the Prussians.

ALTHOUGH not a man of large intellectual calibre nor of much literary culture, yet in his talent for effective story-telling and mimicry, and in his power of moving the sympathies of his audience and holding his hearers spell-bound, John B. Gough was unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, by any orator of this generation. In his death, the Total Abstinence and Prohibition Movement has lost its most eloquent and most famous advocate.

SAYS Mr. George J. Holyoake's *Present Day*: "At a trial, over which Mr. Justice Maule presided, great doubt was expressed as to whether a little girl who had been called as a witness knew the nature of an oath. To silence controversy, the judge asked the child if she knew where she would go to if she told a lie. The witness meekly replied, 'No, sir.' To which the judge added: 'A very sensible answer. Neither do I know where you will go to. You may swear the witness.'"

THE *Modern Crematist* is the name of a monthly journal started at Lancaster, Penn., where the first crematorium for general use was built in this country. This journal "is published in the interests of reform in funeral methods and a more enlightened scientific sanitary mode of disposing of the dead than by burial in the earth and mixture with the mould." The *Modern Crematist* will contain information in regard to this reform, arguments for it, the testimony of science, the results of experiments, and facts in regard to its growth.

SOME of the evangelical people of Chicago are doing their best to "get up" a revival in that city. A Committee recently issued tickets reading: "Rev. Sam Jones and Sam Small. Special services at Chicago Avenue Church." In fine type below was, "Address by Mr. Sam Small." There was nothing on the ticket to indicate that Sam Jones would not be present. Is a religion that will not prevent its believers from resorting to petty deception like this, which has hitherto been confined mostly to ten-cent shows, worth reviving or worth having even?

THE Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, in reply to a statement which it published from Bishop Merrill, that there "is no necessity for work on Sunday in order to the production of the Monday paper, unless there are seven papers in the week," says: "No Methodist of spirit would buy a paper that did not have the news of Sunday night, and all that news must be put in type that night. All the preparation in the way of writing and filing despatches, editing them and putting them in type, would be as much in the nature of Sabbath-breaking as the mere printing and distributing. It is a fact that more work for Monday's paper is done on the Sabbath than is done for Sunday's paper."

WRITING on "The Employment of Informers," in the *Week*, Goldwin Smith says that to put down the unlicensed sale of liquor is quite right; "but the employment of professional informers is almost as objectionable as the sale of unlicensed liquor. A drunkard may be not a bad man in heart, though addicted to one fatal indulgence: a professional informer must be utterly vile. Morality is the main object; and you miss it, if, in suppressing intemperance, you create villany. There can be no doubt that much useful evidence might be obtained by torture, but society has rightly determined that no evidence can be worth that price. Let the police and the regular detectives do their duty; and, if their number is not sufficient, let them be re-enforced."

RALPH S. TARR writes in *Science*: "Many a fish in the sea instinctively avoids the deadly power hidden behind the brilliantly phosphorescent jelly-fishes. This protective light has saved the jelly-fish much trouble, and is a great aid to its struggle for existence among the multitudes of surface animals. Through some curious freak in evolution, an entirely inoffensive cluster of animals, devoid of any protective power, has gained the use of this phosphorescent light, and, by imitating the dangerous jelly-fishes in this respect, sails about the surface, inspiring terror among surface animals that could easily devour them. This cluster of animals is *Pyrosoma*. In the clusters of floating seaweed in the Gulf Stream there are vast numbers of tiny fishes attired in the color of the floating weed, and that certainly gain protection thereby."

THE Milwaukee *Sentinel* has these words of common sense in regard to Sabbatarian laws: "If it is the aim of the Sabbatarians in Philadelphia

and other places, where efforts are being made to enforce dead-letter Sunday laws, to make people hate Sunday and religion, and everything in any way connected with the Church, they are taking the right way about it. Even if it were possible to close up the barber shops, to prevent the delivery of milk, to stop the production and sale of newspapers, to close the cigar stores and stop the running of street-cars on Sunday; even if it were possible to enforce an outward observance of the day,—which, of course, it is not,—neither religion nor morality would be advanced by it. The Church is bound to get the worst of it in any contest of this kind. Good can come only from the correction of the inward spirit, which is the source of conduct; and the revival of old laws which have been put into the dust heaps by the verdict of society, and which serve only to make men uncomfortable, will never work anything in this direction. Every man of common sense knows the inevitable consequence of an attempt to restore the puritanical Sabbath in this country, and religious people cannot afford to ignore the common sense in their struggles against irreligion and immorality."

THE *Catholic Review* uses as an argument against our public schools the fact that they are cordially sustained by "infidels." "One peculiar feature of the dispute concerning the public school system," it says, "is that our infidel friends have never found fault with that system. Catholics have always opposed it on principle, and Protestants of a candid and inquiring disposition have been compelled at times to add their dissent to ours; but the infidel has been either desirably silent or has opened his mouth only to declare that, with the fall of our school system, our government also shall fall. He has found no words too strong to express his regard for it, no praise too fulsome to heap upon it and its Christian promoters. . . . With the exception, perhaps, of the pulpit of the Anthon Memorial Church, there is not a place in the country where infidelity has a stronger footing than in the public schools. Fifty years ago there were no public schools, as four centuries ago there were no Protestants in the world. The schools were all denominational, controlled by the secretaries paid by the State. Common schools were in existence for those who had no settled religious belief. To our infidel brethren and their misguided friends among the sects, we owe the public school system. In its first days, it was odiously Christian; that is, the new religion called non-sectarianism prevailed in it, and continued to prevail, until Catholic agitation put an end to it. This very agitation, or something similar to it, infidels counted on to wear away the last few shreds of Christianity. The public prayers and the reading of the Protestant Bible, the religious test in selecting teachers, and other Protestant notions were banished. The Protestant lost his contention, the Catholic gained his; but the real victor was the infidel, who might survey the system from foundation-stone to cupola and find not the faintest color of Christianity."

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE INDIANS.

The friends of the new national policy toward the Indians were much encouraged when the Cleveland administration first came into power by the attitude it took upon Indian affairs. The prompt and vigorous measures adopted in regard to the Crow Creek reservation and the Oklahoma invasion led to the belief that the change of administration would work no detriment to the Indian cause. And it is probable that the President and Secretary Lamar and Commissioner Atkins would still all affirm that there has been no change in their position on this question. Yet it is a matter of fact that those citizens who most interest themselves in the improvement of the Indians' condition are not nearly so hopeful of efficient help from the national government as they were a few months ago. The President and the heads of the Indian department may be as sound in their views as they were then, but the pressure of the office-seekers has been too much for them; and it looks now as if the distribution of offices were to be the rock on which their good intentions toward the Indian are to be badly wrecked.

Unfortunately, the Civil Service Reform Act does not apply to appointments in the Indian service; and, in consequence, a good many changes have been made in the department of Indian inspectors and agents for purely partisan considerations. In no part of the civil service are partisan considerations more out of place; and it should be the aim of the civil service reformers to extend the law at once to this field. In work among the Indians, it should make no difference whether one be a Republican, Democrat, or Mugwump. For a good Indian agent or inspector, not only are integrity and ability required, but that peculiar combination of sympathy, quick perception, and tact which make the practical philanthropist. And this combination of qualities is so rare that the government should welcome and use it when obtainable in any man or woman,—for women like Miss Alice C. Fletcher have been among the most efficient Indian agents,—and ask no questions about the politics of the person who is willing thus to serve. Unfortunately, too, the salaries of Indian agents are so small that persons of these requisite qualifications to fill the places are not easy to find. At present, these offices are temptations to the dishonest and the incompetent, who do not expect to live upon the salaries, but to use the positions for the crooked and dishonest gains they can make out of them. Only a few persons really qualified, morally and intellectually, can afford to make the sacrifices required to accept the office of Indian agent. A few, however, who are every way competent, have a moral drawing to the work, notwithstanding the small pay; and these are the persons whom the government should seek for Indian agents, irrespective of party service.

There is no question that there were inefficient and corrupt agents in the Indian service, left over from Republican administrations, who ought to have been removed; and the special friends of the Indians, though belonging to the Republican party, would have welcomed any new broom at Washington which should have swept the Indian service clean of these bad characters, who have cheated both the Indian and the government, or who may have only failed because not mentally qualified for their peculiar tasks. But, if all reports be true, the broom in the Indian department has not been plied with any such discrimination. The removals and the new appointments have been made, evidently, on the line of political considerations. A man has been appointed Indian inspector against whom most serious charges of

financial dishonesty in his own business affairs have been made and apparently proved; a man of whose appointment a distinguished lawyer of his own city said that it was as bad as any he had ever known in his political experience, and that the only person he had met who thought the appointment fit was one who gave as a reason that he "always did hate the Indians." And the agent who was suspended to make room for this man was removed, so far as has yet been revealed, without any charges being made against him.

Mr. Herbert Welsh, the devoted and efficient secretary of the National Indian Rights Association, has brought this matter of partisan removals and appointments in the Indian service to the attention of the public in the *Civil Service Record*. A particularly flagrant case which he cites is that of the dismissal of Dr. W. V. Coffin from the superintendence of the Forest Grove Indian Training School in Oregon,—a position requiring special qualifications of a high order. Dr. Coffin, an educated young man of great moral earnestness, a member of the Society of Friends, had held the office for two years, and given eminent satisfaction. He had voted the Republican ticket, but not otherwise engaged in politics. Leading citizens of Oregon, including the Governor, Secretary of State, and Treasurer, the Superintendent of Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church, and other prominent persons, testify to their familiarity with his work, and affirm that, in their judgment, it has been "successful in the truest sense of the word," and will "leave behind a lasting influence for good." Here, certainly, was just the man to keep in the Indian service so long as he would remain and do such work as this. He is a believer in Indian civilization, and ready to give his abilities and life for it. But the administration has removed him, and put in his place a Democratic office-seeker from Indiana, whom it deemed expedient to provide for somewhere, but who has no familiarity whatever with the work to which he is assigned, and, though he may be a moral man, no special aptitude for it. He himself, indeed, confessed, when he arrived at the spot, that he thought the government had made a mistake in sending him to such a post. Yet with the aid of his relatives, whom he has put in the subordinate positions, he has undertaken the responsible and delicate task of teaching an Indian school and training a race for civilization.

We have no partisan feeling whatever in this matter. We did not vote for either Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Blaine; and we believe that, on the whole, in the matter of appointments, President Cleveland has been more consistent with the principles of the civil service reform than Mr. Blaine would have been. Our contention simply is that the Indian department of the government in particular should be lifted above party politics. If the Indians are ever to be civilized, and thus fitted to take their place as a component part of the nation, it is to be done, not by putting their interests in the hands of the best party workers, whether Democrats or Republicans, but by appointing to this responsible service the persons, whatever their politics, who are best qualified to educate and train the Indian, morally, mentally, and industrially, for the duties of citizenship.

WM. J. POTTER.

SUBJECTIVISM.

The powerful and profound work of Dr. Francis E. Abbot on *Scientific Theism* raises anew some of the old philosophical questions, and does not raise them in vain. Subjectivism in philosophy, so long triumphant, has at least been put on the defensive; and that it will be able to main-

tain the defence does not at present appear. And should it not, no one needs mourn; we shall but be quit of a most dreary doctrine. For a dreary doctrine it indeed is that one knows nothing but his own sensations, or nothing but his own states of consciousness. In the churchyard of the ancient Benedictine Abbey, situated in the valley of Engelberg, is a headstone bearing the inscription, "Life is the dream from which death is the awakening." This belief is the root of monasticism, and it is surely a sad belief in reference to the present existence. But subjectivism goes farther and says, Life is a dream from which there is no awakening. The dreamer mistakes subjective vision for objective reality; and, according to the philosophy now chiefly in vogue, all which passes for waking perception is, in truth, no more than such a mistaking, in other words, is of the nature of dream. This philosophy imports, therefore, that the conscious individual is alone in a phantom-world, peopled only with phantoms; that those nearest and dearest to him, those to whom he gives the sacred names of wife or child, father, mother, or friend, are but illusive, projections of the various faces which his consciousness assumes or the masks it puts on; and that all the objects of love, loyalty, duty, and religion, all the objects toward which the noblest sentiments and the holiest affections turn, are simply visionary. No one ever believed this doctrine otherwise than in a distant, merely speculative way; and none would willingly remain in existence for an hour after coming fully and clearly to a realizing belief in it. Nor is it any consolation to hear that beyond the world of illusion with which we are conversant there is a reality of which we can know nothing save that it is forever unknowable. We are comforted by this piece of information only as a hungry man would be upon hearing of food beyond his reach. Meantime, this fine information must remain doubtful, if the doctrine be true. For what is the alleged reality but one more state of consciousness, differing from the others only in being utterly indefinite? That it is not seen, but is reached only by a process of reasoning, is nothing to the purpose. States of consciousness being the only data from which we can reason, it may well be asked how the reasoning should be more valid or its conclusions more real than the data upon which it proceeds. The law of gravitation is, in like manner, not seen, but concluded to by a process of reasoning; but it is phenomenal in the same sense with the objects it affects. And so of the "unknowable" reality; if we know nothing but our own states of consciousness, then we know of this only as a *derivative* state of consciousness, of an extremely vague and undefined sort.

Subjectivism rests upon two propositions: first, that the human mind has no faculty of perception, but only a faculty of mock perception; secondly, that the states of consciousness, into which the universe is resolved, are false. To illustrate: I look forth from a window and see a two-story white house, with green blinds, on the opposite side of the street. I am conscious of perceiving it, though consciousness retires, as it were, into the background out of sight; for I do not think at all of it or of myself, but only of the object perceived. Here, however, is a state of consciousness. In what does this state consist? The question may be put somewhat pointedly, for it does not appear that all who talk fluently of such states think clearly concerning them. What, then, is this state of consciousness? It is simply an affirmation to the effect that a house is perceived by me, the conscious person. What is true in this case is true in all cases; states of consciousness are simply affirmations of fact. To speak more

specifically, consciousness (apart from self-consciousness, strictly so called) is that which refers a man's thoughts and actions to himself as the person thinking and doing. Take an analogous case. A man's property in a farm is itself neither the farm nor the man; it is a relation between the two, a reference of the land to him as the possessor. Well, consciousness gives one a property in his thoughts and deeds by referring them to him as his own. Hence I see not but one might as well say that the farm is only a state of property as that an object perceived—a house, horse, mountain, or river—is only a state of consciousness. And now let us return to the case supposed, where my consciousness affirms that a house is perceived by myself as the percipient person. A philosopher approaches, and assures me that no house, no real object, is perceived, for the sufficient reason that none exists; what appears to be such is but an image within the mind. Well, if no object is perceived, there is no act of perception, but an act of a very different sort; namely, illusive projection. And the same being true in all similar cases, it follows that the human mind has no faculty of perception, but, in place of this, a power to project mental images, and give them the look of objects perceived. It follows, also, that the affirmation of consciousness is doubly untrue: it affirms a mental act which is impossible, and an object which does not exist.

Perception unreal, consciousness untrue,—these are the charges against the human mind which subjectivism must make good, in order to have a standing. Such charges, it is obvious, can be sustained only by strong evidence, evidence no less than demonstration. Upon no light argument shall we form a final conclusion against that which Coleridge called "the faith of reason," the spontaneous, universal, indestructible faith of mind in itself. What, now, is the evidence offered? Three lines of argument occur to me, which I will briefly examine. In the first place, apparitions and the phenomena of dreams are cited as showing that unreal objects may appear to us as real. They show, undoubtedly, that this may happen under certain special conditions; but what of it? No one will pretend that these phenomena furnish a parallel case to that of waking perception. Sense-impression is indispensably requisite to genuine perception; and in dreams this is wholly wanting. I dream of seeing a house, but my eyes are closed, I do not physically see. This radical difference between waking perception and the visions of a dream is by no means the only one; but it suffices to put the two cases in quite different categories, and to make this argument of the subjectivist utterly worthless. Dream-vision is disordered recollection, as Dr. Abbot says; and he that supposes himself to see a ghost, or the like, simply dreams with the eyes open.

Again, it is said that we are conscious of our sensations, and that, as consciousness is reached by nothing else but these, we can, in the nature of the case, have knowledge of nothing beyond them, however we may, with Mr. Mill, infer an "unknown cause of sensations." Here is an extraordinary misapprehension of fact. For the fact is that we are directly conscious of our perceptions with their objects; while we neither are, nor can become, conscious of the sense-motion which serves toward them. For example, when one sees a house, rays of light proceeding from the object impinge upon the retina; but he does not feel them strike. The effect upon the retina is telegraphed to the optic ganglia, and thence, as is supposed, to the gray cortex of the brain; but consciousness knows nothing of this. A mental act follows, and the object is perceived; and here

it is, not sooner, that consciousness enters the field. It is aware of the perception as embracing its object; it is totally unaware of the sense-impression—not properly called sensation—which precedes. I might go on to show that we have the same direct consciousness of perceptions to which a felt sensation serves as condition precedent; but it is necessary to economize space, and enough has been said to render it clear that the attempted resolution of perception into sensation, the attempted shutting up of consciousness within a cloud of sensations, out of which it shall never see, fails utterly.

The Kantian argument remains. The ultimate point of this is that, when thought proceeds as far as it can go, it exhibits two faces looking in opposite directions; in other words, it is found to be in contradiction with itself. In this alleged fact is seen a final confirmation of the conclusion that the universe as known to us is apparitional, not real, or, in Kant's phraseology, phenomenal, not noumenal. The simplest type of the asserted "antinomy," or ultimate self-contradiction of thought, is afforded by our notion of space and time; and we will here take the case of time. It is said that we can neither conceive of time as beginning and ending nor can definitely conceive it as without beginning or end; that is, as infinite. Very true; but let us look at the fact, and see what it precisely is. If one say that time had a beginning and will have an end, we answer at once, The thing is impossible, the assertion cannot be true. If, on the other hand, it be said that time is without beginning or end, somewhat of a quite different sort follows. The mind assents to the proposition, and cannot think the contrary, but acknowledges itself unable to embrace what it must esteem true in a definite conception. What ground, now, for saying that thought is here in contradiction with itself? Obviously, there is none at all. The mind asserts always and unequivocally the infinitude of time. It makes no assertion to the contrary, but only confesses an inability, a limitation, of its own conceptive power. The general truth signified is but the old one, that finite mind can only apprehend, not comprehend, the infinite; and I doubt if much more is signified by any or all of the antinomies which the philosopher of Königsberg wrought out with so much care. Still, holding with Kant that the primary thought-forms—moulds of all mental experience—are native to the mind, I find in this fact no reason to think that there is nothing corresponding to them in the relations of the natural world, while the antinomies simply instruct me that the human mind is finite. Finite it is, and my own mind is very finite indeed. I am daily, deeply, humbly sensible of the fact, but cannot conclude thence that the universe, as to myself known, is the apparitional product of this same extremely finite mind.

D. A. WASSON.

FIRM FOOTING.

As a common centre is the universally attractive point toward which all matter tends, the point from which it springs and round which it revolves, so truth is the universally attractive point toward which all mind tends, from which it acts and round which it thinks.

Reality is man's reliance, his acknowledged teacher and his final arbiter. Fundamental in the constitution of existence is veracity, truthfulness; an unyielding master, yet an unfailing mother; a fatal executioner, but a vital nurse. Whatever is not akin with veracity lacks life, and perishes. Man must be loyal to veracity, if he would live.

Our works may co-work with the exact law or promise of nature, and will then endure. Wherein they would differ from that exact law, that sincere promise, they cease, paralyzed.

Our thoughts may conform with the exact law of sequence, and will then survive, confirmed by the supreme idea; but when they wander from true sequence, which is the guidance of the supreme idea, they come to an end in confusion.

Our morals may live out the indestructible ideal seeded in man, and will then develop felicity. In so far as they fall short of that ideal, dimly seen as yet, we meet disappointment, disgust, at last intolerable distress.

This constitutional veracity, so far as we can see, conditions all being. It is the one reality which no mind ignores: no mind can ignore it, and yet live.

Thoughtful men in all ages have seen in it design, and obedience to its behests they have called duty. Since yesterday, men see in it evolution; and harmony with its requirements they call growth. What's in a name?

Accompanying design, enforcing duty, or accompanying evolution, guaranteeing growth, there exist alike a past and present Idea, a past and present Power, a past and present Tendency. The mind of man, working sanely, is able to entertain a proposition which presents facts in its behalf; but mind cannot accord conviction to that which is inconsistent with the nature found, by comparison of consciousness, to be universal among men. To illustrate, the following proposition would be incredible by mankind: that chimera or error is really superior in kind, more worthy of search to find, and of loyalty and obedience when found, than is truth. Or this: that ill will or indifference toward others is an inclination superior in kind, more worthy of effort to acquire, and more admirable as a rule of conduct, than is good will. There is unanimity in the verdict of mankind as to its relative estimate of Chimera and of Fact as the basis of belief and guide of action. There is a like unanimity in its verdict as to the relative excellence of ill will or indifference and of good will, as a quality of character or as an impulse of conduct. It is seen that any diversity of mental conclusion as to the better worth of truth than error, or as to the higher duty of good will than malevolence, would indicate insanity; and that attempted action in defiance of the verdict of mankind must be self-destructive.

From these considerations may we not deduce this as a certainty, challenging full belief and complete reliance,—that there is that which is truth or fact as distinguished from error or chimera; that there is that which is good will as distinguished from ill will; and that truth and good will are more worthy than error and ill will, as objects of regard, controllers of character, and incentives to conduct? May we not stand on the ground thus securely won, with perfect confidence that any enhancement in our intelligence or betterment in our character will increase rather than diminish the preference which we accord to these supreme ideas?

It is with the idea Veracity, the impulse Good Will, and that present Power which stands behind these supreme facts apparently forevermore, that man must loyally co-work. He surely must, or confusion, disappointment, and death confront him.

For man is the outgrowth, the child, of a cosmos rooted in absolute veracity, and gradually developing excellence. He recognizes in these abiding principles the conditions of his life.

Feeling his kinship with the nature which underlies those principles, man will always regard that

nature with reverence and joy in connection with an absolute trust.

And he will inevitably read his destiny in his kinship with that abiding nature rather than with the transient organism, whose limitations and inadequacy he more and more perceives to fall short of his noblest aims.

SAMUEL C. BLACKWELL.

FOR AND AGAINST SABBATISM.

An English naturalist, in a railway car, was carrying a hedgehog, and was surprised at the demand of transportation for it as if it were a dog. Remonstrating with the official, who insisted on his claim, the naturalist took a small tortoise out of his basket, and asked if he was expected to pay for that also. "No," said the man: "dogs is dogs, cats is dogs, and hedgehogs is dogs; but a turtle's a hinsect."

We consider this English official as a grossly ignorant person; but a reverend clergyman—nay, more, the Right Reverend Bishop of New York—has just committed himself in the same style of classification. At a meeting in Chickering Hall last Sunday evening, called by the New York Sabbath Committee, that dignitary said (according to the report in the *New York Times* of January 25), on the question whether the Museums of Art and of Natural History should be opened to the public on Sunday afternoons, "Museums mean theatres, theatres mean factories; and, then, what is to follow cannot be imagined."

As if to restore the balance of Episcopal intelligence, the same paper reported a sermon preached on the same day, by Rev. R. Heber Newton, at All Souls' Church, in New York City, on "The Superstition of the Sabbath." Mr. Newton wished his hearers to sign the petitions in circulation, asking for the opening on Sunday of the museums, art galleries, and libraries of the city,—a demand which he declared to be the healthy outgrowth of the physical, intellectual, and moral needs of the people. "The Sabbath question has been in order," he continued, "ever since a certain saintly Sabbath-breaker forced it upon the religious public of Judea eighteen centuries ago, and lost his life in the controversy. It is a question which, if it needs still the courageous liberalism of a Jesus against a superstitious religion, needs now, also, the courageous conservatism which he would have been the first to exemplify against a superficial secularism. In such a discussion as is now unavoidable, we need the guidance of a clear-cut principle. Such a principle we find in the classic words of the saintly Sabbath-breaker of Judea. The negative proposition of Jesus is that man was not made for the Sabbath. Man was not created in order to get the Sabbath kept. . . . There must have been valid reasons for the fact—which Luther, with his strong common sense, noted—that Jesus set himself to break the Sabbath deliberately, and even ostentatiously, of a set purpose. Every institution of civilization is a means to an end; and that end is man's own life in health and happiness, in intelligence and virtue. If it stands in the way of higher interests of humanity, it must be pushed aside in the name of humanity. If, in this perversion, it corrupts religion and caricatures God, it must be religiously rejected in the name of God. Therefore, in the name of humanity, whose interests were jeopardized, in the name of the God whose character was grossly caricatured, Jesus set himself to break the Sabbath of ecclesiasticism. Surely, the folly and the sin of a superstitious Sabbath keeping ought to have been to all Christians sufficiently exposed in such a death of their Lord and Master. As

a matter of fact, Sabbatarianism did outlive the controversy of eighteen centuries ago, and transferred itself to the very church which called Jesus 'Lord.' In our own city, every effort rationally to use Sunday for the physical and mental improvement of the people is met still with the sincere and earnest, but none the less superstitious, opposition which similar efforts would have met with from the scribes and Pharisees in the age of Jesus. When it is proposed to open our libraries or our museums on Sunday, the Churches which bear the name of the saintly Sabbath-breaker of Judea interpose, on behalf of that Jesus, to perpetuate the very superstition which he lost his life in combating. There is still need for those who discern the significance of his example, and who believe in the principle which he enunciated, to lift up a calm and earnest protest, in his name, against this lingering superstition.

"It stands in the way of the physical progress of man. There are hosts of our fellows to whom it is the one chance for an outing into the fresh air, the one chance to build up their bodies toward the measure of a perfect manhood. It stands in the way of the intellectual progress of mankind. To these hard-worked classes of our fellow-citizens, our Sunday affords the one day in which they can seriously endeavor to improve themselves. We have a number of libraries in this city. How many of them are open on Sunday? It is the religious sentiment of our city which turns the key of their doors, in the name of Jesus Christ! Our young men and women may not become saints by frequenting libraries; but will they not be more likely to grow into noble manhood and womanhood as they learn to think and read, and thus climb from the life of the animal to the life of the intellectual being?

"This superstition of the Sabbath stands in the way of the moral progress of mankind. Everything that tends to foster among our working people the notion of class privilege is making against the truest morality in our midst. As they look upon the case, it is the wealthy people whose homes are private libraries and galleries of art who, unconscious of the seeming hypocrisy, protest against the opening of our libraries and museums to those who can afford no library and who can buy no pictures. Sabbatarianism is feeding very dangerous fires to-day. This superstition of the Sabbath stands in the way of the religious progress of man. With the rigid Sabbatarian, I believe that our Sunday is an institution that is essential to the future of religion. Just because I so think, I look with dismay upon the superstitious notions of the Sabbath which are imperilling this sacred day itself. This superstition of the Sabbath very largely aids in continuing the undue emphasis which ecclesiasticism has always laid upon secondary elements of religion. To the extent that religion exalts institutions, it endangers that for which institutions are called into being. The best way to promote a revival of religion lies, not through any society for the better observance of the Sabbath, but through the honest efforts for the better observance of those equally divine days from Monday to Saturday in the fear of the Lord. This superstition of the Sabbath, now as of old, endangers religion by caricaturing God, and by drawing above the life of his children the dark clouds from which men shrink back into the sunshine of the world. If I wanted effectually to drive my children away from God, I should teach them on Sunday to sing that dreadful hymn of our forefathers,—

'I must neither work nor play,
Because it is God's holy day.'

"As I want them to love and trust this Father, I

teach them that he has given unto his children a day in which no laughter is wrong, no merriment is sinful, but all joy right, only the more right as it is nobler and purer."

We wait with interest to see the result of the contest now waging between superstition and rational religion in New York City. But it is greatly to be desired that, before waiting for this result, the city of Boston would carry out the excellent suggestions of Heber Newton by opening its public library on Sunday afternoons, as well as the reading-room of that most valuable institution. Let Boston and New York compete with each other in the promotion of intellectual, moral, and spiritual interests, as well as those of commercial or otherwise material character.

C. K. WHIPPLE.

RELATIVITY.

In his able work, *Scientific Theism*, Mr. Abbot says of the doctrine of the "relativity of knowledge": "It simply means that man cannot know everything. It does not at all mean that he does not know what he knows. . . . From the very nature of the case, nothing but relative knowledge is possible. . . . The doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, therefore, is a truism so far as it asserts the co-essentiality of subject and object to the relation of knowledge; it is a falsity and absurdity so far as it asserts the non-knowableness of the object by the subject in that very relation of knowledge."

With due respect for our friend, Mr. Abbot, whose clear-headedness and independence we greatly admire, we must say that, in our opinion, the doctrine of the "relativity of knowledge" as stated by him is deprived of its essential meaning and force. Kant, in maintaining this doctrine showed with masterly ability that, since there is necessarily a co-operation of subject and object in every act of cognition, the pure object can never be known. "Let us therefore," he said, in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, the great outcome of which, Lewes declares, "was a demonstration of the vanity of ontological speculation,"—"let us, therefore, content ourselves with our own kingdom, instead of crossing perilous seas in search of kingdoms inaccessible to man."

We cannot perhaps, within the limits of an editorial article, more clearly show the essential meaning of the indisputable doctrine of the "relativity of knowledge" than by grouping together a few facts in regard to the psychology of the senses.

Aerial vibrations communicated to the acoustic nerve give rise to the sensation known as sound. Without a nerve of hearing there can be no sound; for, whether it be the tempest's roar, or the serpent's hiss, or the voice of human sympathy and love, sound is a sensible phenomenon, and not something external to the hearer. Color is also a subjective affection; and particular colors depend upon the particular velocities of the waves of attenuated matter gathered together by the optical apparatus of the eye, and which impinge upon the retina, affecting the optic nerve and giving rise to what appear objectively as colors,—blue, green, violet, etc.,—but which are known to be sensations, or conscious states. This is as true of the "rosy cheek," the "ruby lip," and the "love-lit eye," as it is of the blue sky above us or the brown earth beneath our feet. In some persons, vibrations as different in velocity as those which commonly cause redness and greenness awaken identical sensations. Luminousness is a sensation produced by the action of waves of ether upon the retina and fibres of the optic nerve. This sensation may also be produced by a blow or by elec

tricity, which, singularly enough, while it causes luminous phenomena in the eye, brought in contact with other parts, gives rise to quite different sensations,—sounds in the ear, taste in the mouth, ticklings in the tactile nerves. That tastes and odors are not intrinsic in things with which we associate them is very evident. The sweetness of sugar and the fragrance of the rose are sensations in us caused by these objects, the one appreciated by the sense of taste, the other by the sense of smell. Heat, too, is a sensation, and is conceivable objectively only as a mode of motion.

Another quality which we ascribe to things is hardness. But hardness cannot be intelligently conceived, except as a feeling. When we say that a stone is hard, we mean that, if we press against it, we experience a sensation of touch, a feeling of resistance, which is designated by the word "hardness." To illustrate that both hardness and form belong to the groups of our consciousness which we call sensations of sight and touch, Huxley observes: "If the surface of the cornea were cylindrical, we should have a very different notion of a round body from that which we possess now; and, if the strength of the fabric and the force of the muscles of the body were increased a hundred fold, our marble would seem to be as soft as a pellet of bread crumbs." What we call penetrability is the consciousness of extension and the consciousness of resistance constantly accompanying one another. What we call extension is a consciousness of a relation between two or more states produced through the sense of sight or the sense of touch. Even the conception of vibrations among particles of matter, mentioned above as objective factors in the production of sound and color, is but inferences from states of consciousness caused in us by vibrations which have been appreciated by the optic or tactile nerves; in other words, by subjective experiences produced in us by some unknown cause.

Thus, what are popularly believed to be qualities and states of matter—sound, color, odor, taste, hardness, extension, and motion—are names for different ways in which our consciousness is affected; and, were we destitute of hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch, the supposed qualities of matter would not, so far as we can know or conceive, have any existence whatever, for, by psychological analysis, they are reducible to states of consciousness.

As to Space and Time, whether we regard them with Kant as forms of sensibility, belonging to the subject and not to the object, or adopt Spencer's theory, that Space is the abstract of all relations of position among co-existent states of consciousness or the blank form of all these relations, and that Time is the abstract of all relations of position among successive states of consciousness or the blank form in which they are presented and represented, and that both classes of relations are predetermined in the individual, so far as the inherited organization is developed, when it comes into activity, while both have been developed in the race, and are resolvable into relation co-existent and sequent between subject and object as disclosed by the act of touch,—whichever of these theories we adopt or whatever theory be affirmed, still we know Space and Time only as subjective forms or states, not as external realities. Both Space relations and Time relations vary with structural organization, position, vital activity, mental development and condition. How great in childhood seemed the height and mass of buildings which now seem small or of but moderate size! How long the days seemed when we were young; how short now! How rapidly time passes in agreeable company, how slowly in

waiting for a delayed train! That there is equality or likeness between our different estimated lengths of distance or duration,—but so many variations of subjective relations,—and any nexus of external things, there is no reason to believe.

But does not the mind possess a synthetic power by which it can put together the materials furnished by the senses, and thus enable us to realize or understand the objective world as it actually exists? Is there not in the mind a faculty of "intellectual intuition," or a "perceptive understanding," by which we can discover relations as they are beyond consciousness? If we do not know the nature of noumenal existence, how can we know anything about its relations? The great Kant dwelt upon this subject for years; and, although he believed in an existence transcending sense and understanding, the conclusion of his years of laborious thought was that we can only put together the materials furnished by the senses, and that we can know nothing of the world as it exists, unmodified by and independently of consciousness. To the same conclusion, after years of profound thought, came Herbert Spencer.

Although there seems to be almost a complete unanimity among the great thinkers of the world that we can form no conception of the objective world apart from the conditions imposed upon it by our intelligence, and that changes of consciousness are the materials out of which our knowledge is entirely built, let no one hastily conclude that there is anything in this position inimical to, or inconsistent with, what is called "objective science." Prof. Huxley, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of living scientists, and a philosophic thinker of no mean ability, pursuing the "scientific method" with which he is supposed to be well acquainted, comes to the conclusion "that all the phenomena are, in their ultimate analysis, known to us only as facts of consciousness." George Henry Lewes, eminent as a physiologist and psychologist, as well as a remarkably acute metaphysical thinker, versed in all systems of thought, declares in his *Problems of Life and Mind*: "Whether we affirm the objective existence of something distinct from the affection of consciousness, or affirm that this object is simply a reflection from consciousness, in either case we declare that the objective world is to each man the sum of his visionary experience,—an existence bounded on all sides by what he feels and thinks,—a form shaped by the reaction of his organism. The world is the sum total of phenomena, and phenomena are affections of consciousness with external signs." (Vol. i., p. 183.) Dr. Maudsley, the distinguished physiologist, who is no more than Spencer or Lewes a subjectivist or idealist,—who, indeed, is commonly regarded as a materialist,—says: "After all, the world which we apprehend when we are awake may have as little resemblance or relation to the external world, of which we can have no manner of apprehension through our senses, as the dream world has to the world with which our senses make us acquainted; nay, perhaps less, since there is some resemblance in the latter case, and there may be none whatever in the former. . . . The external world, as it is in itself, may not be in the least what we conceive it through our forms of perception and modes of thought. No prior experience of it has ever been so much as possible; and, therefore, the analogy of the dreamer is altogether defective in that respect." (*Body and Will*, p. 51.)

This is the position of nearly all the great representatives of science, including the original investigators,—Huxley, Tyndall, Montgomery, Lewes, Proctor, Romanes, *et id omne genus*. To a young man who asked him if idealism was not the "very negation of science," one of the most ingenious

and acute thinkers this country has produced—Chauncey Wright—wrote: "By objective science, I understand the science of the objects of knowledge as contradistinguished from the processes and faculties of knowing. Does idealism deny that there are such objects? Is not the doctrine a definition of the nature of the objects rather than a denial of their existence? There is nothing in positive science, or the study of phenomena and their laws, which idealism conflicts with. Astronomy is just as real a science, as true an account of phenomena and their laws,—if phenomena are only mental states,—as on the other theory."

But it is time to inquire whether the fact that what are commonly regarded as qualities of matter or sensible phenomena or states of consciousness carries with it the implication that these states of consciousness, or the individuals who experience them, are the only existences, or that we have no reason to hold that beyond reason is an unknown and Unknowable Reality. Our opinion is that the implication is unwarranted; that, on the contrary, the facts we have stated illustrating the "relativity of knowledge" imply that there is objective existence known and knowable only by the modes in which we are affected by it, and the actual nature of which is inscrutable. A statement of this position must be reserved for another article. Meanwhile, it is enough that, for all practical purposes, we know things as they are in relation to us.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

You look forth upon nature: you say that you are sure the sky is blue, that the grass is green, that the leaves are yellow in these autumn days, that the rose is red, and that lilies are white. All this brilliant pageant of color delights you, and you say you are certain of its existence. But ask yourselves, What is color? By color, we denote the power which objects have of reflecting certain waves of ether to our eyes; and it is our eye which sees the color in them. And, if there were no eyes like ours, there would be no redness in the rose, no whiteness in the lily, and no greenness in the grass, and no beautiful blue in the sky. The proof of this is color blindness. Nor is it to the eye alone, but to all the senses, that the same argument applies.—*Felix Adler*.

THE *Secular Age*, published at Cleveland, and edited by Mr. George C. Stoll, says, "The Index, of Boston, Mass., is the neatest and ablest edited paper in the liberal field of to-day."

SAYS the Boston Herald: "When Agassiz exclaimed to an astonished audience of solid Boston men 'that he could not afford to waste his time going round making money,' he did more to open their eyes to the idea that there might be other kinds of wealth than those summed up in dollars and cents than could have a year of Sunday sermons."

For The Index.

TO A YOUNG AUTHOR ON HIS BIRTHDAY.

Friend of my later years, whose thoughts are set
To noble ends, despising the pursuit
Of vices which the fierceness of the brute,
Incorporate in man, contends for yet;
Who out of boyhood's slavery and fret
Could issue like a sword-blade from its sheath,
Resolved by high endeavor to bequeath
Some good that future times may not forget,—
Press on, thy better fortune leads the way,
And thine is still the sesame of youth,
To which the door of many a hidden truth
Shall open,—so I dare to prophesy,—
And ancient Error, stubborn and uncouth,
Shall own thy strength and rue thy natal day.

GEORGE MARTIN.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

GIORDANO BRUNO.

BY THOMAS DAVIDSON.

Although the subject of Giordano Bruno's life is to be treated by an abler pen than mine, I think it will contribute to the understanding of my lecture, if I preface it with a brief sketch of that life, mainly as related by himself before the inquisitorial court at Venice.

Giordano Bruno, whose proper name was Filippo, was born in 1548, at Nola, an ancient Etruscan town about twenty-two miles from Naples. His father was a soldier. At the age of fourteen, he began the study of Logic and Dialectic. Soon after, he entered the Dominican order, became a priest, and performed priestly functions till 1576, when he reached the age of twenty-eight. Before that, he had twice been in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, once because he set aside the images of the saints and told a fellow-monk that he might be better employed than in reading about the seven joys of the Virgin Mary, and once because he uttered certain Arian or Unitarian views. To get out of difficulty, he went to Rome in 1576; but, being called to account there also, he laid aside his monk's attire and escaped to Noli, some forty miles from Genoa, where he remained four months, teaching grammar to boys and astronomy to grown people. He then went, by way of Turin, to Venice, and there printed a tract on the signs of the times, the first of his published works, apparently. Soon after, he went to Padua, resumed his monk's dress, and travelled, as a beggar apparently, by the way of Chambery to Geneva. Here he arrayed himself in hat and sabre, and came out as a secular teacher, calling himself professor of theology. This was in 1579, three years after he had left Naples. How long Bruno remained at Geneva is not altogether certain; but what is certain is that he got into very great difficulties with the Protestants, who treated him with much rigor, but whom he, no doubt, sufficiently provoked by his radical ideas. At all events, he acquired no

love for Protestantism in Geneva, and left it after a few months' stay. It is worth noting that, while there, he made his living by correcting proofs for a printer. From Geneva, he went to Toulouse, where he taught, took a doctor's degree, and held a professorship for two years. At the end of that time, the civil war drove him to Paris. Here he taught for five years, and was introduced to King Henry III., who was so astonished at his wonderful memory as to inquire whether he did not owe it to magic. Here he published several works, one of which I hold in my hand. It was probably held in his hand. At the end of five years, he went to England, bearing a letter from the king to the French ambassador there. In the house of this ambassador, he lived for two years and a half, lecturing in various places and holding communication with all the great men of the time. He was even introduced to Queen Elizabeth, who spoke Italian to him. His account of his doings at Oxford, and his description of English life, as seen in London, are curious and racy, but by no means flattering. Here he printed several of his works,—notably, the comedy, *Il Candelaio*, which added to his reputation. When the French ambassador returned to France, Bruno, not finding himself at home in England, or among Protestants, returned with him; but, finding the country in great disorder, he betook himself to Germany, and, after wandering about for some time, settled in Wittenberg. Here he taught for two years, under the auspices of the Lutherans. Later, he went to Prague, where he taught for six months, thence to Brunswick, where he taught for a year. Here he must have been held in high esteem; for he delivered the funeral oration over his patron, Duke Julius. This seems to have been in 1591. About that time, Bruno went to Frankfort on the Main, to attend to the printing of some works in Latin. Here he lived in the Carmelite monastery, and seems to have been kindly treated by the monks, although the abbot thought him a man with no religion, which, from his point of view, was no wonder.

From Frankfort, through the medium of his publishers, Bruno was induced to return to Venice, being invited thither by a Venetian nobleman, Giovanni Mocenigo, who wished to learn from him his wonderful arts of memory and of originating ideas,—subjects on which Bruno had written several works, one of which I hold here. As might have been expected, the foolish nobleman was disappointed in his desire to learn to be a genius like Bruno; and Bruno, weary of his task, was preparing to return to Frankfort, when Mocenigo seized him, with the aid of some gondoliers bound him, and threatened that, if he did not teach him his art, it would go hard with him. When Bruno asserted that he had done his best, Mocenigo, by the advice of his confessor, denounced him to the Inquisition as a heretic, denying the most sacred dogmas of the Church,—transubstantiation, for example. Bruno was arrested on the 23d of May, 1592, and thrown into prison. On the 29th and 30th of the same month, he was examined; and, on the second of June, he handed in a list of his works, so that these might also be examined. The Venetian inquisitors seem to have treated Bruno with considerable gentleness; and he might possibly have escaped with some slight punishment, as Galilei did, later on, had his extradition not been demanded by the pope. The Venetian government hesitated for some time; but, finally, in the following year, 1593, he was delivered up, carried to Rome, and thrown into the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition. Here he lingered for seven years, subjected to every kind of annoyance and importunity. Finally, as he would not recant,

he was degraded, excommunicated, condemned to death, and handed to the civil authorities with the mocking recommendation that he should be dealt with as gently as possible, and put to death without effusion of blood; that is, at the stake. On the 17th of February, this sentence was carried out; and Bruno perished in the flames, at the age of fifty-two. When the calendar of the Church of the future comes into operation, Saint Felippo Bruno's day will be a great festival. In the Positivist calendar, his name occupies a very modest place beside and below that of poor, timid, sentimental Pascal, in the month of Descartes! Could irony go farther?

Giordano Bruno's Philosophy and Free Thought.

Man is a rational animal. Such is the logical definition of him given in the old times, and still valid. The distinguishing mark of man is his rationality, or, more strictly perhaps, his intelligence. Now, the essence of intelligence is that it places the intelligent being in relation to the entire universe, to the Infinite. Sensation, on the other hand, as such, is essentially a relation to the finite. But intelligence is a passive faculty, when we know it is the universe that acts upon us, and not we that act upon the universe. The universe is not altered by our knowing it. Still, like every other passive faculty, intelligence has an active side,—a side whereby we may, and do, react upon the universe, and modify it. This active side of intelligence we call freedom. Intelligence, man's very essential nature, is essentially correlated with freedom. The two are inseparable. Without intelligence there is no freedom possible; without freedom there is no intelligence possible. Intelligence and freedom begin exactly at the point where sensation and instinct cease. Instinct is unfreedom.

It is a common mistake to speak of the freedom of the will. There is no such thing. Freedom is utterly distinct from will, standing to it in the relation of master to slave. Will is simply instinct, in so far as it obeys the dictates of freedom; and freedom is conformity to intelligence. The free man is simply the man who, in all cases, follows what his intelligence tells him is best. But, although intelligence is distinct from will and its natural master, it is, nevertheless, of no use without will, since it is through will that it is enabled to act upon the outer world and modify it. And not only so, but the will, in order to be effective, requires the physical frame; and this frame, in order to perform its proper functions, must be strong and unfettered.

It appears, then, that, before the rational human being can act rationally and humanly,—that is, before a man can be in actuality a man, and not a slave,—three conditions are necessary: (1) intelligence, involving freedom of choice; (2) a will, obedient to free intelligence; and (3) a strong unfettered body. By interfering with the development or action of any one of these, the path to true manhood can be blocked. If the intelligence be stunted by ignorance or repressed by unintelligible dogma, its freedom is impaired; and the will is left to act simply as instinct, without goal or guidance. If the will be perverted by selfishness, by desire for sensual indulgence, ease, or applause, then its operations are subject to all the uncertainty of these passions, and have no steady direction toward universal good. If the body be fettered or enfeebled, whether in brain, nerves, or muscles, then the impulses of the will are fruitless. In any one of these cases, man is enslaved, and cannot reach true manhood. Still worse is his position, when all the obstacles mentioned are thrown in his way at once, as has generally been the case

throughout his entire history. Ignorance, dogma, selfishness, weakness, and bondage have combined, like evil demons, to block his path, and hold him back from the heights of free manhood. Nay, they have even found a powerful ally in man himself, who, for the most part, has not only preferred ignorance, dogma, selfishness, weakness, and bondage to knowledge, truth, generosity, strength, freedom, but has even decreed, slandered, beaten, bruised, and murdered those individuals of his race who, in all simplicity and manliness, have sought to bring him to a better frame of mind.

Perhaps at no time in the world's history did the demons obstructive to human progress enter into such a nefarious conspiracy as they did in the centuries which we are wont to call the Dark Ages. At that time, dogma banished knowledge and suppressed freedom of thought and inquiry; selfishness, in the forms of competitive worldly and other-worldly ambition, guided the wills of the strong to all forms of political and social oppression; while feudalism bound men's bodies to the soil, and made them drudge out their lives for mere pitiful subsistence. In a word, ignorance left the will to be guided by instinctive selfishness; and this selfishness debauched, enfeebled, and bound the body, until men almost ceased to be men. To say that they became brutes would be to libel those poor things that cannot speak for themselves.

From the triple bonds welded on mankind during the Dark Ages, they have, under the influence of a few great spirits, Messiahs, and martyrs, been slowly freeing themselves. Considerable progress has already been made; but there is still much to make, ere man be truly man. He is still, as Tennyson says, "half akin to beast." Slavery, in the narrow sense of bondage to a single master, and serfdom or attachment to the soil, are at an end, or nearly so. Heresy, or disbelief in dogma, can no longer be punished by imprisonment or burning at the stake. Intelligence is, in the main, free from physical impediments. Now, we may think what we like or can, and in the main say openly what we think, without risk of personal violence. But this is all the progress we have made. How small it is compared with what has yet to be made! Let us look at the other side. If slavery proper and serfdom are at an end, they have found a worthy successor in the form of wage-slavery, due in the main to the supineness of the State in allowing the introduction of machinery, without seeing that its benefits are distributed among those whose labor—that is, whose means of livelihood—it takes away. Men do not cease to be slaves, because they are allowed to change masters, so long as they must have a master or starve. Cold, hunger, wretchedness, forcing to theft, beggary, or prostitution, are sufficiently merciless slave-drivers. Men can never cease to be slaves until they have such a share in the soil and in the products of industry as shall prevent them from being forced to sell their labor as a commodity and themselves as temporary slaves in a labor-and-slave-glutted market. And so long as men are slaves, compelled to spend their entire strength in obtaining a meagre subsistence for the body, so long are they disinherited of well-nigh all that belongs to them as sons of humanity, of all the accumulated capital of art, science, and moral opportunity which humanity has been slowly accumulating. What is this capital to the millions whose lives are spent in toiling for the mere necessities of life, and who have to compete with each other in lowness of wages for every wage-slave's place that is vacant or can be made so? What opportunity have these

millions to press forward to the heights of manhood? Is not their way blocked?

Again, although no Church claiming to be the organ of the supernatural and using the arm of the civil power can any longer condemn us to the pillory or the stake for questioning her unintelligible dogmas, is thought in reality free? Has dogma ceased to hold sway? By no means. The pillory, the stake, and the block, like slavery and serfdom, have found worthy successors in the social ostracism, contempt, and disabilities inflicted upon those whom intellectual piety and earnestness compel to reject and, on occasion, openly to condemn the current popular beliefs. The means whereby the present punishment of heretics is inflicted are the pulpit and the public press, which, for effectiveness, hold about the same relation to the pillory and the block as the spinning-jenny does to the old pendent spindle. Is not honest atheism still a heresy, liable to be punished with social contempt and even political disabilities? Is not Mr. Bradlaugh still excluded from the English Parliament for this heresy? Is not the man who is bold enough to declare that he is not a Christian looked upon as likely to be a bad man, and are not his virtues misconstrued? And what shall we say of the socialist and communist, not to speak of the anarchist and nihilist? Are they not to a large degree political and social outcasts, liable to be hunted from country to country at the will of unjust governments? Is there any unprejudiced consideration and discussion of their views by those who condemn them? I leave you to answer.

It is apparent, then, that, although we have made some progress toward personal and intellectual freedom, we are very far from having attained either. What we have accomplished is simply this: we have broken down those obstacles to personal and intellectual freedom which were set up by law; we have caused personal and intellectual bondage to lose the support which they formerly had in legal enactments. That is all. Personal and intellectual bondage still exists in fact, and will never cease to exist until, on the one hand, the poor cease to be dependent upon the rich for the opportunity to labor and to earn, and until, on the other, ignorance and blind faith have given place to knowledge and insight.

But, if the case stands thus badly with personal and intellectual freedom, it stands still worse with moral freedom. Toward this, it is questionable whether we have made any progress at all since the Dark Ages. Men's wills are still swayed by passion as much as ever. They live and act by instinct, which rules instead of serving their intelligence. Indeed, perhaps at no time since the decay of the Roman Empire were men's actions so little guided by intelligence, and so much by vulgar ambition and other forms of selfishness, as they are now. What men labor and struggle for are the things that enslave,—ease, comfort, place, power, pleasure,—not the things that free,—intelligence, love, moral energy. Read the daily papers which most faithfully represent what the mass of our people care to hear and think about, and then tell me whether I am right or not.

If, now, we ask, Why, while we have made some progress toward personal and intellectual freedom, so far at least as the law is concerned, are our wills still bound in worse than mediæval bondage? the answer will not be hard to find. Freedom, which alone can direct the will to the good and free it from the bondage of instinct, is only the obverse of intelligence; only a choosing of the good, recognized as such by the intelligence. Without a developed intelligence, freedom cannot act; and man must be the slave of instinct. But, at the present day, the intelligence of the great

majority of men and women is stunted by ignorance and repressed by dogma, persistently held up from tens of thousands of pulpits as something superior to knowledge. Dogma is ignorance, and ignorance and freedom are utterly incompatible. Thus, dogma not only deprives men of intellectual freedom, but, as a necessary consequence, it also robs them of moral freedom by leaving their actions to be guided by instinct and prejudice.

Looking back upon what has been said and recapitulating it, we may say that the two great obstacles to human advancement which still remain to be overcome, and which it is our duty and the duty of all good men to labor with all our might to overcome, are wage-slavery and ignorance, including dogma. Universal industrial co-operation and universal education are the battle-cries of the future. It is these that will call forth the heroes and martyrs of the future; it is these that will be borne on the banners with which the coming generations will march across the ruins of capitalist, factories, and dogmatic churches to the serene heights of freedom, whose throne is set upon three pillars,—intelligence, human love, heroism.

But the heroes and martyrs of these two great causes are not all in the future. Some of them loom up as examples to us from the past. Especially numerous and noble have been the martyrs of enlightenment. Of these there are two that stand out above all the rest like great peaks, round whose stainless summits the lightnings of heaven play,—two inspired prophets whose deaths mark epochs in the history of the human race. These two are Sôkratês and Giordano Bruno.

It would be instructive, if we had time, to draw a parallel between these two great men, and to show that they differed just as the needs of their epochs differed, each being just the martyr that his epoch required, in order to transform it. Each was a new force in the world, unlike anything that had ever appeared before. Plato says that Sôkratês was like no other man, past or present; and the same was true of Giordano Bruno. Each was a thorough radical, in the best sense of that word. Each appealed from imagination to reason, from fable to truth, from the authority of ancient tradition to the authority of present fact. Each denied the popular, external gods of his time, in favor of the inner god whose throne is in every human soul, and who is not to be distinguished from that soul. Each was executed for atheism, because he did not conform to fashion in the matter of gods. Sôkratês was the human giant who began the successful struggle against polytheism. Giordano Bruno was the still greater giant who began the struggle against monotheism,—a struggle which is still going on, with no uncertain issue.

But, though there are so many points of resemblance between the ancient and the modern martyr of enlightenment, there are also many points of difference. Sôkratês was a brave citizen of a free State, of the State which laid the foundations of human freedom; while Giordano Bruno was a poor monk in a universal Church, which for hundreds of years tried to stifle human liberty. Sôkratês rarely left his native city. Bruno wandered, homeless, under the ban of the Church, from land to land,—over Italy, Switzerland, France, England, Germany. Sôkratês strove to manifest the divine in man, Bruno to reveal it in all nature. Sôkratês, finding his contemporaries devoted solely to physical nature and neglecting the marvels of spiritual nature much to the detriment of truth and thought, strove to draw their attention to the nature of truth and morality. Bruno, on the other hand, finding his contemporaries wholly

given up to disputes about the spiritual nature and altogether overlooking or even despising physical nature, thereby losing much essential truth, strove to direct them to the study of physical laws. And the fates of the two men were widely different. Both were condemned and executed, but under what diverse circumstances! Sôkratês, as he leaves the judgment hall, calmly says to his judges: "But now it is time for us to depart, me to death, you to life. And which of us goes to the better thing, God alone knows." Bruno, after having spent seven years in the dungeons of the Inquisition, leaves the inquisitorial palace with this fierce remark, which was afterwards a prophecy, "Ye pronounce judgment upon me perhaps with more fear than I shall receive it with." Nothing is more dramatic than the death-scene of Sôkratês, as sketched by the master-hand of Plato. The Greek martyr drank the hemlock quietly in his prison-cell, in the midst of weeping friends, among whom no word was said that could disturb the calm of his departing spirit.

Bruno's death-scene, as described by an eye-witness, is one of the saddest and most barbarous on record. "To-day," says Kaspar Schoppe, "he was led to the stake. When he was on the point of delivering up his spirit, the image of the crucified Saviour was presented to him; but, with an angry and troubled look, he repelled it. And so he died miserably by burning, and went, I suppose, to proclaim in those other worlds which he imagined to exist the way in which blasphemous and impious men are treated by the Romans." Such were the feelings of the bystanders at the death of the lonely martyr, Giordano Bruno. After the death of Sôkratês, his friends buried his body decently and with honor, and so worshipped his memory and continued his work that, in less than a generation, his name was known throughout the civilized world as a synonyme for all that was noblest and wisest. He became the great saint of the Hellenic world, and a bronze statue was erected to him in one of the most public places of Athens. Nay, it is even said that his accusers were punished with exile and death. When Bruno died, nothing was left of him to bury. His noble dust was scattered to the winds of heaven. And then no friends arose to keep his memory green. His very works, published in many lands during his weary wanderings,—works whose contents cost him his life,—were burned, concealed, and forgotten; and his name, whenever it was mentioned, either by Catholic or Protestant, was made a synonyme for all that is godless, blasphemous, arrogant, obstinate, and foolish. Hegel, writing in 1830, says: "Among both Catholics and Protestants, his writings were declared heretical and atheistic, and therefore burned, exterminated, and kept secret. . . His writings are rare, often forbidden. In the Dresden library, they are still among the forbidden books; and, therefore, in Dresden they are not shown." This was in 1830. Eight years later, the English historian Hallam, though he tries in a mild way to defend Bruno from the charge of atheism, talks of his "self-conceit," and declares that "he deviates so often into rhapsodies of vanity and nonsense that it is difficult to pronounce whether he had much knowledge of the [physical] science." No statue has yet been erected to Bruno. But it is to aid in obtaining means for the erection of one on the spot where he was martyred that I am speaking here to-night, and I doubt not that in a few months this tardy token of slow-grown honor will be conferred on his memory. And this honor will, I trust, be like other things of slow growth,—enduring. If there is any name in the history of free thought and enlightenment that ought to call forth all our sym-

pathy and enthusiasm and prompt us to liberality, it is that of Giordano Bruno. As he is the greatest of martyrs to modern science, so he ought to be its greatest saint. If there is any event from which the modern era, which is distinctly the era of man, as the grandest known expression of the divine, dates, it is the martyrdom of Giordano Bruno. Perhaps, too, the day will come when the era of man will be so dated; for, in spite of its long, lethargic negligence, the world is slowly coming to recognize that Giordano Bruno was one of its Messiahs, a man truly inspired, a man of infinite heroism, a martyr and a saint. The whole Christian world melts into compassion and amazement over the sufferings of Jesus of Nazareth. I see no reason to suppose that they were more than a fraction compared with those of Giordano Bruno. Jesus suffered no imprisonment: Bruno passed seven years in the dungeons of the Inquisition, exposed to all insults and threats of Roman inquisitors. Jesus died in the midst of weeping relatives and friends: Bruno died in the midst of a crowd that only jeered at his sufferings. Jesus, ere he died, shrieked out to God, asking why he had forsaken him: Bruno died without a shriek or a groan, knowing, as every great soul knows, that his God was within him, and could not forsake him unless he forsook himself. Which, let me ask, was the greater sufferer? Which was the greater hero? I will not ask which died for the higher and truer principle.

As I have said, the world is slowly coming to accept the truth with regard to Bruno, even in spite of Hallam and other respectable Philistines or Pharisees. He was, perhaps, not altogether forgotten at any time. As we shall see, one of his works, at least,—a play called *Il Candelajo*,—was known to Shakspere (who may very well have known the author), and is several times quoted from in no less a work than "Hamlet," written probably in the very year in which Bruno suffered martyrdom. As we shall further see, his philosophy was known to Spinoza (born in 1632, died 1677), who, in all probability, borrowed his pantheism from it, and to Leibniz (1646–1716), who certainly derived his monadism from it. But, though largely drawn upon during the seventeenth century by some of the greatest minds, Bruno was little mentioned, and his value little appreciated, until the appearance of Brucker's *Critical History of Philosophy*, in 1731. Brucker, being a follower of Leibniz, naturally felt a great deal of interest in Bruno's doctrine of monads, and accordingly devotes considerable attention to him. From that time on, Bruno's name, with some account of his tenets, appears in all the histories of philosophy,—in Fülleborn's, Buhle's, Tennemann's, Ritter's, Hegel's, Erdmann's, Schwegler's, Ueberweg's, etc. But the first person that really made Bruno's name current was Jacobi, who pointed out that he had forestalled the chief ideas of Spinoza. Through Jacobi, apparently, Bruno became known to Hamann, Kant's friend and a great authority in matters of education, as well as to Herder; and both these men were deeply influenced by him. Jacobi's work was published in 1785. In 1802 appeared Schelling's dialogue, entitled *Bruno, or The Natural and Divine Principle of Things*, which bears about the same relation to Bruno that Plato's dialogue, *Parmenidês*, does to that philosopher. After Schelling came Hegel, whose most remarkable faculty was his power of appreciating the great thinkers of the past. In his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, delivered at different times and places from 1805 to 1830, Hegel does justice to the great Italian pioneer. We may object to Hegel's system as much as we like, and nobody can well do so more than I; but

no one will question his power and depth or his ability to understand and appreciate systems of thought. Let us then place beside the opinion of Bruno, expressed by the unphilosophical English Hallam, the view of him entertained by the German philosopher, Hegel. He says:—

"The leading characteristic of Bruno's writings is, at bottom, a wonderful inspiration,—the inspiration of a self-consciousness which feels the spirit [the universal Spirit] dwelling in it, and knows that its essence is one with all essence. There is something of Bacchic frenzy in this grasp of such a consciousness. It overflows in order to utter this wealth, and so become an object to itself. But it is only in knowledge that the spirit reproduces itself as a whole. If it has not attained a sufficient degree of scientific culture for this, it can only seize whatever forms it can find, without giving them any proper arrangement. Such manifold, unordered wealth do we find in Bruno, whose explanations, in consequence, frequently assume a vague, confused, allegorical appearance, a mystic enthusiasm. To his mighty inner inspiration, he sacrifices all his personal relations,—it would leave him no rest. It is easy to say that he was 'a restless spirit, incapable of getting along with himself.' Whence came this restlessness? He could not get along with the finite, the bad, the common,—that was the reason of his restlessness. He had risen to the one universal substantiality, he had done away with the division between self-consciousness and nature, and with the consequent degradation of both. The result of this degrading division had been that, though God was conceived to be in self-consciousness, he was, nevertheless, looked upon as something external to it, something different from it, another reality. Nature was made by God,—was his creature, not his image. God's goodness was displayed only externally in final causes, final aims. Bees make honey to feed men, the cork-tree grows to furnish corks for bottles." Hegel's proud sarcasm is quite a match, I think, for Hallam's supercilious sneer. From Hegel's time, Bruno has become more and more a subject of interest, reverence, and study. His Italian works were published in two volumes, at Leipzig, in 1830, by Adolf Wagner. And, in 1835, an attempt was made by A. F. Gfrörer to publish his Latin works, at Stuttgart; but only a small part of them could be found, and the series was discontinued. Most of them have now been recovered, and are now in process of publication in Italy, under the auspices of Prof. Fiorentino. A considerable number of monographs have been written on Bruno, the most important of which are Bartholmê's *Giordano Bruno* (1846–47); *Ein Blutzeuge des Wissens* (1867), by Scartaglini, the great Dante scholar; and the *Life of Giordano Bruno*, by Domenico Berte, the present Italian minister of agriculture (1868). This last was followed by a supplement containing the text of the documents relating to Bruno's extradition, imprisonment, and execution. A few years ago, when I was living in Italy, and had excellent opportunities for obtaining all accessible information respecting Bruno and his work, I conceived the idea of writing a book entitled *Giordano Bruno, his System and his Times*. When I saw announced, among Trübner's forthcoming publications, *The Life and Works of Giordano Bruno*, I immediately wrote to Mr. Trübner, to inquire the nature of the forthcoming work, and learned that the author was a distinguished scholar, who had collected everything obtainable respecting Bruno and his work. I therefore abandoned my project, delighted to know that there was a fair prospect of soon seeing Bruno's system rendered accessible to the English-reading public.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THEOSOPHY AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In the last number of your paper there is an allusion to the report of the London Society for Psychical Research upon the doings of Madame Blavatsky, together with a quotation from the spiritistic journal called *Light*, commenting on the same. As *The Index* is the exponent of free religion, and as the Theosophical Society is based upon the utmost freedom of religious belief, and as the report in question has been spoken of as dealing a crushing blow to theosophy, you would probably like to hear a word from that side. In the first place, while it should be known at the start that the Theosophical Society is not based upon phenomena, and depends upon principles and not personalities, and therefore cannot be "crushed" by the demolition of personal reputations, it may be stated that there is good ground for believing that Mr. Hodgson's report for the London Society, which has been hanging over our heads for a year, was not so thorough nor impartial as it should have been, though probably well meant. As for the opinions of *Light*, the motives for its verdict may be seen in the fact that theosophy has aroused the hostility of spiritists, through its offering a scientific explanation for phenomena which the latter mildly assume to be wholly the work of beings from the "summer land." As you may be favored with something from a well-informed source concerning Mr. Hodgson's report, I will simply state here the leading objects of the Theosophical Society, which are to trace the threads of truth running through all genuine religions, however obscured they may have become through dogmatism and priestcraft; to work for the establishment of universal brotherhood by encouraging a desire for doing good to humanity; to bring to light the treasures of wisdom contained in the sacred books of India; and to investigate the hidden workings of nature and study the powers latent in man. Is this not a programme worthy of following? and are Theosophists to be sneered at as weak and credulous persons, because they find their faith in accord with what appears to them the most complete scheme of the universe, both seen and unseen, material and spiritual? But we find ourselves assailed by the bigotry of science as well as of theology, by the intolerance of unbelief as well as of belief. Too many professed scientists are unwilling to examine into the evidence of anything which they do not know themselves; and all scientific progress has had to be made in the face of such persons, who can only follow and not lead, and stand ready to persecute all who strike into new paths. Witness, for instance, the persecution of Prof. Crocker by his fellow scientists, who would not consent to examine his evidence and have not refuted his conclusions. Allow me, therefore, to suggest that science will finally find the explanation for many puzzling phenomena—the evidence of which is too strong to be resisted, in spite of multitudinous frauds—in properties of the universal ether, which is the medium for the phenomena of light, heat, and electricity.

As to Madame Blavatsky, I would like to point to something concerning her which seems quite as phenomenal as anything that has been reported. About two years ago, she was examined, at Elberfeld in Germany, by four eminent physicians, who found her suffering from a complication of maladies, including Bright's disease and dropsy. They agreed that her death was inevitable within a few months. To-day, Madame Blavatsky is in a quiet German town enjoying excellent health, and writing *twelve hours a day* on the elaborate work to be called *The Secret Doctrine*.

Permit me to close with the following extract from a letter written by Madame Blavatsky to an American gentleman: "The 'kingdom of heaven,' which, I need not tell you, is but the dominion of man's immortal spirit over the inner force of the universe, must be taken by violence. I am sorry to be compelled to tell you that the prize of wisdom and power must be won through danger, trial, temptation, and the allurements of sense, and all the besetments of this world of matter which they counterpoise,—hence, antagonist of spirit. Broad, smooth, and flower-besprinkled is the way to the world's rewards: narrow, hard, sorrow-beset the path to the temple of truth."

AN AMERICAN THEOSOPHIST.

BOSTON, Feb. 2, 1886.

BOTH FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION IN NATURAL HISTORY.

Editors of *The Index* :—

The following is from the Editorial Notes in this week's *Independent* :—

Prof. Dana, the eminent geologist of Yale College, New Haven, in a recent lecture said, among other things:—

"The only source of information of the creation which we have is this first chapter of Genesis, and this must be inspired. There would be no object in putting this description of the creation in the Bible, had it been untrue. The order of the creation must, for scientific reasons, have taken place as described in the Bible."

"Geology proves that everything which exists must have had a beginning. Science accords with the Bible in that light must have first existed; plants must have existed before animals, to feed them and to absorb the carbonic acid in the air."

"No evidences have ever been found of any inferior race from which men could be sprung. The similarity between the recent study of nature and the Mosaic law ought to satisfy the doubting students of nature of the truth of the creation as related in the first chapter of Genesis."

I have thought the above would look well contrasted with what he has said in his book called *The Geological Story Briefly Told*, edition of 1880. In the chapter upon the "Progress in Life," he gives four laws of development of animals. The fourth law, marked d, is: "Forms in a group having the body elongated posteriorly, and endowed behind with locomotive power, generally precede those that are shorter behind and superior in the anterior portion of the body and head,—a headward transfer of the forces of the structure marking all upward progress." And now follow examples with conclusions, which conclusions I italicize, to make emphatic the last case, where he neglects to draw the only conclusion which is warranted by his statements. He probably intended his readers to draw their own conclusions. The meteorological conditions of Yale College are evidently not adapted to the development of men with such an ancestry.

"The young of a crab has an elongated locomotive tail extremity, which it loses as it develops to a crab; and so the long-tailed shrimps preceded crabs in geological history. The young of a modern Ganoid or garpike has an elongated vertebrate tail, which it loses with the change to the adult; and so Ganoids in Paleozoic time had vertebrate tails, but in Mesozoic time lost them. In the young of some birds, the tail segments of the vertebral column are much elongated and free, but, with progressing development, they became greatly contracted, and often consolidated together; and so the earliest birds in part, at least, had long vertebrate tails. The young of an insect is an elongated, worm-like grub; and so worms preceded insects. The embryo of man, in an early stage of development, has a tail half as long as a dog in the same stage." But there is no "and so" appended to this. There is no meaning to the above examples, unless there is implied genetic descent. Evidently, the Professor sees he can't reconcile the irreconcilable. He, therefore, teaches both the doctrine of creation and the doctrine of evolution as applied to man, and lets his hearers take their choice. Yale teaches both free trade and protection in natural history as well as in politics.

A. E. D.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Having just perused Mr. Charles Froebel's letter in *The Index* of Dec. 31, 1885, I feel it my duty to lay, in the columns of your journal, the following twelve queries before said gentleman:—

(1) If the universe is one "of undivided unity," how can a child be made "to feel and think out for himself" that, at best doubtful, theorem, without reference to some Pantheistic, Panlogistic, Panpsychistic, Pantelistic, Panphantastic, Panmetaphysical, Pan-cosmic, Pananthropistic, or Panegoistic authority?

(2) If parents are never consulted as to how they wish this or that branch of education to be taught to their children, must they not insist that the method of teaching be such as to make the taught ones eventually as wise as possible for the time being?

(3) If the "dogmatic way of teaching" is not alone "improper," but "immoral," how can one profess to restore religion to its objective dignity in the eyes of irreligious millions by entering it as some "branch of education," such as botany or grammar or mathematics?

(4) If "the State should be in duty bound to teach religion," shall some monistically illumined oligarchy dictate such duty, or shall also "the State" think out the theorem "of the undivided unity of the universe"?

(5) If there is neither "Presbyterian geometry" nor "Catholic algebra," is there not a right and a wrong in all questions involved in such branches of exact science? Are not even to the most perfect juvenile brain the absolute principles as well as the correct deductive applications of such sciences nothing less than natural and instinctive?

(6) If a pupil nowadays actually could be brought to "think out for himself" all the scientific theorems of academic education, "without authoritative methods," would it not be one of the greatest miracles of all ages?

(7) Has Mr. Froebel himself actually "thought out" anew the law of gravitation, and only afterward discovered his intellectual kinship with the English thinker and astronomer?

(8) If the parents are not to decide as to the method of religious instruction, shall those children who are unable to invent spontaneously all empirical discriminations of any one dogma be compelled to resort to "that phase of emotional life which is excited by the action, upon the individual, of the undivided unity of the universe"?

(9) How shall the great majority be detained from following their inherited cynical and self-brutalizing tendencies without the realistic method of religious instruction, which adds a good deal of wholesome prosaic awe to the cheap poetry of monistic idealism?

(10) If Catholicism, Methodism, and Pantheism (1) are held as concepts of one and the same degree, as merely eccentric circles within one comprising circle, is not this blunder largely due to the seduction of the ear by the rhyme "ism, ism, ism"?

(11) If Liberals "insist that religious instruction be given in our public schools," shall they also insist upon or even encourage the construction of houses of worship?

(12) If "religion" is to be taught without apostolic aid, as a mere poetical abstraction of the exact sciences, does not this demand imply the new dogma of a churchless, founderless, discipleless, prayerless, headless, and heartless "faith"?

FRED. W. OFF.

EGO ON ABBOT AGAIN.

Editors of *The Index* :—

I am sorry that my short notice of Dr. Abbot's book has stirred so unpleasantly the ego of D. A. W. For the "arrogance" with which I am charged I shall make no apology, because it is always inexcusable; and it is not the less so when it assumes that our particular friends are not to be freely criticised by the philosophic public. Nor shall I enter into a war of unseemly epithets, deeming it no sign of sense or strength or culture for men to sling such words as "goose" at those who, perhaps, think more deeply or consistently than themselves.

But why does not D. A. W. assail Mr. Underwood, who has abundantly proved my "string of assertions" to the effect that the premises of Dr. Abbot are erroneous? He shows that it is the general judgment of modern psychology that all phenomena are subjective states, and this is the sum of my egoism. To stand here, against even such a man as Dr. Abbot, is a very modest arrogance.

As to the logic of Dr. Abbot,—that, because the world is intelligible, it is thence proved to be infinitely intelligent and holy,—let his friends vindicate it, if they can, like philosophers, instead of slinging irrelevant and reproachful words and sneering at the supposed philosophic absurdities of some critic.

WM. I. GILL.

BOOK NOTICES.

STORY OF THE JEWS. By James K. Hosmer, Professor in Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. ("The Story of the Nation" Series.) New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886. Price \$1.50. pp. 381.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons are publishing a series of graphic historical studies under the general title of "The Story of the Nations," intended to present to the young the stories of the different nations that have obtained prominence in history. Of this series

the present volume is the fifth; while others are in process of preparation for publication.

If the *Story of the Jews*, as written by Prof. Hosmer, is a fair specimen of the other "stories" yet to follow, the young students of history to-day have a decidedly "royal road to learning" opened to them, of which older students will gladly avail themselves. Gloomy, distressful, and shameful as much of this *Story of the Jews* necessarily is, the author makes it a strangely picturesque and fascinating one, charming as a romance, while thoroughly true to history.

The first seven chapters portray, in vivid colors, the rise and ultimate splendor of the Jewish nation at the height of its glory, previous to its subjugation by the Roman emperor, Titus, in A.D. 70. From that date began the dispersion of the Jews into other lands, and that steady persecution of them by Christians, which has continued even until the present time. "Not a single Christian people," says Prof. Hosmer, "has kept itself clear from the reproach of inhumanity to the Jews. To afflict them has been held to be a merit. The times when religion has been most rife and the consciences most sensitive have witnessed the sharpest scourings and the most lurid holocausts. . . . Men and women, chivalrous and saintly, have denounced and wrung the Jew almost in proportion to their chivalry and sanctity; and this has endured almost to the present hour." Even the protesting, large-minded Luther wrote, "Know, dear Christian, and doubt it not, that, next to the devil himself, thou hast no more bitter, poisonous, violent enemy than a Jew who is set upon being a Jew"; and he proposed to meet this supposed Jewish enemy, not with Christlike tenderness and kind treatment, but with more powerful Christian enmity. Prof. Hosmer declares also that "men standing quite aloof from Christianity" have regarded them scarcely more kindly. Gibbon, he says, sneered at them, Voltaire spoke of them as "an ignorant and barbarous people," and Buckle calls them an "ignorant and obstinate race."

In that sunrise of Moorish civilization and intellectual radiance which finally shone upon, illuminated, and dissipated the cloudy murkiness of the "Dark Ages" of Christianity, the Jews bore no unimportant part, as they had previously spread themselves throughout Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, where in the cities they established thriving colonies, and maintained at various points "schools where a learning, profound though fantastic, was taught by the Rabbis to crowds of pupils. They followed with their congeners in the path of the advancing crescent through Northern Africa, and helped essentially in the conquest by means of which the old Visigothic power of Spain was displaced. . . . An art came to flourish which could create the Alhambra; a poetry was developed that softened and ennobled manners; many a truth of physical science was anticipated. . . . When, at length, to the rest of Europe came the Renaissance, the Jews, going and coming in their intercourse with their brethren everywhere, . . . were among the chief mediators who bore the fructifying pollen from the sunny blossoming spots to the more shadowed regions which awaited impregnation."

The chapters which treat of the long and cruel persecution of the Jews by Christian nations are very sorrowful reading, and convey a strong lesson as to the inadequacy of religious beliefs to change materially or soften human nature; and it seems a strange anomaly to find the professed followers of one whose dying prayer for those who were putting him to death was said to be, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," thus malignantly abusing the race for whose ancestors this forgiveness was implored.

Prof. Hosmer shows very clearly how these long-continued persecutions narrowed, intensified, and made dearer the Jewish faith to its adherents, and how its most trivial ceremonial became a matter of high importance, when its observance subjected them to indignities and senseless penalties, and made them in their turn become so narrow in their religious conceptions as to anathematize and proscribe thinkers like Spinoza and the elder Mendelssohn for their breadth of view and catholicity of spirit; and our author illogically remarks that "one's wrath at the mediæval Christian is somewhat lessened on reading the story of the treatment accorded by his own brethren to the illustrious Spinoza."

Not the least interesting portions of this *Story of*

the *Jews* is that in which, depicting the present hopeful outlook for this persistent and strongly individualized race, vivid sketches are given of the lives of Jews prominent in recent times in different departments of genius, pre-eminently in trade, music, literature, philosophy, finance, and statesmanship, as exemplified in the lives of such men as the Rothschilds, Sir Moses Montefiore, the Mendelssohns, Meyerbeer, Moscheles, Rubinstein, Rachel, Sara Bernhardt, Auerbach, Heine, Spinoza, Gambetta, Disraeli, and others. Two maps illustrative of Jewish history, with nearly two score other full-page pictures, are given; and among these are good portraits of Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn, Nathan Meyer Rothschild, Sir Moses Montefiore, Herr Laaker, Gambetta, Isaac Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, Heinrich Heine, and Felix Mendelssohn.

The author, who has travelled extensively over the scenes where this story of the Jews was enacted, and who, though himself a Christian writer, is filled with earnest indignation at the treatment of and misconception in regard to the character of this people, has given us an eloquent portrayal of the most salient points of its history, and added to the charm of his own style prominent quotations from the best in song or story regarding his subject.

S. A. U.

THE NEW KING ARTHUR. An Opera without Music. By the author of *The Bunting Ball*. New York City: Funk & Wagnalls. 1885. pp. 164. Price \$1.50.

This very handsomely bound and clearly printed volume has, it seems, already attracted considerable attention from distinguished writers, judging from the extracts from letters given in the advertisement sheet which accompanies the book. Holmes, E. E. Hale, Julian Hawthorne, H. H. Boyesen, Hon. S. S. Cox, Edith Thomas, Mrs. Stowe, Edgar Fawcett, Col. John Hay, Judge Tourgée, and many others are quoted from as having tried to solve the puzzle of the authorship, which is to be declared on the 1st of March, when \$1,000 will be divided among those who have guessed correctly the author's name. Although Dr. Holmes declares it to be "ingenious, witty, fluent, and wholesome," Judge Tourgée that "it is thoroughly charming," S. S. Cox that "it is racy with humor, most exquisitely wrought," H. H. Boyesen that it shows an "exquisite power of versification," Mrs. Stowe that she was "greatly amused" by it, and Edith Thomas thinks it "unapproachable for its gay raillery and clever parody," yet it is doubtful if the average reading public will perceive all these qualities in a poem that has nothing particularly brilliant about it, but which shows in the author a facile gift of versification, an aptness at travesty, and a superficial "society" wit. This "Opera without Music" is apparently intended as a satire upon "The Idyls of the King," by Tennyson, to whom the volume is dedicated in a short poem in the same strain of exaggerated and "made-to-order" wit of the main poem. "Pinafore," and its successors in popular taste, are unavoidably suggested in the plan, method, and metres of this poetical composition, about whose authorship public opinion is so much divided, and to the discovery of the writer, said to be "one of the most brilliant of living authors." All purchasers of either *The Bunting Ball* or *The New King Arthur* are invited to aid by guessing, and to claim, if successful in that guess, their share of the \$1,000 to be distributed among those who correctly name the writer of these poems.

S. A. U.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for February offers an unusually attractive group of papers of current interest and real importance. At their head stands an account of "The Improvement of East River and Hell Gate," by Gen. John Newton, the originator of the plan and director of the works. This paper is historical and descriptive, and is accompanied by new maps and illustrations. In "The Interpreters of Genesis and the Interpreters of Nature" are given Prof. Huxley's criticisms of an article by Mr. Gladstone on the "Dawn of Creation and Worship." Mr. Henry James Ten Eyck has an important essay on "Recent Experiments in State Taxation." In "Bishop's Ring around the Sun," Mr. William M. Davis describes a curious solar coronal phenomenon, which appears to be a legacy left by the "red sunsets." Mr. Chauncey Smith writes on the "Influence of Inven-

tions upon Civilization." Mr. John McElroy's "The Musket as a Social Force" is an account of important social and political phenomena. "Discrimination in Railway Rates" is thoughtfully and competently treated by Mr. Gerrit L. Lansing. An interesting address on "Acclimatization," by Prof. Rudolph Virchow, is published. Dr. F. L. Oswald shows how instinct may be regarded "As a Guide to Health." "Women in Astronomy," by E. Lagrange, is a short but interesting article translated from the French, mentioning the names and work of various women in astronomy, but, curiously enough, omitting from the list the names of Mary Somerville and Maria Mitchell. With a few shorter articles and papers of a more miscellaneous character are given two biographical sketches, with accompanying portraits, the subjects being Dr. William B. Carpenter, the famous English physiologist who recently died, and James B. Eads, the constructor of the St. Louis Bridge. The editor discusses standards of truth under the title of "Beecher's Position on Evolution."

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

AN intelligent Hindu heiress, who was married when a baby to a boy whose bad habits are now notorious, has refused to go to him, and has been sustained in her refusal by the courts.

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THE *Presbyterian* observes: "Half the churches who talk about the masses have no place for them if they would come, unless it might be the short pews under the stairs, or a few dusty pews with faded cushions, or none at all in the gallery." The "masses" understand this,—a fact worth considering by the church leaders who ask, "How shall we reach the masses?"

FROM the Springfield *Republican* we take this paragraph: "If Chinamen are driven out and outraged here," says Ching Hoy, the Chinese consul at New York, "why can't our people drive out all Americans from China?" And he might also ask, "If China has paid over \$700,000 for injuries done Americans in China, why cannot she in turn ask America to pay for the outrages practised upon Chinese in America?"

AT the recent opening of Parliament, after the passing of the carriage containing Princess Louise of Wales with her father and her brothers, a youngster at Westminster Boys' Corner exclaimed warmly, "Dooood fine girl, that!" an opinion instantly confirmed by all the boys who heard it, with one exception. A little fellow, who had no regard for the "consensus of the competent," discounted the beauty of the young princess by the independent remark that the young lady wasn't "a patch on her mother."

WORDS like the following from an orthodox paper—the *Interior*—indicate progress: "Crime is as much the natural outcome of the nature as charity. It used to be quite the thing to ask criminals in the penitentiary to what they attributed their evil career. In that way, statistics against lying, disobedience to parents, Sabbath-breaking, etc., were obtained in any quantities desired. But the low brow, the heavy jaw, the malignant eye, did not take their form and expression from stealing peaches on a Sunday night."

MISS SUSAN H. WIXON writes to the *Investigator* from Fall River, Mass.: "The world moves, as you will say, when I tell you that the birthday of Thomas Paine, the immortal hero of the Revolution, was celebrated by an address in the Unitarian church in this city, Rev. A. J. Rich, pastor. I have never heard more ringing words in honor of that great patriot and lover of human rights than fell from the lips of Mr. Rich on the 31st of January. This seems in order, too; for if Paine's religion places him anywhere, with any society or body whatever, it is with the Unitarians, and that he has been neglected by them so long is a marvel."

"A BEAUTIFUL example of the results of the union of Church and State," says the London *Truth*, "was exhibited at Chester last week. When the Prince of Wales was staying with the anti-debauchery Duke of Westminster, he attended the cathedral service on Sunday. The cathedral authorities were so overwhelmed with this instance of condescension that, when the prince left, the clergy and choir lined his path through the cathedral to his carriage, as if they had been so many policemen. This touching combination of the service of God and Cæsar is truly characteristic of our Established Church, and I sincerely trust that the chief performers will get all the promotion they deserve. It is quite certain that no other Church in Christendom would have been guilty of such a blasphemous piece of flunkeyism."

PROF. DANA, in his sixth lecture on evolution at Yale College, if reported correctly, said in substance: Darwin holds that man descended from a species of apes now extinct, but other naturalists hold that the different races of men came from different species of apes. We agree with Darwin that all men must have descended from one species. The likeness of man to the ape in structure is so marked that it is evident that both may have descended from the same ancestors. The form of the head of a young orang-outang is nearly like that of an infant. If man has descended from apes, it must have been from a long series of ancestors. The creation of a being with a soul must have required a divine fiat, although by evolution man may have come from lower animals, but needed help from God to complete the work. The difference between varieties and species is only a difference of degree. Permanence of species may make the variation of species by natural laws very doubtful, and some species are known to have lasted a great length of time. How long would it

take, then, to evolve from the lower animals to man? Darwin says the geological record is broken sometimes for millions of years, and here he is right. The geological record is all against the degradation of species. The cases of gradual transition brought to our view by geology are few, and go to prove the theory of evolution. Geology does not give its support to gradual variation, as it ought, on account of its broken record. The fact that the general system of progress in nature is a system of evolution is shown by the change from the lower to the higher. The living forms of the younger world correspond with the young of the modern world.

"ONE of the most useful features of the recent progress of the 'organization of labor' in the United States, particularly in this city," says the New York *Herald*, "is the multiplication of workmen's clubs, in which questions of all kinds touching workingmen's interests are publicly debated. Scarcely a week passes without reports of such debates in the city columns of the *Herald*. Sometimes, demagogues take advantage of the opportunity; but, generally, the speakers are sincere, thoughtful, and instructive. Our observation is that the New York workingman is quite as quick as his employer to detect a demagogue,—frequently, much quicker."

THE National Woman's Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton is President, held its eighteenth annual convention in Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 17th, 18th, and 19th of February. Mrs. Stanton was detained at home by illness, and Miss Susan B. Anthony presided in her place. Very gratifying reports of progress in the movement were made from many States, and a vigorous plan of work for the coming year arranged. Among the speakers who addressed the convention during its various sessions were Miss Anthony; Mrs. Clara B. Colby, of Nebraska, editor of the *Woman's Tribune*; Madame Clara Neymann, of Philadelphia; Miss Ada C. Sweet, of Chicago, the expansion agent; Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, of Indiana; Mrs. James Bennett, daughter of Cassius M. Clay; Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indiana; Mrs. Virginia L. Minor, Miss Mary F. Eastman, and Mrs. H. R. Shattuck, of Massachusetts; and Rev. Rush R. Shippen. The longest discussion was on the church resolution of last year, drawn up by Mrs. Clara B. Colby, and presented by Mrs. Stanton, which had been laid over for consideration until this year. Mrs. Marilla M. Ricker advocated the resolution. Mrs. Perkins, of Ohio, and other ladies opposed it. Mrs. Meriwether offered as a substitute a resolution protesting against the imperfect construction of Biblical teachings, and urging women to read for themselves, and not trust to masculine interpretation. She claimed that the Bible was full of arguments for woman suffrage. The whole subject was referred back to the committee. A stirring letter, *apropos* of this subject, was sent by Mrs. Stanton, which we hope to make room for in our next.

ALL THE FACTS.

In the manifold problems, both thought-problems and conduct-problems, which the human mind has to settle, the thing specially desirable is to secure fairness and fulness of judgment; and, to secure fairness and fulness of judgment, all the facts concerned in the problem must be considered. To look at all the facts is, indeed, one of the chief duties of mankind, in order to arrive at correct thinking, correct feeling, and correct action. In the affairs of daily life, people are constantly leaping to conclusions from the half-facts of some broken chain of evidence; and these conclusions are hastily transformed into acts. Then, too late, they discover their mistake. The heedless haste of observation and inference becomes a wrong and a shame. They are led into gross injustice to other persons, and they involve themselves in confusion and disaster; and all because they have not followed the logic of all the facts.

The extent of this principle is very wide, and its application to ethical, political, and social matters might be profitably traced; but we here confine ourselves to its bearing on religious problems. Mr. Gladstone, in the intervals when he is not adjusting and regulating the affairs of empires, is in the habit of recreating his imperial mind by excursions into the realm of theological discussion. But, unfortunately for the value of this vacation-work, these intervals when the weight of empires is not upon his shoulders are so rare and brief that it is impossible for him to have kept pace with the great accumulations of knowledge that have been made in the last half-century upon the religious questions he is fond of treating. Prof. Huxley, for instance, has shown that Mr. Gladstone's recent article in defence of the scientific validity of the story of creation in Genesis betrays a strange ignorance or ignoring of "facts of the commonest notoriety" stated in any "respectable modern manual of paleontology or geology." Mr. Gladstone's chief authority for the pivotal scientific proposition of his article is Cuvier,—a great authority for his time; but Cuvier has been dead fifty-four years! And since his death, as Mr. Huxley says, "not only a new world, but new worlds, of ancient life have been discovered"; and these discoveries overthrow Cuvier's authority entirely for the statement which Mr. Gladstone makes concerning the order of creation. And yet, because of Mr. Gladstone's great position and repute as a statesman, there are multitudes of people who will regard his judgment on this religious question as authoritative, even though he has ignored the most important facts on which a judgment should be formed.

This founding of conclusions on only a part of the necessary facts has always been specially prevalent in the domain of religion. Religion covers the whole extent of the relation between man as a finite and derived being and the Infinite Power and Life of the universe whence he is derived. All mankind have attempted, in some form or other, to give an expression of their sense of this relation. Thus, contemporaneously with the growth of every historic people or nation, there has developed a religion; and all these religions together, by their differences as well as their unities, constitute the voice or testimony of mankind concerning these relations to the Infinite Power and Life. Yet nearly every one of the great religions has claimed to be the only true religion,—has declared its facts to be the only religious facts worthy of consideration, and denounced the claims of other religions to be impostures and falsehoods. Within the limits, too, of the single relig-

ions, sects have claimed, again, that they each had the true facts, the whole truth, and all the truth, and that the claims of rival sects were false. Thus, pious men and women have thought that their little creed contained all the facts known or that could be known concerning Deity and human destiny.

This provincialism in religion is, however, now vanishing. The claim that any one religion, be it the oldest, the latest, or even the best, contains all of religious truth, and that no other religion reveals anything true, is becoming obsolete. The scientific and philosophical view of religion that is finding acceptance among scholars and thinkers to-day—that is gradually gaining recognition even among evangelical Christians, both Protestant and Catholic—is that all the facts of all the religions are needed to tell what religion is; and that even then, so far from the sources of religious truth being exhausted, those sources are shown to be of perennial vitality, and are still producing religion on the earth. All the races and nations, whether Christian or pagan, and all the ages, ancient and modern, and all the prophets and Scriptures, whether Jew or Gentile, and all the world, of matter and mind, are needed to give the facts of religion. And yet, having all this, we have but mastered the alphabet to a sphere of knowledge that is as infinite in its scope as it is personally searching and penetrating in its application to all the details of daily conduct and life.

There are two errors on this subject that are especially common. On the one hand, the old-fashioned, narrow theologian says that the facts of religion have all been supernaturally revealed, and that he has got them safe in his creed: God and his attributes, the three holy persons in one Godhead, the creation and fall of man, the scheme of man's redemption and salvation, the eternal heaven for the saved, the endless hell for the lost,—there you have, he urges, the all-important and absolutely necessary religious facts, as gathered from the Bible. On the other hand, a materialist of the old-fashioned school says that he has looked the world all through, and that it all resolves itself at last into material atoms and material forces: thought is the result of a brain-function, just as bile is produced by the action of the liver; soul is only a word for something which has no actual existence; there is no occasion anywhere for the being called Deity, and no immortality; and hence, strictly speaking, there are no religious facts at all. Of these two representative dogmatists, occupying such antagonistic positions, it may be hard to say which holds the narrower view. Both of them are antiquated in their mental attitude, and it may be safely affirmed that neither of them has considered all the facts of the universe that are open to human knowledge. Even physical science is now teaching a broader philosophy. For it describes matter, to use Tyndall's phrase, as all athrill with "potency," or the mystic principle of Life; and, though it does not venture to declare all the attributes or the origin of this mighty principle, yet it bids people be as modest in their denials concerning it as in their affirmations. In the material universe itself, science is disclosing facts so wonderful, so majestic, so fraught with power and beauty, and so far-reaching in space and time, that all the theological creeds and cosmogonies are belittled before them, and the human mind might well be awed in their presence into silent and worshipful adoration.

Touch human life, indeed, at any one of its innumerable points, and it is needful that all the related facts be fairly included and considered, in order that character may develop into its proper

fulness and richness. Human facts, looked at from one side only, have, it is true, the taint of finiteness upon them. They are fragmentary, imperfect, broken, at war with each other. Standing alone, they are purposeless,—a pitiful cry, as it were, with no answer. But they do not and cannot stand alone,—no more than the smallest asteroid can exist and float in space without the solar system, of which it is a broken part, and which still holds it even in its eccentric orbit. Without the whole universe beneath and around him there were no man. All the facts of human life, finite, fragmentary, imperfect, inharmonious as they are, point and round upward into the full, infrangible, and perfect circle of Infinite Being. Beneath and above all finite facts is one Eternal Fact, cause, sustenance, and significance of them all; the everlasting Reality, without which there were no phenomena and no humanity, and with which every human thought and feeling and act has to do. It is this Supreme Fact which all the religions have tried to hush under some name of Deity.

WM. J. POTTER.

SENSIBLE KNOWLEDGE.

What are the nature and significance of our sensible experiences? This question Mr. Underwood has for weeks been answering in *The Index*, giving the accepted evidences and authorities on the subject; and, doubtless, he has more to say in the same line. I wish to add a few words to the discussion, in especial relation to the article of D. A. Wasson in *The Index* of February 25.

There is a common ground to this discussion; and the combatants should all stand on it, and here do their fighting. This common ground consists of the facts of experience. We differ only in our theories, which should be justified by the admitted facts. Let it then be agreed, to start with, that, whatever our theories, our sensible experiences follow the same laws, and are so far the same; that, therefore, the idealist never questions the existence of sensible objects, their relations to each other and to their subjects, as sources of pleasure and pain; and that they are the same to both or all parties. All this has been conceded by the ablest opponents of idealism, but forgotten or overlooked by inferior writers or minds less instructed in these lines.

Whatever be the causes or the reasons, the theory which affirms that all the objects of sense are subjective states has gained general ascendancy over the convictions of philosophic minds in modern times. The author of *Scientific Theism* stands alone on this subject, because he stands on a special theory of his own elaboration, which requires his peculiar sub-foundation. This book throughout is an implicit confession of this, while direct confessions of it fill many pages. (See his Part I., *Ibidem*.) He has also confessed the same in *The Index* of July 20, 1882, where he says, "If agreement has been reached on any one point by speculative thinkers since the modern period began, it is on this fundamental principle of cognition: that the individual mind knows only its own states of consciousness." We shall therefore consider that we are agreed on the question of authority as well as on the nature of the question at issue. It may be observed that, since the authority on one side is so great, and since it has originated in scientific times and conquered the convictions of even physicists of the first class, and since it is a theory which opposes all our natural prepossessions, the presumption is very strong that this theory is correct; and it is certain that it cannot be easily overthrown, and that the opposite theory can command small respect from

speculative thinkers till it has furnished far better justification than it has yet done or promised to do.

On our way to the direct study of the question, we ought to agree on our spirit and method. On both sides, we ought to guard against slandering a theory, as a preliminary to an impartial and dispassionate study of its claims to our respect, as such a procedure does not appear the straight road to such a goal. It may be allowable to call an opposed theory "a dreary doctrine," if that is the honest feeling of the writer. But it proves nothing, because tastes differ. That dreary doctrine has become to me all luminous and sublime, —a thing of beauty and a promised joy forever; and this feeling arises from a special and prolonged study of it.

But we cannot make the same allowance when the theory is described as saying that "life is a dream from which there is no awaking," and that "the conscious individual is alone in a phantom world, peopled only with phantoms," —a "world of illusion," filled with "illusive projections." Still less can we do it when told that "subjectivism rests upon two propositions: first, that the human mind has no faculty of perception, but only a faculty of mock perception; secondly, that the states of consciousness into which the universe is resolved are false," or when told that it denies that any "real object is perceived." Those who write in this way seem to have only a very confused idea of the difference between phantoms and facts, between illusion and reality, and between true and false perception and other states of consciousness.

Now let us take an example in words furnished to our use: "I look from a window and see a two-story white house, with green blinds, on the opposite side of the street. . . . What, then, is this state of consciousness? It is simply an affirmation to the effect that a house is perceived by me, the conscious person. What is true in this case is true in all cases; states of consciousness are simply affirmations of fact." Perfectly correct. But now what is the affirmation of fact here? That there is a house? House is only a word which designates the fact or, rather, sensible object so named. Now what is that sensible object called a house? It is nothing more than a combination of colors; and it is the A, B, C of the science of the senses and their objects that colors are nothing but sensations, visual sensations. The visible object is no illusion, but is a real object, because it is sensible, and comes and goes in the normal way; and, for the same reason, it is a real perception which constitutes the conscious act, affirming that the "house is perceived by me, the conscious person. What is true in this case is true in all cases; states of consciousness are simply affirmations of fact." And the converse is equally true,—that known facts are simply states of consciousness, and that the affirmations of fact affirm no more.

The visible house is visible only, not audible or tangible or known in any other way than visually. Nor does it give any information whatsoever beyond itself as a visual affection or experience. It does not tell us anything about its solidity or tangible distance, for instance. We must find out this by another experience, the muscular. When we have done this, we have found out only certain relations of this visual experience to the touch or muscular experience. We have not touched the visible house, but only the tangible. On the other hand, we do not see the tangible house, as is well proved by the fact that pictures are often taken as being associated with tangibility; and the reflection of the moon on the water is grasped at by the child, because it appears just

as solid as any other visible object. So the dog goes for his own reflection in the mirror. Tangible distance, too, remains undisclosed by sight, so that children often stretch out their arms for the moon, expecting to reach it.

The visible house, then, while it is certainly known as a sensible object,—that is all we know of it; and that is to say that all we know is that we are the subjects of this experience. All this was thoroughly expounded by Berkeley, in his *New Theory of Vision*, one hundred and fifty years ago, and no competent man after investigation has ever been able to dispute his exposition; and, to-day, it remains unchallenged and universally regnant. And we here recall it, not for defence of it so much as a reminder that dogmatic opposition to it is very greatly discredited in advance.

In reviewing the classes of arguments in favor of subjectivism, Mr. Wasson has overlooked one of the clearest,—the comparison of spectral illusions with normal vision. These spectral apparitions are seen with the eyes wide open and directed toward the objects, as in normal vision. In some cases, these illusive spectra are a constant presence, and in other cases are present at intervals for hours together, and sometimes the ear is exercised as well as the eye, and that with a clear intellect and cool, deliberate observation and study of the phenomena. Now, what is the difference between these phenomena and what we call real vision? and how do we decide between them? Spencer answers in the word "persistence." One class has a persistence which the other has not. A fuller answer would be that the one class conforms to the laws of all the senses, and the other does not; and, in that sense, it is that the one class is more persistent than the other. They are quite as clear and objective as visual percepts; but one class is lexically connected with all the other senses, and the other is not. That is all the difference. Both are visual objects or phenomena, and both are subjective states, only the two classes have not the same connection with other subjective states or sensible experiences. *Unity of experiences is the only test of reality or illusion.*

W. I. GILL.

THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

III.

Third Stage.

Enforced conformity, the Northern answer to the national riddle, the Sphinx rejected, and, rejecting, devoured its victims. Might destroyed rebellion and freed the slaves, but it could not abolish the social system of the South. It was altogether impossible for it to replace the old by institutions cut and fashioned upon the Procrustean bed of either party selfishness or the best intentions. The extinction of old habits and institutions can be effected by no direct and violent measures. Their coming was a growth,—here a little and there a little. Their going will be a decline,—the snapping of a twig here, the dropping of a branch there, changes biting at the roots, changes gnawing at the core, until they fall before the breath and sway of some stronger life. After fever fits, this is the course by which social revolutions proceed.

The close of the second stage of the irrepressible conflict saw the restoration of the South to power. Its ascendancy over the old slave States was now complete. But its position was not precisely what it was in 1865. The convulsions of the Republican Reconstruction period had left ineffaceable witnesses behind. The former chattel in this interval had become a citizen,—had exercised his

rights,—voted and been voted for, taken his place in the State and national governments. In his new character, he had filled a large share of public attention. His civil and political liberty had become a part of the fundamental law of the land. Here, then, was a fact, legislative and volcanic, whose existence must be admitted, and whose plan must be noted upon the political chart of the South. The formal recognition of the results of the war the South, therefore, no longer withheld. It felt the urgency of adapting itself to real rather than imaginary circumstances; to the situation as it was in 1877, not as it was in 1865. But, although this recognition of the new fact was on paper, and from the teeth out, it was not without value; it was, in one view, of considerable value. For did it not imply that the new principles had touched the groundwork of Southern institutions and risen to the surface of its conscious life? When action contradicts profession, we have in the contradiction the germ and potency of moral growth; a sort of nebular conscience by which a community—some part, surely—will some time seek to bring its conduct and performance into agreement with its promise and profession. This departure of the South was significant, not because it denoted an advance, but a turning, willing or unwilling, toward the right quarter. Direction in social and political movements, as in navigation, is of the utmost consequence. Let it be right, and there need be no thought or fear for the morrow. The morrow of nations as of individuals, according to eternal laws, will, in that event, take care of itself.

The South, at this juncture, was confronted by a fact which it could not ignore. But, because it was unable to ignore, it was no reason why it should not control or nullify it. The method of its attack thereupon changed. Universal lawlessness slowly gave way to the reign of craft and deception. Systematic frauds upon the ballot succeeded to organized violence against the same. Now, bad as it certainly is, organized fraud is yet an appreciable advance upon organized violence. We do not mean that the South has at any time entirely renounced the use of force in executing its purpose,—not at all,—but that it has preferred, during recent years, to reach its object by fraudulent rather than forcible measures. We are justified by this analysis in saying, therefore, that the revolution does not go backward.

But there is another circumstance which opened the door of the South to an invasion of a different kind. The desire for position and power more than any cause separates men in a republic into parties. The passion to rule is, perhaps, the most persistent and constant in a land of free institutions. Like the wind, it passes over the smoothest sea, and it is forthwith roused into climbing and struggling numbers. Nothing stays its steps but a sense of overwhelming public danger. But, with the re-establishment of confidence, the revival of a feeling of reasonable security, the powerful principle begins to work again.

Now, after the restoration of the South, there followed within a few years, as a matter of course, this sense of reasonable security. But, as soon as this happened, the strife for office commenced. It broke out in different and distant States,—sometimes for municipal leadership, sometimes for State control, sometimes for congressional honors. As a consequence, there appeared in Southern politics an independent element, united to the Bourbons in maintaining the general policy of the restoration, but divided from them over the distribution of the spoils. The solid South was steadily dissolving under the heat and friction generated by this contest, when the national elec-

tions of 1884 operated as a temporary check by throwing the federal offices in the South into the hands of the Democratic party. But the remarkable firmness and independence of the President will in time operate as an offset to this slight reverse. The non-partisan character of Mr. Cleveland has blasted many hopes. It is possible that the close of his administration will witness the rise of a new party in the South. The negro, in such an enterprise, becomes a factor of the highest value. And this we know means for him ultimate political freedom.

Besides this independent there is a liberal element mingling with and modifying Southern society. Mr. Cable calls it the Silent South. It no longer shapes its opinion by the ancient standard. Implicit belief in the old has gone. This class is now doubting, trying, condemning it by new ideas and measurements of right. It is the remnant which is first to perceive the contradiction between what is and what ought to be in a State. Thus quickens the moral sense of the South; and, like the young child born nineteen hundred years ago, it will yet bring peace and good will among multitudes by helping to place as the chief of the corner of the social fabric of the new South the enduring strength of the Golden Rule.

Hard as the saying may appear, it is, nevertheless, true that the Democratic party of the North has turned its back on its dead past, and stepped into the living present. It no longer masquerades in the grave-clothes of ugly principles and uglier prejudices, is no longer a horror, an infernal anachronism, squeaking and gibbering at every footprint of justice in the Republic. The everywhere striving spirit of the Revolution has striven nowhere in vain. Northern Hunkerism at last serves it. This service is none the less valuable because inspired by party selfishness. Indeed, it derives special significance from this consideration. For its performance becomes then as regular and uniform as the ebbing and flowing of party tides, the rising and setting of party suns. Every hand in the North which holds a ballot holds also a beacon, by which politicians shape their course. There is no short, direct road to office in a republic. The path of parties is a zigzag between two termini. Like the railroad, they have a variety of interests to consider,—much freight to take on, a diversity of people to accommodate. The city on the hill they must visit, the town in the valley they must look to. Wherever there is a mine, factory, or farm, they must fling out their feeders. The wants of all must be provided for,—ay, no spot where a vote may be got can be neglected with impunity in the sharp competition of rival parties.

The colored vote of the North becomes, therefore, an interesting object to the Democrats. Its solid support has more than once decided an election in favor of their Republican rival. The result in 1880 was plainly determined by this then despised power. The Republican majorities in that contest, in the States of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, were so narrow that the shifting of their colored vote to the side of the Democratic party would have defeated Garfield and Arthur. This discovery was an eye-opener. Democratic love of office proved stronger than Democratic hatred of the negro. For that party presently began to unload its objectionable sentiments, and lay in a supply of liberal ideas,—to trim and tack,—with a view to capturing this strategic point in 1884. Gov. Waller cultivated Africa in Connecticut, Gov. Hoadly cultivated Africa in Ohio, Gov. Abbott cultivated Africa in New Jersey. This new Democratic in-

dustry was pushed with a vengeance wherever there was a colored patch on the Northern field. The little bird sang West, and the little bird sang East; and capital music the little bird made, too. Democratic governors and Democratic legislators struck sturdy blows against proscription and for equality before the law.

This Democratic change of front is of no slight consequence. For the triumph of the principles of the Revolution in the North accelerates its progress in the South. What one wing of a party not only promises, but performs, upon a given subject, must exert an appreciably increasing influence upon the policy of the other upon the same subject. Through this reflex action of the movement, then, we may confidently look for the growth of liberal ideas and institutions in the South. Here is another of those agencies which are conspiring to abolish the Southern social system and solve the Southern problem.

A. H. GRIMKE.

PEACE OR A SWORD?

The Christian dispensation is always said among us to have come through some spirit of peculiar equity. In contrast, the spread of Mohammedanism is usually attributed to physical coercion. Christianity, therefore, represents freedom, while Moslemism implies tyranny; or, considered in another way, the former stands for the spiritual, and the latter for the material, in religion. It is not strange that such a denial of natural relationship has become current; but it is by all means desirable that the mistake it infers may not have everlasting life.

Now, in order that we may come to the conclusion accepted in Christendom, we must forget much that is historically indubitable. Inquisitions, banishments, exiles, wars, murders, *autos-da-fé*, tortures, however unquestionable, must be wiped from before the vision, and be foresworn, in the investigation of truth. Very vital facts, by a process of moral and intellectual legerdemain, must be converted into very absurd illusions. Who can mention Hypatia, the Moors, the Jews, the Hindus, the Indians, without a shudder of racial shame? Who can think of Spain, Italy, India, England, America, and not feel that history has bared a story with which Christianity, in its earlier stages, was hopelessly involved? And yet, whatever the thought these memories instinctively suggest, we are asked to look and discover no black meaning, to listen and hear no sound!

If we come into modern days for illustrations, we find little difficulty of search. England has entered Burmah, Egypt, India, and some of its island provinces, to spread peace and spur enlightenment. It calls its method civilized, and reads its warrant from its national creed. It indulges its dull, dead, cruel acts of conquest under disguise. Here is the great Jesus as our security,—Jesus, the gentle, who never raised willing hand to set races up one against another! We are shocked. Shall we try to eliminate the human element from a religion, and then parade its very vices as virtues? To the unthinking man, logic has no difficulties. From Jesus to perfection argues but a step: from Mohammed to the unpardonable sin argues but another. The truth must be so, because men will have it so. The means that propagated the Moslem faith must have been base, if the Christian theological assumptions are true; and they are true. The different energies of growth were not the same in kind: the difference was necessarily of nature rather than of degree.

"Christian" disposition may mean a thousand

and one things. To an English aristocracy, it signifies a proper subjugation of Ireland. To Bismarck, it is written in a defence of the German Empire. To a papist, it lies in the subjection of all spiritual powers to Rome. To the British in Egypt, it enfolds a justification of the theft of the land from its natives. To the American, it is recognized in the sweet dictum that "the best Indian is the dead Indian." And so on. Whether such Christianity compares favorably with militant Moslemism, one might reasonably pause to consider. Very little of that noble breadth which distinguished Jesus finds itself influential in the counsels of modern Christian States. Along with an excess of pretension there goes a deficit of substance. The "give-and-take" game takes in very few of those ethical principles which speak in explanation of the birth of Christianity.

I do not care to say that in the matter of swords there is any such peculiar nicety about that which is Christian as would make one prefer it so very anxiously to the Moslem. Nor dare I hide from myself the long list of crimes committed by cruel men in the name of Jesus. The facts of development show that the life of creed has its common course, whether projected in Eastern or Western, Northern or Southern lands. There may be differences in the intensity with which men push their decrees of propagandism, but the character of human arrogance has no more mysterious variation than these suppose. It is impossible to presume that the whole explanation of Moslem power lies in its military nature, or that Mohammed would have gone unattended to this day, had physical force never been exerted in his behalf. The secret, rather, must hide in some more occult manifestation. The Christian world has its own excuse for being; and, in venturing to make that clear, it is not necessary to discredit the credentials of every other faith. In fact, it is patent that Christianity can find its own genesis written larger or smaller in each one of the world's faiths. Carlyle spoke a word in reference to Mohammed, to which all later scholars who wish truly to grasp the significance—we might almost say, the intention—of history must pay some heed.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

UNKNOWN AND UNKNOWABLE.

In a previous article, we endeavored to indicate the real philosophical significance of the doctrine of the Relativity of Knowledge, to show that it does not mean simply, as Mr. Abbot claims, that "human knowledge is small and can be increased,"—a fact sufficiently evident independently of this doctrine,—but that all knowledge is and must necessarily be of a certain *kind*, relative; that it is not and cannot be knowledge of objective existence in itself, because it is the product of two factors, subject and object, of self and not self, the relation between which only makes knowledge possible.

The objective element in cognition cannot be detached from the subjective element, and, thus isolated, be observed or studied apart. Knowledge of the objective existence by itself is not therefore possible. What we know is the effects of the objective reality upon us, the states of consciousness it produces in us; and these necessarily depend both upon the constitution of the mind and the nature of the external factor. All feeling and all thought are the compound products of subjective and objective factors, neither of which can be studied or conceived separately. The chemist, as Lewes observes, having experience of an acid and an alkaloid, each apart from the other, can separate them when they are combined in a salt or

combine them when he finds them separate. "But such analysis or synthesis is impossible with the objective and subjective elements of thought. Neither element is ever given alone. Pure thought and pure matter are unknown quantities, to be reached by no equation. The thought is necessarily and universally subject-object: matter is necessarily and to us universally object-subject. Thought is only called into existence under appropriate conditions; and in the objective stimulus the object and subject are merged, as acid and base are merged in the salt. When I say that the sensation of light is a compound of objective vibrations and retinal susceptibility, I use language which is intelligible and serviceable for my purpose; but I must not imagine that the external object named vibration is the *Ding an sich*, the pure object out of all relation to sensibility, nor that the retinal sensibility is pure subject involving no vibratory element. Kant himself would assure me that the vibrations were as subjective as susceptibility."

The conception of ethereal vibrations, as we indicated last week, is an inference from subjective experience caused in us by what has appeared to the senses—sight or touch—as undulatory movement. What we conceive as vibrations among particles of matter produce in us sensations as different as sound, heat, and light. Can we say that there is an objective reality that bears any resemblance to either of these sensible phenomena, or in which there are distinctions like those between the conscious states produced in us? We cannot. We know the effects produced upon us, and can ascertain whether between these effects, these phenomena and our conceptions, there is uniform correspondence; but the pure object we cannot know, for we have and can have no experience of it. Knowledge consists in the classification of experiences. We observe distinctions existing between phenomena, and group together those that are similar. Anything newly discovered is known only when it can be classed with some other thing; in other words, only when the impressions it produces can be recognized as belonging to an existing group of impressions. "Whence it is manifest that a thing is perfectly known only when it is in all respects like certain things previously observed; that in proportion to the number of respects in which it is unlike them is the extent to which it is unknown; and that hence, when it has absolutely no attribute in common with anything else, it must be absolutely beyond the bounds of knowledge." Without distinction, which implies limitation, of course, knowledge would be impossible. All that we can compare and classify are phenomena, between which are distinguishable various degrees of likeness and unlikeness. These phenomena are effects produced in us by that which is manifested objectively as matter and force, and subjectively as feeling and thought. We can think of matter only in terms of mind, as, indeed, we can think of mind only in terms of matter. That of which both are manifestations cannot be known. "The antithesis of subject and object," says Spencer, "never to be transcended while consciousness lasts, renders impossible all knowledge of that Ultimate Reality in which subject and object are united."

There are, we are aware, those who, after making use of the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge to prove that we know only our conscious states, deny or question the existence of any objective reality that produces these states. But relativity implies object as well as subject, and would have no meaning unless there were existence, known only as it affects us and unknown as pure object. The statement that a house of a certain

size, form, color, etc., is what it is conceived to be only in relation to consciousness, implies that there is something beyond consciousness that exists *per se*, and that, as such, it is unknown. The statement that knowledge is relative involves the statement that there is absolute existence,—existence that does not depend upon our consciousness, and of which we know only its effects upon us. If, in asserting the relativity of knowledge, we do not postulate absolute existence, the relative itself becomes absolute; and that involves a contradiction of relativity,—the very indisputable doctrine by which the so-called qualities of matter are shown to be sensible phenomena.

An oyster is conceived as having some vague sort of consciousness of its environment. In this consciousness, man is not included. If we conceive the oyster as a creature out of whose consciousness we exist, is it not a trifle absurd to say that there is no objective reality; that our conception of the oyster, instead of being the product of the co-operation of the mind with an external something, is only one of the modifications of ourselves, uncaused by anything existing objectively; and that, therefore, the oyster exists only in our own minds? And other human beings than ourselves cannot be regarded as but so many modifications of our own consciousness. The truth is that, while we know directly only our own conscious states,—the material out of which is woven all thought,—we know by inference other human beings, although, of course, relatively only; and that which is not known is the Reality which awakens in us all similarly perceptive activity.

Mr. Fiske, who has fully grasped the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, although a pronounced theist, says in his work, *The Idea of God*, "That Deity *per se* is not only unknown, but unknowable, is a truth which Mr. Spencer has illustrated with all the resources of that psychologic analysis of which he is incomparably the greatest master the world has ever seen."

The conviction "that human intelligence is incapable of absolute knowledge," says Spencer, "is one that has been slowly gaining ground as civilization has advanced. . . . All possible conceptions have been; one by one, tried and found wanting; and so the entire field of speculation has been gradually exhausted without positive result, the only result arrived at being the negative one above stated,—that the reality existing behind all appearances is, and must ever be, unknown. To this conclusion, almost every thinker of note has subscribed. 'With the exception,' says Sir William Hamilton, 'of a few late absolutist theorizers in Germany, this is, perhaps, the truth of all others most harmoniously re-echoed by every philosopher of every school.'"

The doctrine of the Unknowable is unwelcome to theologians and those theologically inclined, perhaps because it is opposed to all systems and theories based upon the assumption of the knowledge of God,—his nature, attributes, purposes, etc. It is opposed by others of anti-theological views, because, perhaps, they think, especially when they see Unknowable printed with the initial letter a capital, that it implies the existence of a God more or less like the theological conception which they have renounced. Both classes may, when they come to appreciate fully the reasoning by which the conclusion has been reached by men like Kant and Spencer, reconsider more carefully their objections, and adopt the view in which are united all that, in our opinion, is tenable in the affirmation of the theist with all that is warranted in the criticism of the atheist.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts will hold its fourth annual meetings at the Meionson, in this city, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 16th and 17th inst. Meetings will be held on Tuesday evening at 7.30, and on Wednesday at 2.30 and 7.30 P.M. Mrs. Lillie Devereaux Blake, of New York, will be the principal speaker. Others not yet announced will give addresses. Mrs. Dora B. Smith and Miss Fannie Worcester will give some appropriate recitations.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN, well known to our readers as an enthusiastic agitator for woman's suffrage, delivered lately some lectures at Washington. A prominent lady of Philadelphia who was present writes to a Boston friend: "When in Washington last week, I saw Mrs. Neymann, and heard her deliver two addresses, which were unsurpassed by anything given at the Convention. She possesses true eloquence, and an earnest, attractive manner as well. She is a great acquisition to our ranks. I wish I knew her better, though it would not be needed for my appreciation of her. Miss Anthony was charmed with her, and her friends may well be proud of her able advocacy of this most important cause."

MR. J. W. CHADWICK has these sensible words in regard to the Sunday paper: "It seems to me that, if the churches cannot hold their own against the Sunday newspaper, the sooner they succumb, the better. I do not believe that those who do not go to church can be drawn to church by twisting the Sunday newspaper into a rod for their refractory backs; in other words, by taking it away from them. . . . I am sure that there are Sunday papers from which one might extract more of religious help and cheer than from the majority of Sunday services. But I would like to see them all more anxious than they now appear to be to set up a standard of decency and honor and consideration, to which the week-day paper might look, and be encouraged to improve its morals and its manners."

F. M. H. WRITES: "The *Freidenker* for February 21 discusses at some length the question whether Emerson can be brought up as an exception to Karl Heinzen's statement: 'America cannot show a single man who has brought the whole field of thought within his range of vision, worked out in himself the fundamental principles of intellectual and social life, and developed their results in all directions.' 'Americans, with all their ability and all their freedom of thought, have no idea of what we Germans call radicalism,—that self-mastering position of the human mind in the world of nature, that cosmical manifoldness, that proud disregard of consequences in laying bare the roots of all knowledge, and that power of comprehensive generalization which grasps all the laws of development in their mutual relations, and thus brings them into harmony.' It is true that America has no Herbert Spencer. Has Germany?"

A NEW YORK correspondent of the Boston *Herald* writes thus in regard to Col. Ingersoll:—

One of his friends was saying to me the other day that, whenever I saw Ingersoll announced to lecture, I could be sure that he needed ready money. "He hates to talk in public," said this friend, "and under no conditions has it ever been possible to induce him to contract for a season of public speaking. He can always be sure of drawing about \$2,000 a night in any of the large cities; and, of course, it doesn't take him long at this rate to pile up enough money to relieve his pressing wants. But, as soon as he is easy, he stops lecturing, and doesn't take it up again until

his monetary affairs require renewal. He could make \$60,000 in any three months of the winter period that he might choose to devote to this kind of work; and, as it costs him about that much a year to live, he might have an easy career of it, if he saw the utility of working steadily for any length of time. But he prefers desultory employment, and mixes his law practice with his lecturing, thus earning in all a very large though not steady income."

SAYS the London *Inquirer*: "The limitation of the hours of marriage from eight to twelve in the morning has often been felt as a practical grievance in rural districts, and among the working classes of our larger towns, who cannot always afford to lose a day's work. A Marriage Hours Bill, brought in by Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. Richard, and Mr. Ince, enacts that, after the passing of the act, marriages may be lawfully solemnized between eight in the forenoon and four in the afternoon. The operation of the bill is confined to England and Wales. It applies to all marriages, wherever celebrated; but its primary purpose is to diminish the difficulties now experienced in country districts in securing the attendance of registrars at marriages in nonconformist chapels during the present prescribed hours,—difficulties arising from distance and prior arrangements. An extension of the time would be for the convenience of all parties."

JOSEPH COOK says: "Let us be thankful that Lotze's philosophy is coming to the front, and that agnosticism is declining. One or two in this country, formerly classed as Spencerians, are coming upon theistic ground. One of them seems to have discovered a Supreme Being, and is to be congratulated." Allusion is here made evidently to Mr. John Fiske. How he "discovered a Supreme Being," whether with a telescope or a microscope, is not stated; but he is "to be congratulated" on having discovered what "His Lectureship" has known all along. Mr. Fiske once characterized Mr. Cook as "a charlatan," since which time the latter has lost no opportunity to make a sarcastic remark in regard to his not over-courteous critic. Mr. Cook, having soon after the appearance of the article in which he was thus characterized returned the compliment by declaring that Mr. Fiske was the "echo of a charlatan" (Spencer), ought now, especially since said "echo" has "discovered a Supreme Being," to treat his brother in the theistic faith more fraternally. He should remember, too, that Mr. Fiske wrote in favor of theism, "cosmic theism,"—a phrase which Mr. Spencer never regarded with favor,—some years before his alleged recent discovery, and before Mr. Cook was known to a long-bearing and indulgent public.

REVELATION. *For The Index.*

How often light doth come to thee
From far-off heights thou canst not see,
And hope, to still thy doubt and pain,
Doth fall from clouds unseen as rain!
The force that speeds its subtle will
Defies thy fear and worketh still.

When worlds are hushed and skies are free,
And magic signs are hid from thee,
Love seeks not with unruly hand
To drive its boat upon the strand:
Out on the waters, it is one
With boreal wave and southern sun.

Though souls may find no question thrown
On fiery scrolls from the unknown,
There is a message still that leads
Unto the shrine of holy deeds:
Time's sacred seasons are not bent
To serve the meed of discontent!

Sweet is the day to duty pledged!
Grand is the life all golden-edged
From fire of human hearts! The flame
May guide the will from ways of shame:
To hungering trust, to loving thirst,
Doth Truth in aerial splendor burst!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

GIORDANO BRUNO.

BY THOMAS DAVIDSON.

On the 7th of January, 1865, the Roman students assembled in the Campo de' Fiori, lighted a fire on the spot where Bruno had been burned, and consigned to the flames the Papal Encyclical, published a month before. Then the hierarchy which had condemned Bruno remembered his prophetic threat and began to tremble. And it was time. Five years more, and Rome, by an overwhelming vote of its people, aided by the arms of Victor Emanuel, passed out of the hands of the pope and became the free capital of free Italy, whose freest and noblest men are now seeking to honor the memory of her martyred son with a statue, to be raised on the spot where, in the agonies of death, he turned away in anger from the crucifix.

Thus, though Bruno died a lonely, unpitied martyr, and his fame has grown but slowly, that growth has been very sure and continuous. All that it now requires to make it immortal is that his philosophical system should be made fully known to the world; and this, as we have just seen, is soon likely to be accomplished. When this takes place, it will be found that Bruno was not only a brave martyr, which men have often been for a bad cause, but that he was a martyr for the most sacred of all causes, the cause of pure truth. It will be seen that, instead of being a hot-headed dreamer, as he is slanderously believed to have been, he was one of the profoundest thinkers that the world has ever seen,—a thinker from whom we have even now much to learn, and who is destined to be the guiding star of future thought.

These are large claims, and I doubt not that to many they will seem exorbitant. I hope in what remains of my lecture to prove to you that they are not. What, then, were Bruno's views? What was there so opposed to the dogmas of the Church in them that the Church should think it necessary to condemn him to a cruel death? What, moreover, was there in them that justifies us in calling him a martyr, not only to truth, but to free thought? The answer to the first of these questions will involve answers to the other two. What, then, were Bruno's peculiar views?

These must be divided into two classes: (1) his physical views, (2) his metaphysical views. Let no one shrink when he hears that Bruno held "metaphysical" views. John Stuart Mill says that, until we have a metaphysics, we shall never be sure that we really know anything. And Bruno happily lived before the rise of the strangest of all superstitions, that crude dogma of Positivism, which, on pain of scientific anathema, forbids all men to have any dealings with the demon of metaphysics. In spite of this, when I was in Paris some years ago, Mr. Lafite, the present head of the French Positivists, told me that he was writing a book on the metaphysics of Positivism. I could not help asking whether his next book would not be on the theology of Positivism. He did not see the point of the remark; and, indeed, Dr. Bridges denies that the Positivists are atheists. Indeed, no scientific system that means really to explain anything can be without a metaphysics, since all explanation whatsoever is in metaphysical terms. At all events, Bruno was a metaphysician; but his metaphysics were very closely bound up with his physics, and indeed seem, in a great measure, to have had their origin in the impulse given to physical science by the then recent astronomical theories and discoveries of Copernicus.

Astronomical theories do not seem to bear very closely upon human affairs, and yet few things so much contributed to overthrow the mediæval ideal of human existence and to introduce the modern one as the astronomical theory of Copernicus: albeit, it was put forward timidly, and the work embodying it dedicated to a pope. Although this work appeared in 1543, five years before Bruno's birth, the Copernican theory found little acceptance or currency for nearly a century.*

It seemed so harmless that the Church did almost nothing to oppose it, until it was propounded and rendered familiar by Galilei, who was tortured and made to recant in 1616 and 1633. One of the very earliest adherents of the Copernican system was Giordano Bruno, who not only accepted it, but drew from it all the consequences, both physical and theological, which the world has been slowly drawing in the last three hundred years. The most important and fundamental of these consequences was one of which Copernicus had never dreamt,—namely, that there is not only one solar system, but many; and that the universe is infinite. This view seems now so much a matter of course that it is hard to believe that, in the sixteenth century, Giordano Bruno was perhaps the only man who held it, and certainly the only man who saw its bearings.

It is hard for us who are familiar with the true view to conceive what an inspiration it was to the man in whose soul it was first revealed, how it new-created the universe to him, and filled him with a living fire of enthusiasm, which even the dungeon and the stake could not quench. As Froude says: "The floor of heaven, inlaid with stars, had sunk back into an infinite abyss of immeasurable space; and the firm earth itself, unfixed from its foundations, was seen to be but a small atom in the awful vastness of the universe. In the fabric of habit which they had so laboriously built for themselves, mankind were to remain no longer." With the flash of the eye of genius, Bruno saw, from the Pisgah peak of the Copernican doctrine, the whole promised land of modern thought and science, in its essential outlines. I doubt whether any man, even up to our own day, has seen it again as clearly as he did.

"The universe is infinite," said Bruno to himself; "and every part of an infinite is necessarily

* Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 318; vol. iii., p. 394.

infinite. I am part of the infinite: therefore, I am infinite." This was the sublime syllogism which made Bruno a moral hero and a deathless martyr. It may seem a very rash syllogism; but, I think, the more carefully we consider it, the more thoroughly shall we be convinced of its truth. It can be shown in the most direct way that no number of finite parts will make an infinite whole. It follows at once that the parts of the infinite must be infinite, or, which is the same thing, that the infinite has, strictly speaking, no parts, but only modes, and that each of these modes is the infinite itself under a particular form.

I am afraid that this will seem to some of you mere gibberish; and you will perhaps say to yourselves, "Bruno must have been a dreamer, not to say a fool, to stake his life for any such vague proposition as this." I shall be sorry, indeed, if any one arrive at this conclusion; for Bruno's doctrine, when fully comprehended, proves not only to be true, but also to be so important a truth as to be the only possible basis for free thought or, indeed, of any freedom whatsoever. The subject of this lecture is the relation of Bruno's philosophy to free thought. I am now able to state this relation, which is this: that Bruno's fundamental thought, for which he sacrificed his life, is the sole and essential condition of free thought, that free thought can have no other foundation. Not only is it the irresistible solvent that will melt the triple fetters of servitude welded upon the human spirit during the Middle Age, but it is the strong barrier that will in the future prevent a new triple servitude from being imposed upon it by the theory of evolution as at present construed. Let us see if we can make this clear.

And, first, as regards the enslaving doctrine of the Middle Age. The fundamental concept of this doctrine was this: God is all in all; man is a finite creature, the work of God's hands, made out of nothing, dependent in every way upon God, utterly unfree save by the grace of God, having no rights whatsoever as over against God, who may, and probably will, condemn him to eternal pain for the sin of his first ancestor, unless, by chance, he has heard of a revelation made at a particular moment in an obscure corner of the world, and has proved traitor to his intelligence, in order to swear a blind allegiance to the bearer of this revelation. This is even a mild putting of the mediæval view, which was by no means confined to the Middle Age and the Roman Church, but is not without adherents in our own time. From the *Evening Post* of the 10th of this month, I copy a quotation from a memorial made by the first missionaries to India to the governor of Bombay, in 1813: "We looked upon the heathen; and, alas! three-fourths of the inhabitants of the globe had not been told that Jesus had tasted death for every man! We saw them following their fathers in successive millions to eternal death. The view was overwhelming." Overwhelming to the pitiful missionaries apparently, but by no means so to their omniscient, omnipotent, all-loving God! And it was this God and his characteristics and interests that the Church professed to represent. The best and the worst thing that we can say about it is that it did fairly represent them. For there can be no question that, if this theory of the relation between God and man were true, the Church was right, and is right now. The only way to undermine its position was to deny and disprove the doctrine that lay at the foundation of it; and this was just what Bruno did, and what the Church, true to her theoretical rights, burnt him for doing.

Giordano Bruno was the first man in modern

times that took the truly scientific view of the supreme power in the universe and of man's relation to it. He maintained that God is not one thing, and nature another, and his creation; but that God and nature are one and the same thing, distinguishable only by mental abstraction. God apart from nature, nature apart from God, are both abstractions. Abstracting the power of nature from its manifestation, we call it God; putting manifestation and power together, we call the latter the soul of the world; taking the separate manifestations by themselves and relating them individually to the supreme power, we call them monads, or souls, or spirits, or intellects. Let me translate literally Bruno's own words: "There are three kinds of intellect,—the divine, which is all; the mundane, which does all; the other particular intellects, which become all." One is at first somewhat surprised to hear Bruno speak of three intellects; but this surprise ceases, when one remembers that this is only a form of expression borrowed from Aristotle. Bruno's meaning, to be sure, is very different from Aristotle's; but the phraseology is the same. Both mean that intelligence has three aspects,—Being, process, and the result of process. Intellect, regarded as being, we call God; regarded as process, we call it nature; regarded as the result of process, we find a world of particular existences, ordered in accordance with an intelligible law. This is exactly the modern scientific point of view, the view toward which all thought, even that of the unmoving Catholic Church, is irresistibly tending.

Let me quote a few more sentences from Bruno: "As to the efficient cause, I maintain that the universal physical efficient is the universal intellect, which is the first and fundamental faculty of the soul of the world, which is its universal form. . . . The universal intellect is the intimate, most real and proper faculty of the soul of the world. This is the identical one which fills all, illuminates the universe, and directs nature in fitly producing its species, and thus stands related to the production of natural things, as our intellects to the analogous production of rational species (or ideas)."

"We have, therefore, an internal principle of form, eternal and subsistent."

"The universe is one, infinite, immovable. One, I say, is the absolute possibility, one the act, one the form or soul, one the matter or body, one the thing, one the being, one the greatest and best, which, since it plainly cannot be comprehended, is illimitable and interminable, and therefore unlimited (infinite) and untermiated, consequently immovable. It has no locomotion, because there is no outside whereto it could transport itself, since itself is all. It does not generate, because there is no other being which it could desire or expect, since it has all being. It does not decay, because there is nothing else into which it can change, seeing it is everything. It can neither diminish nor increase, because it is infinite; and to the infinite nothing can be added, and from it nothing can be subtracted, because the infinite has no proportional parts. It cannot undergo any modification, because there is nothing outside of it, by which it could be modified or affected. . . . It is not matter, because it is neither figured nor figurable, neither terminated nor terminable. It is not form, because it does not give form or figure to anything else, seeing it is all, is a maximum, is one, is the universe. It is neither measurable nor measure. It is not comprehended in anything, because there is nothing greater than it. It is not comparable, because it is not one thing and another, but is one and the same. Being one and the same, it has not

being and being; and, because it has not being and being, it has not part and part, it is not compound. It is a term of such a sort that it is not a term; it is form in such a way that it is not form, matter in such a way that it is not matter, soul in such a way that it is not soul; because it is all indifferently and therefore one—the universe is one.

"It is not only possible, therefore, but necessary, that the incomprehensible best and greatest (absolute) should be all, through all, in all, because, being simple and indivisible, it can be all, through all, in all. Hence it was not vainly said that Jove fills all things, inhabits all parts of the universe, is the centre of that which has one being in all things, and by which all is one. This, being all things, and comprehending in itself all being, brings about this result,—that everything is in everything. But, if this be so, you will ask me: Why then do things change? Why does particular matter force itself into other forms? I reply that change is not seeking another being, but another mode of being. And this is the difference between the universe and the things of the universe, because there is nothing that comprehends all being and all the modes of being. Of the things in the universe, each one has all being, but not all the modes of being."

All this is expressed in language deeply dyed in scholasticism, in which Bruno was reared. Nevertheless, it is not only a full expression of the profoundest views of modern scientists, but is a better expression of the truth than any of these, so far as I know, has found. Here we find shadowed forth not only the doctrines of the correlation of forces, the persistence of force, the identity of force and matter, the identity of matter (when properly defined) and spirit and so on. Indeed, in spite of many faults of expression which were unavoidable, Bruno, the first real pioneer of modern thought, grasped its chief and fundamental outlines, its spirit, better than any one that came after him. In the white heat of the new birth, he saw the outlines of the future world of thought with unparalleled clearness. Successive thinkers have only elaborated different sides or portions of his great, comprehensive view; and these sides, slowly and painfully filled in by experiment and deduction, are, in their union, slowly rising into the imposing structure of modern science and thought. Modern philosophy and modern science are little more than a filling out of Bruno's grand outline, and I think this outline would be much sooner filled up if it were better known than it is to philosophers and men of science.

We have seen that Bruno distinguished three aspects of intellect,—Being, which is all, Process, which produces all, and Existence, which is the result of Process. These are not three things, but three inseparable aspects of the same thing. They are the true ultimate distinctions that exist in all that is in the universe. They were dimly seen by Aristotle; they were made objects of idolatry in the mythical Christian Trinity. Viewed objectively, they are force, time, and space; viewed subjectively, they are spirit, feeling, and intelligence; viewed ontologically, they are the ideal, the moral, and the real.* No philosophy that does not accept these three aspects of being as final, and do justice

* In using the term intellect here, I ought to note that I do not mean by it conscious intelligence, which is merely an act of intellect under certain circumstances. Anaxagoras, who first introduced the term, or rather its Greek equivalent, *noûs*, had no intention of making it equivalent to consciousness; and the same is true of Aristotle, Plotinus, and the Schoolmen. The Latin term *intellectus* means a gathering between, a bringing of many things into one or under one; a making one thing present to many; in one word, universality. Now, universality, when it is raised to a high power, to a white heat, so to speak, becomes luminous, and results in consciousness. If we would but remember this, we might find little to object to in the assertion that the world displays an intelligible order, and seems the product of intellect.

to them as such, can ever give us a satisfactory account of the universe or make life seem rational and worth living. Whoever would hope to profit by Bruno's patrimony must take it entire.

This, however, is just what succeeding thinkers have failed to do. They have divided up Bruno's patrimony among them. In fact, the three inseparable parts of it have been taken as the whole by three different classes of thinkers, who together have been the producers of modern thought; and it is this single fact that explains why all modern thought is so little satisfactory. The best representatives of these three classes of thinkers are Spinoza, Leibniz, and Hegel. The first of these tries to found a philosophy on pure being, the second upon particular existence, the third upon process; and each tries to deduce from the one aspect which he adopts the other two aspects. You may search modern thought through, and you will find but one thinker that cannot be classed along with one or another of these great names, and that one is a Roman Catholic, a man altogether irrational and fanatical whenever the dogmas of the Church are in question. I mean Rosmini, who, Catholic as he is, is the true spiritual son of Bruno. Rev. Heber Newton tells that "Bradlaugh does not look like a child of Cardinal Newman, but he is." So Rosmini does not look like a child of Bruno, but he is.

Of the three systems of philosophy built upon shreds of Bruno's patrimony, that of process, best represented by Hegel, is the one that now has the widest currency. It has many apparently dissimilar forms, agreeing in little else except in adopting the process now usually called evolution as their first principle. Such are the systems of Schopenhauer, Von Hartmann, Comte, Darwin, and Spencer. Some of these, *e.g.*, the systems of Comte and Spencer, do not deny the existence of the other aspects of being; but they declare them to be unknowable. While one may object to these systems, if put forward as complete and ultimate systems of philosophy, one may regard them with much satisfaction when they present themselves as partial systems, due to that division of labor which is the characteristic of our times. If we would only supplement Darwinianism and Spencerianism by Spinozism and Leibnizism, we should have a most satisfactory philosophy, which might very fairly be called Brunism.

Now, I maintain, and I wish to show, that it is Brunism, and Brunism alone,—carefully developed, indeed, and elaborated,—that must form the theoretical basis of any social system in which man shall enjoy true freedom, and develop his powers to the fullest. The reason of this is that it is the only system which recognizes and makes provision for freedom in its very first principle. Bruno, as we saw, maintains that, "of the things in the universe, each has all being, but not all the modes of being." This is only a way of saying that each real being is potentially the Absolute, and can realize the Absolute within himself. This, again, is only the philosophical way of saying that any being is free. For let us suppose that any being, man, for example, did not contain all being,—that is, all the possibilities of being,—the result would be that he would be limited in his development, and his evolution would cease when the possibilities of being contained in him were all realized. His existence, if he then continued to live, would be absolute stagnation and monotony, which, after all, is death. For what is death but the cessation of power to receive new impressions and put forth new acts? But to receive impressions and to put forth acts is to realize possibilities: hence, the cessation of power to realize possibilities is death.

Still, it might be said man, even if he did not contain the absolute in potentiality, might be free within certain limits and for a certain time. I reply that even this would be impossible; and the best proof of this is that the freedom of the will, so called, has been uniformly denied by all persons who either denied the existence of any Absolute or refused to acknowledge that it is present in every human being. Mr. Spencer, for example, who is one of the latter class, pointedly denies the freedom of the will. Many of his followers find this denial leading to such absurdities in practice that they not unfrequently maintain that he does not make it, and accuse those who say that he does of either misunderstanding or misrepresenting him. I will therefore quote a sentence or two from his *Psychology*. He says that "every one is at liberty to do what he desires to do (supposing there are no external hindrances), all admit; though people of confused ideas commonly suppose this to be the thing denied. But that every one is at liberty to desire or not to desire, which is the real proposition involved in the doctrine of free will, is negatived as much by the analysis of consciousness as by the contents of the preceding chapters."

"I will only further say that freedom of the will, did it exist, would be at variance with the beneficent necessity displayed in the evolution of the correspondence between organism and environment."

I shall not stop to point out the errors in fact and logic contained in these sentences. I merely wish to show that the ablest of modern deniers of the doctrine for which Bruno went to the stake—at which no beneficent necessity was displayed in the correspondence between his organism and environment—denies, likewise, man's freedom. And he must do this, if he is at all logical. For freedom, even in its faintest form, implies the existence of the Absolute in the persons who exercise it. If the human intelligence had to choose between finite, commensurable motives (and all finite things are commensurable), man, certainly, would not be free; but, as soon as he comes to choose between incommensurable motives,—*e.g.*, between an absolute, an infinite, on the one hand, and a relative and finite, on the other,—then he must be free. But, before he can choose or even reject the Absolute, the Absolute must be in him; for the power that comprehends the Absolute must be itself absolute, at least potentially. No one can comprehend that which he is not himself potentially. This is a fundamental truth too often ignored in this form, though often enough repeated in another form; namely, that no one can comprehend what he has not experienced. But even this form is sufficient for our purposes. Since all experience is a modification of the thinking subject, any subject that experiences the Absolute must be capable of taking an absolute modification; that is, must be potentially the Absolute.

I do not wish here to discuss the question whether men grasp the Absolute or not. All I am concerned about is to show that, unless they do, there is no freedom possible for them, and that there is no more use in doing anything or talking about doing anything for human improvement than there is in counselling a stone to walk off to the moon, to escape being rained on. How clearly Bruno saw all this, we may learn from such expressions as "[the Absolute] is neither measure nor measured." "All the parts of the Infinite are themselves infinite." But we learn it best of all from the simple fact that, rather than admit that he was a finite, relative creature, dependent upon an environment or an organism, he chose to be burnt at the stake, thereby asserting a freedom

which certainly could not have its origin in a merely physical organism, entirely subject to necessary laws. I repeat, therefore, that the philosophy of Bruno is the only one that is capable of affording a substructure for true freedom and endless evolution.

Thus far, I have dwelt mainly with Bruno's relation to what we may call speculative or theoretical philosophy; and I have shown that all modern systems of thought are but more or less complete developments of the different sides of his system. It now remains for me to say a few words respecting his relation to the sciences, the physical and the moral.

As to the former, we have already seen that his astronomical views were very advanced,—indeed, that he had reached the modern view. We have also seen that he forestalled some of the most famous of modern theories, those of the persistence of force, the correlation of forces, the identity of force and matter and of matter and spirit. His view with regard to transformation in general is set forth in this remarkable passage: "What was seed becomes herb; from what was herb is made ear of corn; from what was ear of corn is made bread; from bread, chyle; from chyle, blood; from blood, seed; from seed, embryo; from embryo, man; from man, corpse; from corpse, earth; from earth, stone or anything else; and thus it goes on to all the forms of nature." This passage has sufficient intrinsic interest, but this is heightened by an extrinsic circumstance of no small moment. There can hardly be any doubt that Shakspeare had these words in mind when he wrote (*Hamlet*, V., 1):—

"Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till we find it stopping a bung-hole? thus: Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth into dust; the dust is earth; of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?" *

"Imperious Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
Oh that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw!"

But it was not only in astronomy and physics that Bruno had ideas far ahead of his time. In biology, he came very near the Darwinian theory, and arrived altogether at a doctrine of evolution. He says: "As from one and the same wax or other material are formed different and contrary figures, so from the same bodily material are

* There are many other passages in "Hamlet" that show Shakspeare to have been familiar with the writings of Bruno, and some passages can be explained only by reference to these writings. Polonius asks Hamlet, "What do you read, my lord?" and the latter answers, "Words, words, words." So, in Bruno's *Candelajo*, Manfuro asks the pedant, Octavio, "What is the matter of your verses?" Whereto the latter answers, "Letters, syllables, diction, and speech, parts near and parts remote." Hamlet says, "There is nothing, either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." Bruno says, "Taken absolutely, nothing is imperfect or evil: only in relation to something else does it seem so, and what is evil to one is good to another." To be sure, the same thought occurs both in *Hērakleitos* and *Sophoklēs*; but it is highly improbable that Shakspeare knew either of these. Bruno, it must be admitted, may have derived it from *Hērakleitos*, some of whose fragments he seems to have known. Hamlet, after soliloquizing to himself thus, "For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a god kissing carrion," suddenly breaks off, and says to Polonius, "Have you a daughter? Polonius replies, "I have, my lord." Hamlet says, "Let her not walk i' the sun: conception is a blessing, but not to your daughter may conceive." These words have no meaning till we know Bruno's doctrine that "the sun and man beget man" (*Sol et homo generant hominem*). I am not sure that any one ever thought of inquiring what book Hamlet is supposed by Shakspeare to be reading, when he is interrupted by Polonius; but I venture, from numerous indications, to conjecture that it was a volume of Bruno, and one containing that admirable comedy, *Il Candelajo*. Hamlet calls the author a "satirical rogue," but evidently enjoys him. I feel convinced that Shakspeare meant to indicate that Hamlet was a follower of Bruno; and it is worthy of notice that Bruno taught for two years (1586-88) at Wittenberg, the very university where Hamlet and his friends are said to have studied. We know, moreover, that about that time several young Englishmen and Scotchmen studied at Wittenberg; and, among these, Shakspeare may have found the prototype of his too curiously thinking Hamlet. (See *Philosophische Monatshefte*, vol. II. pp. 495, sq.)

formed all bodies, and from the same spiritual substance are all spirits" (he does not say, "are formed all spirits"). "Moreover, by reason of different causes, habits, orders, measures, and numbers in body and spirit, there are different temperaments and conditions, there are produced different organs, and there appear different species of things." This doctrine was no doubt suggested to him by Hērakleitos and Aristotle; but, in his day, no one, perhaps, but himself held it. So much for Bruno's physical ideas.

His view with regard to morals and their relation to religion may best be seen from the following words addressed by Momus to Jove: "It will be sufficient if you put an end to that lazy tribe of pedants, who, without doing good, according to the divine and natural law, consider themselves, and wish to be considered, as religious men, agreeable to the gods, and declare that it is not by pursuing good and shunning evil that men become worthy and pleasing to the gods, but by believing and hoping according to their catechism." Elsewhere, he makes Wisdom say: "Wherefore, it is an unworthy, foolish, profane, and reprehensible thing to think that the gods demand reverence, fear, love, worship, and respect for any other good end or utility than those of men themselves, inasmuch as being perfectly glorious in themselves, and therefore unable to add any glory to themselves from without, they have made laws, not so much to obtain glory from men as to communicate glory to them. Hence, laws and judgments fall short of the goodness and truth of law and judgment, just in proportion as they fail to order and approve, above all other things, that which consists in the moral actions of men with respect to each other." I doubt whether the Society for Ethical Culture could frame a better statement of the relation between ethics and religion than this of Bruno's. Reading this, we are at no loss to understand why Bruno, though he spent some time in Geneva, and afterward in Protestant England and Germany, never became a Protestant. He appears, from recently discovered documents, to have got into considerable trouble at Geneva; and no wonder, when he puts into the mouth of Wisdom words like the following, concerning the chief reformers: "While they say that all their care is about invisible things, which neither they nor anybody else ever understood, they maintain that, in order to obtain grace, all that is required is fate, which is immutable, but which is determined by certain affections and fancies on which the gods are especially fond of feeding." Indeed, his contempt for the doctrines of the reformers, who exalted faith as all-potent for salvation and despised works and a moral life, is without bounds. His treatment of the doctrine of predestination is not only contemptuous, but funny.

I think I need not say anything more to convince you that Bruno was one of the mighty, one of those strange, incomprehensible, pioneer geniuses that lived centuries before their time, destined, apparently, to lay out the tasks for many succeeding ages. He rose not only above the dogmas and superstitions of half-obsolete mediæval Catholicism, but, with equal ease and firmness, above the new follies of growing Protestantism. He belongs not to the sixteenth century, but to the nineteenth, and even to the *élite* of it. Great in philosophy, great in science,—physical and moral,—he was greater still in practice, in life and in death. No man ever labored more or suffered more, in order to be free himself and help others to be so. No one ever met death more firmly and heroically. Among the martyrs for truth and freedom,—those first essentials of man-

hood,—he occupies the highest place. Calvin and Luther and all the reformers are, or soon will be, matters of history; but Bruno will live on, and be honored as a present saint, as long as men love truth and freedom and heroism.

I cannot better close this long lecture than by reading a translation of two of Bruno's sonnets, in which the whole man, in his character, aspirations, and firm resolutions, is summed up. The former may be called his creed,—the expression of that which inspired him, and became the ruling power in his life. It is also a prayer, uttered in the true attitude,—that of firm, unwavering resolution to cling with the whole soul to the Highest, and never to lose sight of it in the chaos of outward wrong or inward passion. It is perhaps the truest and manliest prayer that ever was uttered. I prophesy that it will be often repeated in the future.

"Cause, Principle and One, the Sempiternæ,
On whom all being, motion, life, depend.
From whom, in length, breadth, depth, their paths extend
As far as heaven, earth, hell their faces turn:
With sense, with mind, with reason, I discern
That act, rule, reckoning, may not comprehend
That power and bulk and multitude which tend
Beyond all lower, middle, and superne.

"Blind error, ruthless time, ungentle doom,
Deaf envy, villain madness, zeal unwise,
Hard heart, unholy craft, bold deeds begun,
Shall never fill for one the air with gloom,
Or ever thrust a veil before these eyes,
Or ever hide from me my glorious sun."

The second is a statement of his purpose in life and a prophecy of his death,—almost of the manner of it. It shows us that he was perfectly conscious of what he was doing and what it might lead to. It shows, also, that he, poor, lonely, unrecognized wanderer, had taken his life in his hand, and was prepared to suffer the worst for the sake of the glorious new revelation that had been made in and to his soul.

"Since I have spread my wings to purpose high,
The more beneath my feet the clouds I see,
The more I give the winds my pinions free,
Spurning the earth and soaring to the sky.
Unwarned by Icarus' sad fate to ply
My flight near earth, I farther heavenward flee.
That I shall sink in death, I know must be;
But with that death of mine what life will die?"

"Across the air, I hear my heart's voice cry:
'Where dost thou bear me, reckless one? Descend!
Such rashness seldom ends but bitterly.'
'Fear not the lofty fall,' I answer, 'rend
With might the clouds, and be content to die,
If God such glorious death for us intend.'"

Such glorious death God did intend; and the poet met it, as an exceptional honor, without fear, without complaint, without appeal. Such, in life and death, was Giordano Bruno, the first of modern men, the Messiah of free thought and free life.

(Concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOT SO.

Editors of The Index:—

I shall not wrangle with the excellent and irate Mr. Gill, but must beg leave to correct him in one or two particulars. He says that I called him a goose. If so, I was very rude. But, indeed, I did nothing of the sort. I said that, if inclined, he has a right to call himself so, but denied the right of another to speak of him in such terms. The point was that one may lawfully take liberties with himself which must not be taken with him by any other. Mr. Gill has perspicacity enough to have seen the point, had not his Christian temper stood in the way. As matter of fact, I have called myself a goose many times, and shall be lucky if I have no occasion to do the like again. Very likely, Mr. Gill is on better terms with himself, and has never been in a mood to give himself any worse title than that of philosopher. So my answer didn't answer, but affronted his dignity. To make amends, I here say of myself what was said

of him,—namely, that I have a right to call myself a goose whenever so disposed; and I will leave to say the same in my behalf a thousand times over, if he likes. Mr. Gill farther remarks that Mr. Underwood has criticised Dr. Abbot's book to the like effect with himself. That is nothing to the purpose: he mistakes the point again. I object to a style of assertion and expression which Mr. Underwood, to the best of my knowledge, has never used. Style is the matter in question. One man takes up a grave argumentative work, and in the absolute tone, in raw terms and with studied smartness, pronounces the argument worthless. Another takes up the same book, and, having read it carefully, is impelled to say that he must think the premises of the argument unsound and the conclusion not sustained. The two men agree in opinion, but differ in style. The one pronounces absolutely, like an infallible pope, and pronounces in terms that do not mitigate his tone of papal supremacy: the other expresses his personal judgment simply as such, and expresses it in terms at once clear and becoming. And herewith I bid a respectful farewell to Mr. Gill.

D. A. W.

MISS ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, in the *Woman's Journal* of February 28, writes: "A good book was never put to a worse use than when, at the recent Toronto municipal election, the Bible was used by the whiskey men to keep some of the newly enfranchised women away from the polls. The regard which these gentlemen usually show for the Scriptures is on a level with that of Petroleum V. Nasby's fellow-townsmen. It will be remembered that Ingersoll took the side opposite to Nasby's in a political campaign, whereupon Nasby was seized with a fit of unwonted zeal for religion, and denounced him from the stump as an 'infiddle.' 'What's that?' asked several of his auditors. Nasby continues (I quote from memory): 'I explained to them that Ingersoll wanted to destroy the Bible, which infooated them. "What!" they cried, "ain't we to be allowed our reg'lar township Bible? What'll we have to swear the witness on in horse cases? Go on! Go on! Down with the infiddle!"' In Toronto, any person who presents himself to vote may be challenged, and made to swear to his identity. By what seems to have been a preconcerted plan, the supporters of Mr. Manning, the whiskey candidate, insisted upon swearing almost every lady who came to cast her vote, even those who were well known, and about whose identity there could be no question. They exacted, in addition, that every woman should 'kiss the book.' The *Toronto Globe* says: 'We know many of the excellent of the earth, and of the sterner sex, too, who would have nothing to do with volumes which, if kissed, might give them small-pox. It was, accordingly, a shrewd device to make ladies believe that they had to kiss a volume that had been handled by many dirty fingers, and had still upon it the aroma of many unsavory breaths, and the impress of lips the very reverse of all that was wholesome and attractive. Such a supposed necessity was trying to the courage of the bravest, and our wonder is not that a few looked and smelled, and feared and fled, but that any actually faced the foe and kissed!' Dickens makes Rogue Riderhood say, to show the reliance that may be placed upon his affidavit: 'When I takes my Alfred David, I kisses the book. I don't kiss my coat-cuff: I kisses the book.' Now that the ladies have shown their courage by kissing so unpleasant a volume as the Toronto public Bible seems to be, no one ought hereafter to question the sincerity of their desire to vote."

AN Englishman, on returning home from a visit to America, writes to the *Critic* as follows: "I have been told by many gentlemen in New York that they never allow their daughters to read a daily morning paper. It is quite impossible, I know, to keep such things out of the papers, especially when they get into the police courts; but your daily papers seem to tax their utmost ingenuity and skill to give the greatest prominence to unsavory subjects. Take up a New York morning paper, and you will find the platform utterances of your chief statesmen dismissed in a few words, whilst its leading pages will be covered with headings such as 'She Shoots Herself,' 'Attacked by a Negro in her House,' 'The Child Polygamist,' 'Miss Jones Elopes,' 'She Left Him Forever,' 'He Loved Her Too Well,' and so on, *ad nauseam*. In London, this kind of newspaper work is intrusted to the Police

News and Town Talk, and other such papers which respectable citizens would never admit into their houses and no respectable hotel would leave on its tables. I have no Utopian idea regarding the press. I know scandals must get into the papers. But why, in the name of common decency, do editors, who are gentlemen of education and refinement, serve these little details with all their skill and energy, as though it were of the greatest interest to the general public to know that John Jones had run away with Sarah Smith? In England, we regard the leading London journals as the teachers of the people. But it is quite impossible for the press in New York to assume a dignified position as long as newspaper editors make no effort to get out of what appears to be this rut of American journalism."

In an article on the celebration at Concord, September 12, of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that famous and beautiful town, the *Boston Journal* said: "Other towns are often discontented with themselves, and torn with jealous factions which neglect the best interests of the town in selfish rivalry; but Concord has always been the object of the love and pride of its townsmen, and its dignity and beauty have been maintained and cultivated through generations. Every historic spot is guarded carefully, and every noble memory preserved devotedly. The monuments to the dead, and the historical tablets which were placed Saturday to commemorate the deeds of the generations, are illustrations of the prevalent public feeling. As the orator of the day remarked, the secret of the history of Concord has been the connection of her generations with each other. Many New England towns have become dull and hopeless from the westward or cityward emigration of the children; but Concord has maintained a stable population, and retains in an unusual degree the descendants and the names of the early settlers. As it was once a typical Puritan town, it is now a pure New England community, retaining the democracy of the town meeting, and inhabited by an honest New England people. Each generation shows its vitality in its power of producing strong men,—strong in statesmanship, in letters, in art; and the present age holds its high place with firmness and spirit. When the stranger enters the cheerful valley of contentment, he realizes the proud spirit of the townsmen, and respects old Concord for its eminent self-appreciating individuality. Its smiling fields are not on a dead level: they are rather a high plateau of pride and glory."

BOOK NOTICES.

DIAGRAM OF PARLIAMENTARY RULES: Showing the Relation of any Motion to every other Motion, and answering at a glance over five hundred questions in Parliamentary practice; together with a key containing concise hints and directions for conducting the business of Deliberative Assemblies. By Uriah Smith. Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association. Price 50 cents.

This diagram is folded, like a map, in the front page of the key, and is to the study of Parliamentary practice what a map is to the study of geography. Its size, when opened, is twelve and one-half by six three-fourth inches, and is printed on bond paper, not liable to tear. By a very simple arrangement, motions of all kinds, in the order of their precedence, are arranged in the centre, printed in large type, and their relation to every possible rule is indicated by connecting lines. The diagram and accompanying key contain the very essence of Parliamentary practice in an immediately available form. It is recommended by the *New York Independent*, Speaker Keifer, and various speakers of State legislatures, judges, senators, and others competent to judge from experience of its merits.

GEORGE ELIOT'S TWO MARRIAGES. An Essay. By Charles G. Ames. Philadelphia: George H. Buchanan & Co. Fourth edition, paper covers. pp. 34.

This is a thoughtful, sympathetic, appreciative, and careful consideration of the questions raised by the marriages of Marian Evans. While fully sensible of the shock given to the moral sense of the world at large, by both of her eccentric marriages, Mr. Ames sees much in the peculiar characteristics and environments of this wonderful genius to excuse and explain her course. He says, among other things: "From childhood, she had dwelt apart, solitary in society,

her aspirations crippled by self-distrust, yet craving and giving no end of love. This profound reserve and withdrawal may help to explain her non-conformity. She was not lawless; but, more than most women, she lived out of the reach of conventional influences and standards. She could not hold the traditional theories of marriage, any more than of religion. But her non-conformity did not spring from lawlessness, caprice, or wilfulness, much less from lower impulses. Her whole life and character, every sign and trace found in her letters and private journal, testify that she was superior to any loose or base action." The candid and impartial spirit in which Mr. Ames discusses this much mooted subject cannot fail to impress and interest all readers of this essay, whatever may be their own private convictions or prejudices on the matter.

HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By James Anthony Froude. Selections from *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. New York: John B. Alden. pp. 368. Price 50 cents. Cloth.

Mr. Alden is determined that, before the passage of any international copyright law, he will give the American public the very "cream" of English literature. Literary "pirate," as he confesses himself to be, he is yet of that generous class of pirates of whom our earlier literature has much to say, who pilfer only for the pleasure of doing good to others less bold or more conscientious. The name of the author and the titles of the essays thus reproduced are sufficient guarantee of the worth and cheapness of the book. The eight essays contained in this compact volume are as follows: "Erasmus and Luther," "Spinoza" (a peculiarly interesting essay), "The Dissolution of the Monasteries," "England's Forgotten Worthies," "Homer," "Society in Italy in the Last Days of the Roman Republic," "Lucian," and "Divus Cæsar."

In the *Century* for February, that most spiteful, vacuous, and dreary of all the stories written by Henry James, Jr., "The Bostonians," is finished, and a new story by Howells begun, "The Minister's Charge," which does not, as one would at first thought imagine, treat of a ministerial ordination, but of the fortunes of a green country aspirant for literary honors,—an undeveloped youth, whom we hope Mr. Howells will allow to evolve into a noble manhood ere the story closes. Mrs. Foote's "John Bodewin's Testimony" increases in interest. Frank R. Stockton takes cognizance of one of the phases of modern "mind-cure" in the characteristic beginning of "A Borrowed Month." "An Unfortinit Creeter" is a unique story by Mat Crim. Henry Eckford contributes an interesting paper, profusely illustrated, on the French artist, "Antoine Louis Barye." Another interesting illustrated article is "Recent Architecture in America," by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer. A goodly instalment of the Grant Memoirs is given; and there are war articles by Gen. Longstreet, Gen. W. F. Smith, Allen C. Redwood, Gen. E. D. Keyes, Col. Fred Grant, and others. The department of "Open Letters" is particularly interesting, giving as it does the views of over forty distinguished authors on "International Copyright." Anecdotes of Gen. McClellan are given, also a frontispiece portrait of him. George W. Cable has a Southern sketch, with illustrations, entitled "A Dance in Place Congo." Cupples, Upham & Co.

The February *Magazine of American History* is filled with timely articles of fresh and absorbing interest. It opens with a well-written article, by Frederic G. Mather, on the "City of Albany," with unique illustrations, showing the progress for two centuries of that quaint old State capital. The portrait of James II., for whom Albany was named, forms an appropriate frontispiece. The second paper is by Gen. John Watts de Peyster, who writes eloquently and with discrimination of Gen. "Anthony Wayne." Dr. Prosper Bender has an article on the "Disintegration of Canada," Mr. A. W. Clason adds another to his brilliant papers on the Constitution, entitled "The Charleston Convention, 1788"; J. McDonald Oxley, LL.B., B.A., of Ottawa, writes of the "Historic Aspects of Sable Island"; Mr. A. A. Hayes gives a stirring account of "The New Mexican Campaign of 1862," and Major William Howard Mills (United States Army) treats of the reorganization of the "Army of the Potomac under Hooker"; Gen.

"Baldy" Smith adds some highly interesting and significant data in connection with Major Mills' article on "Burnside" in the January number; and the editor discourses briefly on "The Outlook for 1886," under the general head of "Historical Jottings." Price \$5.00 a year in advance. Published at 30 Lafayette Place, New York City.

Among the many interesting articles contained in the February number of Alden's *Library Magazine*, we have space only to note the following: "Hinduism," by a Hindu; "The Interpreters of Genesis, and the Interpreters of Nature," by T. H. Huxley; "Reason and Religion," by A. M. Fairbanks; "Bulgaria and Servia," by Edward A. Freeman; "The Origin of the Alphabet," by A. H. Sayce; "On Modern Chances of Chivalry," by Edward Garrett; "The Elder Edda, the Bible of Germanic Paganism," by H. H. Boyesen; and "Suns and Meteors," by R. A. Proctor. From the titles and authors of these strong, pertinent papers, our readers will understand the worth of the selections made by the editors of this eclectic monthly. \$1.50 per year. John B. Alden, New York.

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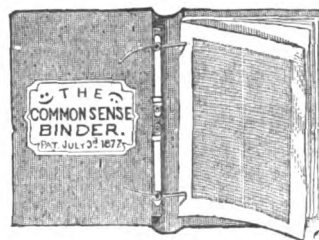
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MR. J. E. REMSBURG, of Kansas, gave last Sunday, at Paine Hall, a vigorous and eloquent address on "Sabbath Breaking," in which he told some truths that need to be presented to the public.

W. S. BAILEY, who was editor of the *Liberal*, a little free thought paper published at Nashville, Tenn., is dead at the age of eighty. He was one of the anti-slavery veterans; and, years ago, his articles against slavery in his papers, the *Free South*, published at Newport, Ky., and the *Leader*, at Covington, aroused strong prejudice against him. More than once, his presses and type were thrown into the Ohio River by the mob.

THE *Week* (Toronto) thus refers to the late discussion between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Huxley: "With a courteous but crushing stroke of his critical sledge-hammer, Mr. Huxley reduced Mr. Gladstone's science, especially his geology, to a total wreck; and, an attempt having been made by Mr. Gladstone to defend his essay, Mr. Huxley has repeated the death-blow. It is hoped, for the sake of religion, that there will be no more adventures in this direction."

THE Gladstone-Huxley controversy will be continued in the April number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, which will contain Mr. Gladstone's "Proem to Genesis," that appeared in the March issue, Henry Drummond's comments on the views presented by the distinguished disputants, and, in a supplement, Mr. Gladstone's original paper, "The Dawn of Creation and Worship," which first called out Prof. Huxley. A most interesting and valuable number is promised.

MR. RUSKIN is, without doubt, a master of English prose; but, when he declares that "Gibbon's is the worst English ever written," and that the author of the *Decline and Fall* was without imagination or logic, picturesqueness or wit, he exhibits more prejudice than judicial spirit or truthfulness. Has Mr. Ruskin ever written a finer sentence than

the following, in which Gibbon describes the Greek language: "In their lowest depths of servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of philosophy?"

DR. MORTON PRINCE, of this city, gave a lecture before the Parker Memorial Science Class last Sunday, on "The Mind and Brain," which, as the *Boston Transcript* justly says, "was pronounced one of the most lucid in exposition and most thoroughly scientific in discussion of its kind ever given before the class, and it elicited a unanimous vote of thanks at its close." In referring to the connection between mind and matter, he said: We know matter only as bundles of sensations representing an external reality that cannot be known, since our knowledge is limited to the effects this reality produces upon us; in other words, to the conscious states it produces. An interesting discussion followed the lecture.

A REMARK made by Joseph Cook in his last Monday's lecture, reflecting upon the Prince of Wales, was greeted with some applause, amid which was heard one vigorous hiss. Thereupon said Mr. Cook excitedly: "Who is it here that defends the position of a spaniel of aristocracy? Who is it here that expresses himself in language belonging to one of the shallowest of creatures, and opposes an effort to pluck innocent maidenhood out of the jaws of that minotaur of respectability which is rotten to the core? If any Englishman hisses here!"—Mr. Cook was here interrupted by a small man in the gallery, who stood erect with right arm aloft, as if to rebuke the speaker, who raised his eyes, and looked at his interrupter in silence,—striking the attitude, as one of the papers said, of Ajax defying the lightning. The cheering prevented the would-be critic from saying anything. When the applause ceased, and the effect was gone, the lecturer proceeded with his remarks.

AFTER mentioning that, less than thirty years ago, Christian nations used cannon to force an entrance for European traders into China, and that now brutal outrage and cold-blooded murder are the means being used to force the Chinese out of Christian lands, the *Ottawa Free Press* observes: "The solution of the problem of white vs. yellow labor, of the supremacy of the Caucasian over the Mongolian races, can surely be reached without our vaunted civilization being disgraced by outrages which savor of the barbarism of a semi-civilized people. . . . There is little doubt that the mass of the Americans and Canadians sympathize warmly with the whites on the Pacific Coast, who desire to be rid of Mongolian competition; but all human and Christian feeling revolts against the methods adopted to remove that competition. Under the ballot there is a legal power in the hands of the whites to remove the Mongolians,—namely, by electing men who will enact legislation, making the employment of Chinese labor by

whites, under specified circumstances, illegal; and it affords a process which, though slow, yet will be effectual. Let this problem be solved in a manner which will give the people of this continent no cause to blush in anticipation of the verdict of historians."

A CORRESPONDENT inquires about the accuracy of a recent paragraph in these columns about child marriages in India. These abominations were prohibited in the British provinces in 1872, by the Native Marriage Act, due largely to the exertions of Fitzjames Stephen and Keshub Chunder Sen. The latter, however, allowed his own daughter to be married, five years later, to the rajah of Kuch Behar, though neither party had reached the age prescribed by this law. The reform had not then been introduced into a State which had paid tribute to England for more than a century, and actually been governed during fourteen years by a British commissioner. More than fifty millions of the Hindus are either wholly independent of English rule or under native princes who pay tribute. Some States of the latter class are still so uncivilized that it was impossible to ascertain their population in 1872, except by guess. There seems to be nothing improbable in supposing that a child in British India was married, some five or ten years ago, to a boy in some State then under native rule. That the girl should, on reaching maturity, have refused to let herself be bound to a worthless husband, is much to the credit of Hindu women.

LAST Friday, the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives gave a hearing to petitioners for a change of the public statutes, so that the testimony of atheists may not be discredited on account of their religious views, and so that deceit and fraud practised on Sunday shall be punishable the same as when practised on other days. Mr. F. M. Holland, Hon. Samuel E. Sewell, Mr. Horace Seaver, Walter Wright, and others, addressed the committee, who were manifestly in sympathy with the petitioners, and from whom favorable reports to the House may be confidently expected. But whether the action of the House will be more favorable this year than last is doubtful.

MR. LABOUCHERE's motion in the House of Commons for the abolition of hereditary peerage was rejected by thirty-six votes only, a fact which, when we remember that the House has nearly four hundred members, and that Mr. Gladstone threw the weight of his great influence against the motion, is indeed significant. When the vote was announced, Mr. T. P. O'Connor exclaimed, "Tis the writing on the wall for Belshazzar." In his witty speech, Mr. Labouchere said: "I should no more think of refusing a thistle to a hungry, needy donkey than of refusing a baronetcy to anybody who wanted it." Evidently, the tenure of the Lords hangs upon a slender thread of popular favor; and they will think twice before opposing important reforms that have been favorably acted upon by the House of Commons.

CHRISTIAN JUSTICE AND THE HEATHEN CHINESE.

President Cleveland has sent a special message to Congress giving the result of the investigation that has been made into the outrages committed upon the Chinese miners at Rock Springs, W.T., several months ago. The investigation has revealed a story every whit as shameful as was the first report of the mobocratic violence. The President says:—

The facts, which so far are not controverted or affected by any exculpatory or mitigating testimony, show the murder of a number of Chinese subjects in September last, at Rock Springs, the wounding of many others, and the spoliation of the property of all, when the unhappy survivors had been driven from their habitations. There is no allegation that the victims, by any lawlessness or disorderly act on their part, contributed to bring about a collision. On the contrary, it appears that the law-abiding disposition of these people, who were sojourners in our midst under the sanction of hospitality and express treaty obligations, was made the pretext for the attack upon them. This outrage upon law and treaty engagements was committed by a lawless mob. None of the aggressors—happily for the national good fame—appear by reports to have been citizens of the United States. They were aliens, engaged in that remote district as mining laborers, who became excited against the Chinese laborers, as it would seem, because of their refusal to join them in strikes for higher wages.

The one redeeming fact in this succinct statement of the atrocity is that no United States citizens were engaged in it. Yet this amounts to very little, if citizens of the United States allow such crimes to be committed in their borders by aliens. And, if not greatly belied by popular report, one of the most powerful organizations of the country, the greater part of whose members are beyond question citizens,—the Knights of Labor,—winked at, if they did not directly incite, this crime against the Chinese. Nor thus far, though there has been no question of State sovereignty concerned, has the United States government been able to bring to punishment any persons who participated in the outrage. On the contrary, the President confesses that there has been a "palpable and discreditable failure of the authorities of Wyoming to bring to justice the guilty parties": which means, we suppose, that its law officer has been derelict in duty, or the grand jury—composed necessarily of citizens—failed to bring an indictment against the "guilty parties," notwithstanding the notorious fact of their guilt. But Wyoming is a Territory. Its legislation is subject to Congressional authority, and its administration of the law is still more directly subordinate to the national Executive. And, if there be no law nor power in the United States government "to bring to justice" alien criminals for the commission of rapine and murder on another class of alien persons within its domains, it is high time, for the sake of the nation's honor and standing in civilization, that there was. Until the nation has such power, and uses it, to punish and prevent such outrages, there is little room for complacent pride over "the national good fame," because the unpunished bloody criminals do not happen to be naturalized citizens.

Leaving aside in this article the question whether the United States had any just right to pass the law now on the statute-book preventing the emigration of Chinese laborers into the country, there is not the slightest question that those of the Mongolian race who were in the country when this law was passed, and have since remained here, are entitled to the fullest governmental protection. Indeed, in the new treaty which was then made with China, the United States govern-

ment solemnly pledged itself in a special manner to see that no harm should be done to Chinese subjects already in the United States. This is the language of that treaty: "If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, now either temporarily or permanently residing in the territory of the United States, meet with ill-treatment at the hands of any other persons, the government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection, and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty."

Now, the treaty which contains this pledge is the same treaty which gave Congress the right to pass the law preventing Chinese immigration; for previous treaties had forbidden such legislation. The moral predicament, therefore, in which the United States government stands is this: It pressed a new treaty upon the Chinese government whereby laws might be passed prohibiting the further immigration of Chinese laborers into this country. In securing this right, it promised China that it would "exert all its power to devise measures" to protect Chinese laborers already here from "ill-treatment at the hands of any other persons." The treaty having been made, it immediately enacted the laws prohibiting immigration; but it has not to this day, and four years have passed, enacted a single law or devised any other measure for protecting the Chinese in the country from the abusive treatment they are constantly receiving. That is, the United States hastened to carry into effect the parts of the treaty it deemed for its advantage. The other parts, which China asked for and which were conceded by solemn pledge, it suffered to drop out of sight and left unexecuted.

In this condition of things, the Chinese government would be justified, were it to consider the treaty violated by the United States, and thereby rendered null and void. A nation of equal rank with the United States would doubtless have taken that or even more aggressive ground. Imagine subjects of Great Britain to have been maltreated in this country as were the Chinese at Rock Springs, and again, only a few weeks ago, at Seattle, W.T. The Queen's demands for full reparation and a revised treaty would have been at Washington within a week, and some of her naval vessels would have been on their way to rendezvous in the waters of our Pacific Coast. But the Chinese are patient and long-suffering. Their government has only just presented its claim for an indemnity for the Rock Springs spoliation and massacre. And it was the presentation of this claim that made the occasion of the President's message on the subject to Congress.

But, though the President speaks with due severity of the outrage, and adds that the evidence shows "entire absence of provocation on the part of the victims," and though he expressly refers to the treaty stipulation above quoted, by which the United States government has engaged "to exert all its power" to protect Chinese residents from such violence, his argument comes to a strange *non sequitur* in its conclusion. As one reads, one is led to believe that the President is certainly going to recommend that the Chinese claim should be paid without hesitation or haggling, as the smallest atonement that can be made for such a wrong. One would suppose that, even if there were no treaty obligation by which the United States government is bound specially to give protection to the Chinese in its domain, the common obligations of humanity and of international law among civilized nations would enforce the claim

which the Chinese government has presented. And, when to this is added the express provision in the treaty guaranteeing protection, the question would appear to be settled beyond dispute that the United States should pay damages for the violence from which it failed to protect. The President, however, does not thus reason. He fails to find either in the treaty or in international law any obligation either expressed or implied which would require the United States to indemnify the Chinese sufferers for the losses they have sustained; and, therefore, he recommends their hard case to the "benevolent consideration" of Congress. If he reached this conclusion because the perpetrators of the crime have been proved to have been not citizens of the United States, the reasoning might be allowed to pass in a pettifogging lawyer; but it is not worthy of a great government in adjusting its relations to other governments. Moreover, the treaty distinctly says that the United States will exert all its power to devise protection from violence not merely at the hands of United States citizens, but of "any other persons" in its territory.

Here, therefore, is no question for benevolence, but for justice. It is not a matter to which Congress should be asked merely to give its "benevolent consideration": it is a matter that calls for common honor and honesty. It may be legitimately questioned whether it is the province of the United States government to extend benevolent aid to any sufferers in its domain, unless it can be shown that their suffering is the result of its own neglect of obligations. And, then, it is justice that makes the claim. It may make no difference to the sufferers in this case whether they receive compensation on the ground of justice or benevolence; but it will make a great difference to the "good fame" of the United States in the court of the public opinion of the civilized world whether it honestly keeps or not its treaty obligations, and whether, if the unoffending subjects of other nations are massacred and pillaged within its border, it makes or not all the reparation in its power. When a like outrage was committed on American citizens in China, the United States government demanded and received an indemnity. Did it appeal at Peking for justice or benevolence? It asked for justice, and received it in full measure. According to its demand then, let it measure its duty to China now.

WM. J. POTTER.

CAUSALITY.

It is strange that sometimes, apparently, the most positive truths manifested everywhere around us are those which have been longest hidden from our eyes. They are like those puzzle-pictures which bear the inscription, Where is the woman? When we have once discovered the outlines of her face, we wonder that other people do not see her, since her features are so plain and obvious. So those philosophical truisms that are most simple, far from being the easiest of access, are generally the most difficult problems until some one grasps their meaning and points it out to the world. Then the solution seems so easy that we wonder that greater minds than ours did not see it before.

If true of any subject, this is certainly true of causality, which, theoretically, is so simple a process that any one must understand it, and ought to know it from his own reflection and experience. Yet I have found no philosopher who has given a clear and simple explanation of it. Many consider causation slippery ground, since David Hume disputed its being provable; and, generally, it is held to be a mystery, as the link between cause and

effect is supposed to be missing. Realizing the importance of the causal law not only for philosophy, but for science at large, I ventured on this ground with a German essay, *Grund, Ursache, und Zweck* (Dresden, Von Grumbkow, '81), and have the confidence that I succeeded, in this pamphlet, in solving the question which has troubled philosophers since Hume's essay was—I had almost said published; but no: we know its first publication was of no avail until it was—heeded, read, noticed, and contradicted. I propounded the views which I had laid down in *Grund, Ursache, und Zweck*, in a condensed form, in the third and fourth chapter of an English pamphlet, "Monism and Meliorism." In this essay, I argue that causality is a law of motion.

Cause is an event in a state of things which necessarily leads to a change. If you take from a heap of stones one of the undermost, all those resting upon it will rush after, and in some way alter their position. There is no other alteration than that which is caused by motion. Everything save the arrangement remains the same after as before the change. But there was an occurrence which disturbed the equilibrium of the whole state of things; and, to restore it, a motion of the disturbed parts became necessary. The disturbance of the equilibrium is the cause, its restoration the effect. A spark thrown into powder results in an explosion. The spark is not the cause, but its being thrown into the powder, its approach to the inflammable material. The effect is the change in the composition of the powder. Nor, in the first instance, is the stone the cause, but its removal; i.e., the act of its being taken away. Causes as well as effects are always some events, occurrences, incidents, which happen. They are never things or objects which exist. And so the term means an alteration in some state of circumstances, a change of situation, position, posture, or a replacement and new arrangement of some conjuncture. In one word, *causality is a law of motion*. One alteration in some state of things produces another. Thus, effect is a change in consequence of another prior change. Matter, however, as we know from the law of preservation of force and matter, remains unaltered and unchanged. After the explosion, all the single atoms of the powder are still in existence, though in an entirely different composition. But, apart from this difference of the combination of atoms, matter is the same before and after the explosion. It remains identical in the change; and, accordingly, we may call causality the *identity in change*.

Consequently, cause is always a fact that happens or has happened. It is some event; and, as such, it is some force acting in the world of reality, it is motion. Without motion, you cannot even imagine the possibility of a cause.

I have pointed out in my essay, *Grund*, etc., the errors of our chief philosophers on this subject. Let me now add a few critical remarks on the explanations of George Henry Lewes, given on this subject in his *Problems of Life and Mind*, IV., Chap. II., "Force and Cause." To be sure, Mr. Lewes is not an original philosopher, as were Kant, Schopenhauer, or Comte. None the less must we respect his accuracy and depth of thought, for he is in power of reasoning by no means their inferior. And, as the lack of originality includes an absence of pet theories, it makes him more than others a representative of what may fairly be regarded as the generally accepted views in philosophy.

Mr. Lewes says, "A spark causes the explosion of gunpowder"; and, three lines further, "Gravitation is the cause of a body's fall," as if both instances were like each other. Gravitation is no cause, gravitation is a *law*; and this law, if it is

known as such, serves to explain all phenomena which it comprises,—the attraction of sun, moon, and planets as well as the falling of stones. It is the *reason* why the stone falls to the ground as soon as my hand lets it go. But it is not the cause: the cause is rather the opening of my fingers. The cause is a single event: gravitation is an explanation of many events. Cause and effect are necessarily antecedent and consequent, for they are temporal. Time would not exist but for causality; namely, the law of motion. Without reference to motion, the idea of time has no meaning. Gravitation, however, is neither antecedent nor consequent to the fall of a stone. As an abstraction of many observations, it is rather inherent in all observed cases of attracted matter.

Mr. Lewes quotes Locke's definition,—"*Cause, a substance exerting its power into act; to make one thing begin to be*"; and he apparently agrees with Locke. Let me repeat that cause, which must not be confounded with *reason*, is still less a *thing*. Mr. Lewes ridicules John Stuart Mill for regarding the well-known scholastic dictum, *Cessante causa cessat effectus*, a fallacy. Mr. Mill is right, after all, at least on this point, although he is unable to indicate what is erroneous; and his views of causality are by no means satisfactory. The formula means to say, *Cessante ratione cessat effectus*. Mr. Mill makes many mistakes, but Mr. Lewes has no fewer errors. I confine further criticism only to a few instances. He says (p. 350), "A glass of punch is *made* by adding together whiskey, water, sugar, and lemon. Each of these elements we know separately, and know them as the causes of the punch." What confusion! Then rags are the causes of books, because their paper is a fabric manufactured out of rags! The elements of matter, as they are indestructible, are eternal. They are not caused. Their combination or their shape is caused, not their existence.

Contingent upon the same misconception is another passage on page 347: "Every event that happens has a cause, everything that exists is a cause. This is evident." It is by no means evident; and the confusion of calling *existing things* causes is the more remarkable, as Mr. Lewes in the following lines propounds a correct explanation, saying, "For an event to happen, there must be a change in existing relations; and this change must be the result of some previous change." Why does Mr. Lewes not stick to it, to draw the consequences? The *coup de soleil* is dimmed by the cloudy idea of the thingness of cause. Nor would I subscribe, either, to the philological explanation of the German word, *bedingt*. Mr. Lewes says, in the same paragraph, "Every effect, change, is, as the Germans say, *bedingt* (*bedingt*). The causes, conditions, agents, of this change, are the *bedingings* (*Bedingungen*)." Every effect is caused,—is, in German, *verursacht*. *Verursacht* and *bedingt* are no synonyms. *Bedingung* is *condition*. It is not derived from *Ding*, an object, but from the verb *bedingen* (to postulate, to state a condition). The word is connected with German *dingen* (to hire) and with Norse (*folk*-) *thing* (an assembly of the people endowed with the legal right of jurisdiction and legislation). Thus, *Bedingung* means literally the same as the Latin *conditio*, derived from *con* (with, by, in German, compounds *be-*) and *ditio* (legal power). Certainly, causes may be effective only under certain conditions. But, then, conditions and causes are not identical. You might say that they are causes of the effectiveness of the cause. Yet not even to this formulation should I agree. For conditions themselves do not cause, nor are they in motion: they merely give us the explanation *why* the cause takes effect. They are the modifying circumstances.

By the by, Mr. Lewes seems also to take the German word *Ursache* in the sense of *original thing*. He says, on page 374, "Cause to them (namely, Metempirics) means what the German word indicated, primal existence,—*Ursache*." To be sure, the German word *Sache* is now used in modern High German almost as a synonyme of *Ding*; but, in Old German, it means *cause*, as did the Anglo-Saxon word *sacu* (sake, dispute, cause), and is connected with the High German *suchen*, English *to seek*, Anglo-Saxon *sacan*, to strive. Thus, the German word *Ursache* defines *cause* very appropriately as a striving or seeking; namely, a motion.

I trust that our philosophers will by and by lay more stress on the settlement of Hume's problem, as soon as they learn how far it goes to do away with confusions of all kinds, and solve many problems which at first sight scarcely seem to be connected with it.

PAUL CARUS.

RELIGION FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

An out-and-out English agnostic remarked to a friend, who wondered that he still said grace at table and regularly attended divine worship: "We must keep up the church as the most powerful police institution we have: it would be an awful calamity to take their religion from the laboring classes, and especially from women and children. All these are more easily governed through their fears, as their capacity to reason is very limited."

In regard to the first proposition, all history shows that there have been more outrages committed by the Church, through its ecclesiastics, in the name of religion, on the sacred rights of humanity and the best interests of society, than by all other organizations together.

It has, indeed, been, in all ages, "a powerful police institution," to rob the poor, to suppress free thought, to make martyrs of noble men and women; but when has it ever risked its own safety to fight the battles of the people against the oppressions of the State? When, by wise counsels as a united body, has it ever averted the settlement of one vexed question by war? In the prolonged anti-slavery struggle for forty years, it spoke with no certain sound, until the clashing arms and roaring cannon proclaimed liberty throughout the nation. But when the indignant masses awake from the lethargy of ages the world over, as they have already in France, and see how they have been deceived, defrauded, and priest-ridden, they will repudiate the Church and the creeds that have so long held them in bondage. As, with more general education, with the light and knowledge of science, the people cannot be much longer swayed by worn-out superstitions, is it not better for their spiritual teachers to begin now to teach them what is true, as far as they themselves know, and to stop teaching them mere speculations and superstitions, the wild vagaries of unbalanced minds, the accumulated errors of the ages? They tell us, by way of excuse for their unfaithfulness, that the people are not ready for a more rational theology, that the undeveloped mind is not prepared for the whole truth about anything. But a measure of the truth, as far as it goes, must be better than error; and, if they are always deluded with falsehoods, how will they ever be prepared to accept what is reasonable? We must remember that truth is the natural food for the human soul, the atmosphere in which all its finest qualities most readily develop. Hence, those who hold the vantage-ground of thought should give freely of their richest treasures to those who would be delivered from the errors of the past. We pride ourselves

on the munificent charities of this Christian civilization, on our unbounded almsgiving to the poor and needy; but behind those outstretched hands, those appealing eyes and pleading lips, are hungering souls oppressed with fear of an angry God, an all-powerful devil, a judgment day, and everlasting punishment.

When educated men emancipated from these old errors excuse themselves from preaching the truth as they see it, because the people are not ready to hear it, they should be reminded that, as self-constituted religious teachers, their special business is to prepare the people for steady onward steps. Archdeacon Farrar, in the January number of the *North American Review*, says truly:—

There must be progress. Churches have been very slow to learn this lesson. They have fought to the last for exploded doctrines and antiquated traditions. They have often resisted to the last the advancing knowledge of mankind. They have become revolutionary and convulsive in the effort to keep things fixed when the world is moving forward, and they have tried to preserve when it was their duty to improve. They have kept their earthen vessels closed, so that the swelling tide of human progress did but shatter them upon the shore, or, at the best, roll them hither and thither with their stagnant doctrines rotting in a dead theology.

Here is the opinion of a churchman as to this "police institution," claimed to be so necessary to the good order of society.

While the people would be unspeakably happy to be lifted out of all their harassing superstitions and harrowing fears of the eternal future, it is the height of cruelty and injustice for the educated classes, who live on their labor, grinding them to powder by a cunning system of legislation, dooming them in this life to ignorance, poverty, and rags, to fasten on their sorrowing souls the belief that their miseries here are but the foreshadowing of infinitely worst suffering hereafter. If we think it is not safe to tell them the simple truth, that we know nothing of what lies beyond our mortal horizon, we might at least picture for them some beautiful visions of peace and joy in comfortable homes eternal in the heavens. If all fear of future misery could be banished from their minds, the darkest clouds that hang over their earthly pilgrimage would be lifted. It is too bad to defraud them of the comforts and necessities in this life and of all bright hopes in the celestial world hereafter. If some dreams and speculations must be sent forth as a kind of police chart of instructions, pray let them tell of a golden age to come, when the blessings of life shall be shared equally by all the children of earth.

And, as to the women and children,—ah! how little strong men dream of all they suffer in a sincere belief of the gloomy doctrines of our Christian theology! Men, with their steady nerves, strong muscles, equable temperaments, trained to reason and self-reliance, in contact with the stern facts of life, cannot comprehend the multiplied and ever-present fears and apprehensions of coming danger that poison the lives of most women and children, growing out of their more nervous organization, more fertile imaginations, and that natural timidity that accompanies a sense of helplessness in danger. Alas for the children! Their lives are beset with fears. They are afraid of their parents at home, of their teachers in school, of the police in the street, and of the omnipresent God and devil, at all times and in all places. It is folly to hope much from the lessons of love, taught in sweet-sounding phrases, so long as they are reminded every hour in the day that they are doing something to make God angry and the devil smile. While fathers and husbands rejoice in their emancipation from the bondage of the

Christian theology, and discuss with each other the rationalism of the great German thinkers, of the French scientists, and the English historians, laughing among themselves at all the gods and the devils of the old theologies that have made humanity tremble, now crumbled to dust, how can they calmly contemplate, from day to day, the fact that all these withering, crippling superstitions are being fastened on the minds of their own trusting wives and daughters, and their innocent young children, whom they are bound to protect, not only from physical harm, but spiritual slavery!

How carefully they would guard their children from measles, whooping-cough, and scarlet fever,—diseases that will never give them one-half the suffering that will come to them with a faith in the doctrines of original sin, an angry God, a cunning devil ever whispering in their ears, coaxing them to lie and steal and swear, a day of judgment, the last trump, and everlasting punishment in a lake of fire!

And alas, too, for the pale-stricken mothers of the race who believe all this, and still more that, through their folly, through that one fatal interview in the Garden of Eden, all this misery entered the world, and hence the pangs of maternity were to be their punishment,—the curse pronounced in the beginning on all Eve's daughters. And multitudes of women believe this to-day, instead of referring their sufferings to their artificial habits of life,—to tight waists, heavy skirts, high heels, improper diet, and want of exercise. Passages of Scripture perpetuating all these cruelties and absurdities are still read in our pulpits, with a holy unction that makes them seem plausible to unthinking minds. How can educated men of common sense and kind feeling live side by side with women and children year after year, and never share with them the freedom and blessedness of a more rational religion? A system of theology that the agnostics, the scientists, the philosophers, the historians, and the most enlightened and progressive clergymen themselves repudiate cannot be the most nourishing spiritual pabulum for women and children, to say nothing of the laboring masses.

I can truly say, after an experience of seventy years, that all the cares and anxieties, the trials and disappointments, of my whole life, are light in the balance with my sufferings in childhood and youth from the horrible dogmas I sincerely believed and the gloomy environments connected with everything associated with the name of religion,—the church, the parsonage, the graveyard, as it was called in those days, and the solemn tolling bell on Sundays and many other days for funerals, which seemed to be of more frequent occurrence there than any other place in which I have ever lived. Everything connected with death was inexpressibly dolorous. The body, covered with a black pall, was borne on the shoulders of men; the friends in crape walked with bowed heads, weeping and sobbing; the neighbors who had tears to shed did so copiously; and the rest summoned up their saddest facial expressions. Round the grave came the solemn warnings to the living and, sometimes, unwelcome prophecies as to the safety of the dead. And all that pageantry of woe, and visions of the unknown land beyond the grave, haunted my midnight dreams and shadowed the sunshine of my days. The parsonage, with its bare walls and floors, its shrivelled mistress and blind sister,—more like ghostly shadows than human flesh and blood,—and two black servants racked with rheumatism, odoriferous with a pungent oil they used in the vain hope of making their weary limbs more sup-

ple, and the aged graduate from the Scotch University in Glasgow, buried in his library with musty books and papers, one window looking to the south and a flickering fire in the hearth, was the spot where I spent hours in the exhilarating study of the Greek Testament and in recitations from the Westminster Catechism. These were considered special privileges and pleasures, vouchsafed to no other child, as there were none born to that household. The church, with its bare walls and floors and severely angular architecture, with no furnace to keep us warm, no organ to gladden our hearts, no choir to lead our songs of praise in harmony, was sadly lacking in all attractions for the youthful mind. The preacher, shut up in an octagon box high above our heads, gave us sermons over an hour long, and the chorister, in a similar box below him, intoned line after line of David's psalms; and, like a flock of sheep at the heels of their shepherd, the congregation, without regard to time or tune, straggled after their leader.

A few years later, the introduction of stoves, a violoncello, Wesley's hymns, and a choir, split the church in twain. The old Scotch Presbyterians were opposed to all innovations that would give to their people paths of flowery ease on the road to heaven. So, when the thermometer was twenty degrees below zero on the Johnstown Hills, four hundred feet above the Mohawk Valley, we trudged along through the snow, foot-stoves in hand, to the cold hospitalities of the "Lord's house," to hear sermons on "predestination," "justification by faith," and "eternal damnation." To be restless or to fall asleep under such solemn circumstances was a sure evidence of total depravity and the machinations of the devil to turn your heart from God and his ordinances. As I was guilty of all these shortcomings and many more, I early believed myself a veritable child of the devil, and suffered endless fears lest he should come some night and claim me as his own. To me, he was a personal, ever-present reality, crouching in a dark corner of the nursery. Ah! how many times I have stolen out of bed, and sat shivering on the stairs for hours, where the hall lamp and the sound of voices from the parlor would in a measure mitigate my fears! With a vigorous constitution and overflowing animal spirits, I endured the strain of all these depressing influences for years, until my reasoning powers and common sense triumphed at last over my imagination. The memory of my own suffering has saved me from the cruelty of ever shadowing one young soul with any of the superstitions of our Christian religion.

But there have been many changes, even in my native town, since those dark days. Our old church is turned into a mitten factory, where the pleasant hum of machinery and the glad faces of men and women have chased the evil spirits to their hiding-places. We now have there beautiful churches, ornamental cemeteries, cheerful parsonages, and some educated men and women, emancipated from the old theologies. But, with many, the dogmas and superstitions of a worn-out faith are still considered good for women, children, and the laboring masses.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

TENAFLY, N.J., Feb. 22.

A PROFIT-SHARING EXPERIMENT.

In my opinion, the only hope of putting an end to this antagonism between capital and labor and its consequent evils lies in the introduction of some plan which shall more closely and plainly unite the interests of capitalists and workmen,—for instance, a plan based upon a principle similar to that which

has been adopted to some extent by manufacturers in England. The constant complaints of workmen and their frequent strikes for higher wages and fewer hours have caused many capitalists in that country to adopt the plan of selling to their workmen small shares in their business concerns. A provision for payment is made by small weekly or monthly deductions from the wages of the employes. It is claimed, and apparently with good reason, that the effect of this plan will be to make capital and labor work for the common interest in a manner more direct and certain than where the workmen have only their weekly or monthly stipend to look forward to as an encouragement to work. There seems to be nothing impracticable about this plan; and there is every reason for the opinion that its general adoption by the manufacturers of this country would put an end to the complaints, and be for the best interests of both parties concerned. It is not uncommon now for our manufacturers to sell small interests to their agents and superintendents, that the prospects of the latter may in some degree be bound up in the establishments, and they thereby have the strongest incentives to advance the business. The arrangement, I believe, generally works well, giving satisfaction to both parties. Why not extend it farther, and allow all the industrious and sober employes to acquire an interest in the business to which their services are devoted? That this or some similar policy will be found necessary, and will eventually be adopted by the capitalists of this country, I am very confident. Until that time, we may expect to be afflicted with impracticable schemes of political demagogues, who are ever ready to foist themselves upon workingmen and to make capital out of movements for labor.

The above is an extract from an article which we wrote about twenty years ago, and which at that time was printed over our initials in the *Narragansett Weekly*, a journal then published and still published at Westerly, R.I. The article, although it gave rise to some discussion in certain circles, has probably long since passed from the memory of all who read it, and might never have been thought of again by us but for the experiment on a large scale, just brought to the notice of the public, to share profits and to adjust the relations of capital and labor now being tried in the town in which our views were given to the public. There was nothing original in the thought; nor is it claimed that, except in that sense in which all things in the universe, physical and mental, are inter-related, the article had anything to do with bringing about the experiment now in operation at Westerly, which, nevertheless, has for us an interest somewhat increased perhaps by the fact that the experiment is an attempt to carry out a scheme akin to the plan we advocated in the same community nearly twenty years ago.

The Westerly experiment is being tried by the New England Granite Company, organized seventeen years ago, in whose employ are some five hundred workmen. It went into operation at the beginning of the present year. The plan in its detail is the work of J. G. Batterson, of Hartford, Conn., president of the company and a well-known capitalist, by whose influence and authority the experiment was inaugurated. In 1871, the men employed by the company united in a strike which was very determined and protracted. It resulted in a victory for the company; but the bitter feelings aroused by the struggle, during which some of the men were arrested and imprisoned for using their influence in favor of the workmen's union, lasted long, and led to antagonisms and difficulties much against the interests of both the company and its employes. There were subsequent strikes, in consequence of which the company was compelled to decline large orders lest it should be involved in heavy loss and damages; and thus capital and labor have both suffered by the unpleasant relation between employer and employes. The tendency of late has been toward a stronger organization of the workmen than has hitherto

existed. A desire to avoid future collisions by uniting directly the interests of the company and its workmen seems to have led to the inception and inauguration of Mr. Batterson's plan of co-operation.

The plan, briefly stated, is this: Of the profits to be figured at the end of the year, one-third shall be reserved as a guarantee fund, to which shall be charged bad debts, etc., and the other two-thirds shall be divided between the stockholders and the workmen as dividends. The labor contributed to the business for the year shall, for the purpose of a dividend, be treated as so much capital at its market value, thus the share of the stockholders and workmen being in proportion to their interest in the business. If the amount of capital invested be \$100,000 and the amount paid for labor be \$150,000, three-fifths of the dividend fund will go to the workmen, and two-fifths to the stockholders. Since the labor dividend is intended for labor only, no officer, superintendent, overseer, agent, clerk, or other employé, drawing a salary, nor any subcontractors, are to participate in the dividend paid to labor. No officer or employé shall draw pay except for service actually rendered. All work done or money earned by the employment of machinery is to be counted to the credit of labor and capital alike, and the profits made thereby to be subject to the same rule for distribution as for profits otherwise made. The rate of wages per day, the bill of prices for piece work, and the number of hours to constitute a day's work shall be determined by mutual agreement, on or before January 1, each year; and all disagreements that may arise during the year between the superintendent and workmen shall be settled by arbitration. No workman discharged for good cause, such as drunkenness, bad workmanship, etc., or who leaves the employment of the company without the superintendent's consent in writing, shall participate in the year's dividend of profits; no man discharged because there is not work enough for him is to be excluded. The control of the business shall be wholly in the hands of the stockholders. If the guarantee fund (one-third of the profits) proves insufficient to cover losses, the amount must be made up by the stockholders. If it is more than sufficient, the surplus shall go to them. The books shall be open to an expert accountant or auditor, to be agreed upon by both parties. With a capital of \$100,000 and a payroll of \$150,000, in a good year, Mr. Batterson says that the profits ought to be \$25,000. Of this amount, one-third (\$8,333.33) would be credited to the guarantee fund; of the balance, two-fifths (\$8,666.67) to capital, and three-fifths (\$10,000) to labor. A workman whose wages amounts to \$600 would have in addition to his wages a dividend of \$39.96.

Mr. Batterson thinks that, if the seasons are good, the plan will prove a success; but that, if the first two years there are no dividends, the men are likely to lose confidence in the profit-sharing experiment, if not in his good intentions. As a voluntary effort on the part of a sagacious and successful capitalist to meet the growing demand for more equitable relations between capital and labor than generally exist, this experiment is most significant and important; and it will be watched with profound interest by thousands.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

REV. JOSEPH COOK says, "I solemnly believe that Carlyle had yielded in a sense to God in conscience." If it were possible to get Carlyle's comment on this sentence, it is not improbable that Mr. Cook's name would be better known in future ages than it is likely to be merely from his own utterances.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Freidenker* defends the use of the word "religion" against those who say, "We want no religion, not even free religion."

THE names included in the largest number of lists sent to this office in response to the request for the names of ten persons who have contributed most to intellectual freedom are the following: Luther, Bacon, Voltaire, Paine, Goethe, Darwin, Spencer, Emerson, Parker, and Mill. Nearly all who made out lists did so in the belief that the names of modern thinkers and reformers only were desired.

"MONISM and Meliorism," by Dr. Paul Carus, is an able essay, in which the author expounds Kant, argues in favor of a monistic philosophy in opposition to dualism, and advocates that view which finds the purpose of life in aspiration and effort for constant amelioration in opposition to both optimism and pessimism. A few copies of this work are for sale at *The Index* office, at 50 cents per copy.

A MEETING will be held on Thursday evening, March 18, in Tremont Temple, for the benefit of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Mr. Sidney Dickinson will give his fine lecture, illustrated with the stereopticon, on "St. Petersburg and the Art Treasures of the Czar." Music by the Mendelssohn Ladies' Quartette of Boston. The organist will be Edward E. Kelsey, of Somerville. Tickets for reserved seats, 50 cents, for sale at *The Index* office.

"SMITH" desires Mr. Gill to answer the following question: "If what Brown calls the moon is 'all in his eye,' how is it that Smith sees precisely the same thing in the same place?" Mr. Gill, to whom we referred this question, answers: "Brown and Smith never see the same thing as all scientists. Smith's experiences answer to Brown's, because both are constructed on the same plan; and the pre-scientific mind confounds lexical phenomena with identity."

MR. ARTHUR WOLLASTON HUTTON, M.A., who was formerly a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, and later was for eight years one of Cardinal Newman's Oratorian community at Birmingham, will shortly contribute to our columns a series of autobiographical articles giving an account of his journey to "Free Thought via Rome." Mr. Hutton's career will, we think, prove interesting to our readers, as it has brought him into close contact with many of the ecclesiastical notabilities, both Catholic and Anglican, of the day.

You attribute personality and consciousness to God; but what, then, do you call personality and consciousness? That, no doubt, which you have found in yourselves, become cognizant of in yourselves, and distinguished by that name. But, if you will only give the slightest attention to the nature of your conception, you will see that you do not and cannot conceive of this without limitation and finality. By attributing that predicate to this being, you, in consequence, make of it a finite one,—a creature like yourself. You have not, as was your wish, conceived God, but merely the multiplied (enlarged or amplified) representation of yourselves.—*Fichte*.

DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY, the author of the essay on "Scientific Theism," begun in this number of *The Index*, needs no introduction to our readers. In Europe, better than in this country, he is known to thinkers by his scientific researches and his philosophical writings. In Germany, his book, *Die Kant'sche Erkenntnisslehre widerlegt vom Stand-*

punkt der Empirie, written in 1869, just after his retirement from medical practice, while it offended German pride in a great philosophical hero, contributed essentially to bring about the neo-Kantian era; and it is now highly appreciated by the experiential school at least. For several years, Dr. Montgomery—while, for his health, living in retirement in the South—has been pursuing his biological investigations, the results of which are published, from time to time, in Germany and England. He is a leading contributor to *Mind*, the ablest philosophical periodical in the world. His opposition to the cell-theory was regarded unfavorably by his fellow biologists generally; but, in a letter written some months ago, not designed for publication, but from which we have his permission to give passages, at our discretion, he writes: "Now, I am receiving spontaneous letters from prominent scientists expressing their adherence to my views, though with considerable caution as yet. But, since the plant-physiologists have come round, I consider the matter practically decided. The cell-theory was the greatest obstacle in the way of a monistic philosophy of life. The recognition and clear demonstration of the unity of the organic individual constitute the solid basis for all my thinking. . . . I speak of all this, that you may understand how grateful I felt in receiving your generous appreciation of my solitary endeavor. Perhaps, some day, I shall be able to break through my captivity, and, making straight for Boston, once more revel in the mutual kindling of thought, joyously flashing on new and beautiful prospects in the boundless realm of Truth. How strange it will feel after so many silent years! Perhaps that source in me is dried up altogether. Liebig—dead long since—was the last being with whom I shared this delight, hour after hour, never tiring to probe the depths of science. He was a true genius, glowing with fervent enthusiasm to the last."

KNOWING Dr. Montgomery to be a profound and learned thinker, we sent him recently a copy of Mr. Abbot's book, *Scientific Theism*, expressing the hope that he would, while reading it, be able to make a few notes indicating his concurrence with or dissent from the author's main positions. In response came his remarkable essay on "Scientific Theism," with a letter saying: "It was my intention merely to jot down a few detached remarks; but the thing got hold of me, and worked me as its slave till I had done what I here send. It has made the matter expand considerably, though I forcibly suppressed a thousand and one things."

THE *Congregationalist* says: "It is important that the effort to secure women the ballot upon temperance questions be defeated promptly and thoroughly. That effort is only an entering wedge for their full suffrage." The argument for woman suffrage made by advocates of the temperance cause, that women, if allowed to vote, would favor "temperance measures," does not impress the *Congregationalist* favorably. "Not only," it says, "is there no sufficient proof of this, but there is abundant evidence that thousands of them—and the very ones who would be most likely to vote regularly—sympathize, and would vote, with the liquor men." Since the leaders of the women suffrage movement circulate among those who accept the Bible as authority tracts which aim to show, however contrary to the truth, that this book is in favor of the equality of woman with man and of woman suffrage, perhaps they will make a tract of the *Congregationalist's* statements for circulation in the saloons, which, it is well known, have a very powerful controlling influence in the politics of Boston and other American cities.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 11, 1886.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

"SCIENTIFIC THEISM."

BY DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

I.

The Noumenal and Phenomenal World.

"What hope of answer or redress? behind the veil, behind the veil!"

We are determined to seek. Never again can we rest satisfied till we recognize the veritable real. Sayings, however oracular and from whatever source, have lost their ancient power over us. Vanished for good has the childlike trust in voices from fairyland. We are "striving after truth,"—truth pure and undisguised; and the key to its mysteries shall be the "scientific method,"—the discovery, verification, and comprehension of perpetual facts.

With profound sympathy and bated breath, we draw near and listen to every earnest and sustained scientific effort to render intelligible the great enigma of existence. And, when a thinker of Mr. Abbot's depth and compass, who has devoted a lifetime of passionate endeavor to its probing, comes, at last, to offer us the gift of his matured results, we feel eager to open wide the inlets of our understanding, and admit whatever of revealing light may be vouchsafed to us. Here no mere ideal flight of fancy shall bear us up to the blissful realm of eternal fulfilment. We are promised actual entrance there by strictly and assiduously attending to the sober teachings of science. For, whatsoever individual life, in ceaseless interaction with cosmic reality, succeeds in perceptively realizing of it, that much, we are told, has become truly one with itself, so that, by slow grades of arduous recognition, finite existence is destined to work out its ever-deepening identity with infinite perfection.

A beautiful creed this! and one whose essential meaning of infinite perfectibility through perceptual realization a scientist may well approve. Only, he will feel bound at once to confess that, abstracting from human fellowship fellow-feeling and culture, the scientific eye in its perceptive gaze has as yet utterly failed to discern the least trace

of enviable super-excellence anywhere among all the other things of our earth or in yonder million worlds.

Physical science, the science of whatever we recognize through our senses, proceeds by assuming the veritable reality of what is thus perceived. In our modern era, since Boyle and Newton, physical investigation has consistently set about its task, as if every sensible thing were actually made up of minute particles of matter, more or less densely aggregated into masses, and acting mechanically upon each other. It is under this supposition that it has endeavored to explain the outside world and all its phenomena, and that it has gained its signal triumphs.

Philosophy, on the other hand, worked up simultaneously to an entirely opposite conclusion. It finally came to assert that the world we are perceiving is, in truth, a purely mental phenomenon; that perceiving and being are identical; and that, consequently, nothing external corresponding to our mental percepts can be found anywhere in its existence.

On the scientific side, a world of aggregated and agitated matter; on the philosophic side, a mere perceptual world. How, then, can these two entirely disparate worlds be unified?

In pursuance of such an aim, it became the extreme endeavor of physical science to demonstrate how mind is in verity the outcome of processes occurring in the material universe. The extreme endeavor of psychical science, on the contrary, was to demonstrate how the material universe is but an outcome of processes occurring within the mind.

But taking, as most philosophers actually did, the existence of both worlds, the inner and outer, for granted, the problem was intelligibly to bring about their inter-communication or to effect their coalescence into a higher unity. Manifold have been the attempts to accomplish this. But to all such attempts physical science remained indifferent. However much it might modify the conception of its own units of mass and of the forces actuating them, it stubbornly adhered to the assumption that such units of mass, together with their motion, are real facts of existence, independent of the perceiving mind. Thirty years ago, this was the settled opinion of almost all students of physical science.

Meanwhile, a strenuous though futile effort to identify nerve force with electric force led to the discovery of a current of molecular activity arising during the transmission of every sense-impression up to the central organ, and from the central organ down again to the muscles. In 1850, Helmholtz succeeded in accurately measuring the velocity of such currents of activity within the nerve system, and found them immensely slower than electric currents.

This new experience opened the field, from the scientific side, for no end of further speculation on the burning question of the intercommunication of the two worlds, the one outside, the other inside the brain.

As regards the higher organs of sense, the eye and the ear, it was obvious that the quality of the sensations aroused through their instrumentality was delicately dependent on the nature of the stimulating media and the frequency and force of their impacts. All the characteristics of the light-wrought image on the retina, or of the aerial wave-figure reaching the auditory nerve, are evidently transmitted through the sensory nerves to the central organ. It is obvious from most accurate observations, according to the "scientific method," that nothing but motions of intervening media strike against the eye or ear, and that noth-

ing but corresponding motions can possibly be propagated through the nerves of these sensory organs to the brain.

How, then, is this motion-woven universe, so spectrally and yet so faithfully representing the real external one,—quite visibly so on the retina,—how is it converted within the brain into a congruous universe of conscious sight? We are scientifically certain that, by dint of the motion-woven image of yonder landscape on the retina of the subject before us, this very landscape is perceived by him just as it lies out there. Could there be a more perplexing puzzle? No wonder that from now on this very problem of external reality, motion, and sensation, became the central enigma of the scientific philosophy. And it is a solution of this same problem—a scientifically intelligible unification of the brain phenomenon and the external reality—that Mr. Abbot offers us as the indispensable entrance to his system of Noumenism. Fully to comprehend the difficulty of the task undertaken, let us first see how vainly some of the most prominent scientific thinkers have grappled with it.

First of all, then, How can a specific configuration of motions produce a congruous configuration of sensations? How can motion in any way produce sensation? Most scientists, following the example of DuBois-Reymond, are resting convinced that this wholly incommensurate production of sensation from motion is utterly incomprehensible, is, in fact, an ultimate mystery.

Other thinkers, more speculatively inclined, have tried to find or to force a solution. And here the conception that all forces in nature are only so many modes of motion, and that these modes of motion are all convertible into each other,—this new and sweeping generalization enticed Mr. Spencer to bridge the chasm between motion and sensation by boldly declaring that the sundry motions reaching the brain become actually converted into their corresponding sensations,—converted in the same way as mechanical motion becomes converted into heat, and heat into electricity, etc. Unbiased contemplation has, however, no difficulty to detect that this notion of the mutual convertibility of the various modes of the physical and mental, would, when consistently carried out, exterminate, at one fell swoop, both science and philosophy; for it is clear that under its supposition nothing from the outer world—to which our own body likewise belongs—can ever reach our potential consciousness, save a most complex system of rhythmic energy-pulses, deriving their existence from the surmised eternal source of all energy, the now much current "Unknowable." And it is clear also that this system of energy-pulses becomes immediately converted into a conscious system of "sensations, emotions, thoughts." Of course, the objective pulses cease themselves to exist, in being thus converted into their conscious equivalents. And such consciousness, wholly constituted by mentally transmuted physical forces, is, indeed, the only *ego* that can at all be ours under the conditions. For all influences from our so-called body, all its own or its transmitted energy-pulses, lose their existence in becoming mental energy-pulses. Consequently, when we exist, the system of energy-pulses, which to us individually constitutes the outer world, is non-existent. And, when it exists, then we are non-existent.

How a knowledge of existence, a philosophy of being, can at all become established among such mere transient confluences of modes of the Unknowable surpasses altogether our scientific understanding. No doubt this oscillation between Being and non-Being, this Subject-Object swing, as outcome of our most recent and popular scien-

tific philosophy, must greatly delight the venerable shade of William Frederic Hegel.

In keeping with the theory of equivalent transmutation, it is undeniable that, when we become unconscious, our whole mental energy, of which alone our *ego* can consist, must have been recon-verted into physical energy. Our existence is therefore completely annihilated for the time being; and physical science is rendered impossible, not only by our non-being, but by the production of physical forces from mental sources. The assumption that physical forces can be originated in any manner through mental agency is the death-blow to all natural science. This has been well understood by scientists for the last two centuries.

Lewes undertook to unify motion and sensation simply by identifying in name a unit of nerve motion with a unit of sensation. These, his "neural units," he declared to be motion when viewed from the objective side, and sensation when viewed from the subjective side, just as a curve remains one and the same existent, whether it be viewed from its convex or from its concave side. We have, then, a uniform neural medium agitated through quantitatively disparate pulses, emanating from a variety and vast number of sensory points. Thus, an exceedingly complex and ever-changing wave-configuration is kept in motion; and all its formations rising beyond a certain level of amplitude are said to constitute our consciousness. This is so-called psycho-physical monism, a conception easy to manage in thinking transactions, but whose daring *petitio principii* is very transparent when disengaged from verbal entanglements.

Other scientific philosophers, like Haeckel, try to avoid the cerebral dilemma by at once smuggling a modicum of sensation into their primitive elements of reality, into their units of matter-stuff, mass stuff, force-stuff, motion-stuff, mind-stuff, or whatever stuff they set out with. This flimsy device cannot hope to escape detection by hiding itself in the recesses of all but infinite diminution.

There, still, stand the two worlds, wholly irreconciled and appealing for scientific unification. Here the phenomenal world within our individual mind, there the noumenal world outside of it,—both, most evidently, signifying one and the same reality.

Promising to keep faith with the "scientific method," how does Mr. Abbot settle this supreme scientific question, this great "previous question," as he emphatically calls it? He declares the phenomenal world within our mind to be identical with exactly so much of the noumenal world as actually appears to us, or rather as is actually apperceived by us. When, for instance, I perceive yonder tree, so much of it as is apprehended in my perception is, according to this view, strictly identical with its own noumenal nature. Phenomenon and noumenon are "indissolubly one."

Thus, the identity of Being and Knowing, which hitherto, from a scientific standpoint, has always been considered the boldest of all speculative assumptions, is here maintained as a scientific fact. "Transcendental synthesis of Being and Knowing in the I is precisely what constitutes the mystery, and yet the undeniable fact of all consciousness" (p. 155). "Experience is the joint product of two equally important factors, noumenon-subject and noumenon-object,—the actual co-existence, union, and interpenetration of the real appearance and ideal appearance" (p. 104). This is what Mr. Abbot positively tells us. If he were enunciating this dyadic dogma on mere speculative grounds, we should not feel so very much surprised; but to declare in the name of science

that one and the same existent can be in two different places at one and the same time amounts to a complete reversal of what science has always held to be one of its most fundamental tenets. Mr. Abbot maintains, as the grounding proposition of his entire system of "Noumenism," that our perception coincides *spatially* as well as otherwise with the noumenal existent thus perceived; that, in fact, in the act of perception, the ideal percept and the real noumenon are one and the same identical existent.

Well, then, let us soberly examine this grounding proposition by means of the scientific method. Here is a boy looking at a chair which I have placed at a distance of ten measured steps from where he stands. Mr. Abbot has to concede that the noumenal boy and the noumenal chair are really ten steps distant from each other, just as I have placed them and am at present perceiving them. Now, it cannot be denied by scientific noumenism that the boy also perceives the chair. The chair itself and the boy remain, however, as I distinctly perceive, in their exact positions, ten steps away from each other. His perceptive chair is located somewhere within his head; for I scientifically know all about light-waves, image on the retina, optic nerve, etc. Mr. Abbot, according to his premises, is bound to look upon this chair in the boy's head as the identical noumenal chair ten steps off. This means, without escape, that one and the same noumenon can exist in two different places at once. And, as the boy in his turn perceives me at a certain distance from the chair and knows that I am also perceiving the chair, and that my perception of it is where I am and not where the chair is, there must be either three noumenal chairs in existence or the same noumenal chair must exist in three different places at once. Indeed, each new person happening to perceive the chair from any distance and in any relative position heightens Mr. Abbot's difficulty; for he has to maintain that each person perceives in his own head the veritable noumenal chair as it really exists and in the veritable place where it noumenally stands.

This single argument robs Mr. Abbot's settlement of the "previous question" of its entire validity. Fully understood, it would at once decide the whole question of "Noumenism," its train of transcendental consequences included. But let us proceed. As any perception of the boy and the chair are noumenal reality, the image of the chair I am perceiving on the boy's retina must also be noumenal reality. Now, how can this merely motion-woven image of the actual chair, ten steps off, be transformed in the boy's head into the veritable noumenal chair standing out yonder? The Roman Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation does not involve so stupendous a miracle.

Mr. Abbot's assertion that "experience is the chemical union, so to speak, of the noumenon-object and the noumenon subject, the former appearing really and the latter appearing ideally in a positive third, which is neither one nor the other of the two elements alone, but a positive coalescence of both essentially different from either" (p. 105),—this assertion, however scientifically unwarranted and incomprehensible in itself, cannot in the least destroy the force of the above criticism. For it is a cardinal principle of Mr. Abbot's system of Noumenism that space is an objective and all-comprising reality. Speaking of time and space, he says, "The noumenism of the scientific method establishes their necessary objectivity, as *condiciones sine quibus non* of noumena themselves" (p. 168). Therefore, the surmised coalescence of the noumenon-object and the nou-

menon-subject in a positive third essentially different from either cannot work any change in space relations, which are declared to be absolutely real for every kind of existent, phenomenal as well as noumenal.

But does the scientific method justify in any way this assumption of a coalescence or chemical union, so to speak, of the noumenon-object and the noumenon-subject? Giving full play to the unifying propensities of our constructive imagination within the facile realm of ideas, it is no doubt highly tempting to think of the lucid world of perception, so strangely flashed upon us with vivid and irresistible compulsion,—to think of it, nay, to feel it as the mystic union of our inmost being with whatever constitutes the true essence of the world of otherness. Every mystic with faith in intellectual intuition, every thinker who has yielded to the charm of Berkeley's beautiful thought, has felt this hallowing oneness with the Power not ourselves. But not so readily, forsooth, does the awakened feeling within us flow together with whatever of subsisting reality is therein felt. Ha! with what tedious, tortuous, tearful stress, through ages upon ages of world-formation, has life untiringly toiled so to elaborate its wondrously sensitive foil, that, to the wild onrush of multitudinous commotions from everywhere besetting and bestirring it, it now exultingly responds by casting back upon it, in phenomenal repose, the becalmed and beauteous image of a harmonized universe!

Science, with its austere scrutiny, completely dispels the brilliant illusion of our actual and instantaneous coalescence with the powers phenomenally revealed in perception. It teaches us irrefutably that nothing, absolutely nothing, enters our being from outside when our sensory surface is being stimulated. It cannot even be plausibly argued that the energy-pulses reaching us from outside are, as such, transmitted through the nerves. They only specifically, delicately upset the molecular equilibrium within the minutely predisposed sensory organs; and the marvellously complex commotion which thereupon supervenes within the nerve system is entirely an intrinsic organic process, deriving no assistance whatever from outside. It is only through the study of connatural evolution that we ever can come to understand how, nevertheless, the minutely corresponding mental phenomenon arising from such commotion happens to be significantly congruous with the existents from which the stimulating influences emanate.

Mr. Abbot, in order to establish his "transcendental synthesis of Being and Knowing in the I," has thus transgressed, not only against the most stringent rules of the scientific method, by ignoring everything which is seen to lie between the perceived object somewhere in space and its perception in the head of an individual, but by so doing he has also irretrievably jeopardized the fundamental assumption of his own Noumenism; the assumption, namely, that what we perceive of things—their spatial relations and everything else—is truly identical with their noumenal existence, that, in fact, our percepts of things are in the same place as the things themselves.

This assumed apperception by the individual of the exact noumenal nature of existents, what Mr. Abbot calls the intelligibility of their immanent relational constitution, is, according to him, "the absolute ground of the identity of Being and Thought,"—nay, the very "condition of existence" (p. 133). If this were really so, then, by faithfully adhering to our "scientific method," we must have succeeded in abolishing, by the demonstra-

tion of the spatial non-coincidence and only remotely representative character of the phenomenal world, not only the identity of Thought and Being, but in abolishing *existence* itself; and there would be, consequently, nothing left for our further argumentation to work upon.

But, as this surmised intelligibility of "the immanent relational constitution" of nature and its constituent objects is at present playing a rather important part in preventing a true understanding of our own relation to the world at large, it will be well clearly to elucidate the fact that nothing whatever of the immanent relational constitution of things is really intelligible to us.

II.

The Alleged Intelligibility of Noumenal Relations.

A complex organism is undoubtedly of all known existents the one which presents to us most strikingly an immanent relational constitution. The question is, How much of this immanent relational constitution is really intelligible to us? Let us assume, with Schleiden, Schwann, and most other physiologists, that we have established the doctrine that the complex organism is composed of a vast number of individual cells. By what intelligible principle, then, do these completely individuated billions of elementary lives so arrange themselves as to form the marvellously intricate and definite structural constitution—"the immanent relational constitution"—of the complex organism? By what intelligible principle do they then, each by merely carrying on its own individual life, nevertheless succeed in achieving the harmonious and aim-directed results so strikingly apparent in the actions of that which forms the unity of their assemblage? The closest student of biology will have to admit that, of the real nature of these constitutive and relational bonds, science is hopelessly ignorant. It understands absolutely nothing of the immanent relational constitution of the cell-aggregate or complex organism.

Or start, if you will, with Darwin's gemmules or Spencer's physiological units or Haeckel's plastidules, and again nothing at all is intelligible to us. The mode of multiplication of these living units, the principle of their specific way of aggregation, and then their marvellously concerted activity,—all and everything which concerns the "immanent relational constitution" of the organism remains utterly unintelligible, however much we may empirically learn of the spatial distribution of the parts and the sequence of their activities.

If you contemplate inanimate objects, just as little of their immanent relational constitution becomes intelligible. We do not understand how molecules cohere to masses; how the elements composing such molecules coalesce in chemical union; how molecules come to arrange themselves into strictly stereometric forms; how any individual system of immanent relations can at all exert any influence on other such systems. We only learn by experience that it is so, never why or how it is so.

The power we possess over nature is not due in any way to the intelligibility of its noumenal relations, nor to our mental apperception of the real bonds which make up the structure of noumenal existence. It is due to our being able to take the perceptually represented structure to pieces, finding out thereby what changes such pieces undergo when detached from their normal connections, and then artificially essaying what other possible combinations the detached pieces will fall into among each other. Thus, our genuine scientific concepts are formed. Not by a

gathering up into simultaneous perceptive presence of the parts composing the universe and intellectually penetrating the essence of that which constitutes their actual noumenal order and combination, but simply by knowing from experience what changes each part will undergo in whatever situation it may happen to be placed. We learn in this way, for instance, that what we know as the fragment of nature, called water, owes its fluidity to the pressure of the air and the temperature of its surroundings; that it is forced to assume this state under these special conditions. You remove the air, and it is rapidly changed into a gas. Or you lower sufficiently the surrounding temperature, and it is turned into a solid. You bring it into contact with burnt gypsum or lime, and it enters into chemical combination with these substances. Then you discover a way of chemically breaking up the very water itself into two entirely disparate components. Thereupon, by further experimenting, you find out by degrees all about these new chemical fragments of water. You detect that one of them is an actual constituent of our atmosphere; that it is, moreover, an active principle in combustion; and this, again, leads to more and more experience, and so on without end.

It is obvious, then, that the potency of our natural science does not consist in our knowing the actually existing noumenal constitution of the individual things, and that it never can hope, in its utmost extension, to wield a knowledge of the immanent relational constitution of the whole cosmos. It consists simply in our having learned from experience all possible states which perceptually realizable fragments of the outer world will assume under definite conditions, and also all possible combinations they are capable of entering into. This experience yields us a wealth of natural knowledge far transcending our apperception of the actually existing state of things, allowing us not only to draw conclusions about former states and combinations of constituent parts of the outer world, but also to forecast future states and combinations, and, principally, to induce through our own instrumentality the formation of such new states and combinations as best suit our human purposes.

In no case do we understand why things assume such or such a state under such or such conditions, or why they enter into such or such a combination with such or such other fragments of the outer world. The principle of the immanent relational constitution of things is utterly unintelligible to us. This is undeniably the irreversible decision of all investigation carried on in keeping with the "scientific method."

The utility of classification and the success of our analogical reasoning lie not in our mentally operating with an understanding of the noumenal nature of things, but in the advantage which nature affords to our memory and unifying tendencies in the actual similarity of properties and powers possessed by numbers of its individuated fragments. Mr. Abbot is certainly right in asserting that all these centuries of philosophizing have not yet rendered clear the true nature of universals. They are neither *ante rem* nor *in re* nor *post rem*. But are they *inter res*? This is Mr. Abbot's contention, and his reason for it rests on the same belief of the intelligibility of the immanent relational constitution of noumenal nature. He says: "The species is an individual thing of a higher order, inasmuch as it possesses a relational constitution immanent in the totality of its individuals as a self-related whole." "If the species as a whole—that is, as an assemblage of all the individuals composing it—were ever presented to percep-

tion, then it would yield both a percept and an image; but just as the percept would be a percept of the assemblage, so the image would be an image of the assemblage, and not of any 'generic individual,'—which is a sheer absurdity." (pp. 140, 141.) The trifling absurdity of trying to fabricate or to conceive "generic individuals" may be fully conceded; yet, if all the individuals of a species were actually present in my perception, should I, even then, in the least understand "the relational constitution immanent in the totality of its individuals as a self-related whole"? The same old limits of our intelligence would here, even more effectively than with single individuals, prevent us from ever comprehending the system of noumenal relations, which would constitute the "assemblage of all the individuals composing a species as a self-related whole." But, even if we were capable of understanding the immanent relational constitution of things, it is hard to see how the presence in simultaneous perception of all the individuals of a species would help to solve the question of the similarity of properties and powers possessed by such individuals, in which fact the problem chiefly lies.

Surveying all the evidence scientifically allowed us, we are almost at a loss to conjecture what may have induced Mr. Abbot to assume that noumenal relations are at all intelligible. The clew may probably be found in one of the rare concrete examples brought forward in illustration of Mr. Abbot's abstruse principles. He says: "For instance, the object of vision is formed color: color (reflected rays of light) is perceived by sensibility; form (which is nothing but a system of relations of outlines, boundaries, or mere limits of extension) is perceived by the understanding" (p. 137). And then, to our utter astonishment, we learn further on that sensibility—the same faculty by which we were told that color is perceived—"is not an intellectual function of the mind; no part, therefore, of the knowing faculty." This complete wiping out of everything "perceived by sensibility" from our world of recognition, as counting for nothing in our intelligible apperception, is quite useless in assisting us to understand the immanent relational constitution of objects,—this sudden clearing leaves us face to face with nothing but bare, unqualified space-relations. These, and these alone, it must, then, evidently have been that Mr. Abbot had all the time in mind when he spoke of the "immanent relational constitution" of things. For, after deducting all data of sensibility, nothing remains in our apperception save empty space-relations. We cannot be mistaken in this; for Mr. Abbot unambiguously declares, "Inasmuch as only related qualities are intelligible, and as all relations of qualities in the thing belong to its relational constitution, it is evident that the thing can be understood, not by the sensibility, nor even by the sensibility and understanding together, but only by the understanding alone" (p. 27). This means in plain words, simply and exclusively, that we perceive and understand space-relations exactly as they noumenally exist, and that we understand nothing else in nature. The whole problem of noumenism and intelligibility, then, is strictly reduced to the single question stated (p. 27): "If the sides of a triangle exist objectively, the angles must exist objectively also; but, if the angles are merely subjective, so must the sides be also." That immanent relational constitution of noumenal nature, of which we have heard so much, consists, then, after all, in no other reality than determinate space-relations. Thus, the "scientific method," which went out to gain an understanding of the inexhaustible wealth of nature revealed to us in perception, has merely confronted us with

the ancient *crux* of abstract thinking; for these same geometrical space-relations have played strange tricks to philosophers and scientists ere now.

Has Mr. Abbot, perhaps, been brought to rely upon the efficiency of intelligible space-relations to open to us the mysteries of the noumenal world by taking his science on trust from the mechanical evolutionists? They, surely, ought to know; and Mr. Fiske, who has made such evolution his special study, has again told us in his last Concord lecture (p. 150) that, "from particle to particle, without cessation, the movement passes on, reappearing from moment to moment under myriad Protean forms; while the rearrangements of particles incidental to the movement constitute the qualitative differences among things." How very plain and intelligible! The mere spatial rearrangements of moved particles constitute the qualitative differences among things! make, for instance, that water is differing from mercury, or sulphuric acid from ammonia, or a human organism from a dust-heap. Well, we can test this matter easily enough. The particles of dust in the well-known acoustical experiment which, under the influence of different rhythms of motion, arrange themselves in different, well-defined figures, is a perfect illustration of this "rearrangement of particles incidental to the movement." But we may fiddle away till doomsday, and not a trace of a new "qualitative difference" will ever make its appearance. It is time that this unconscionable influence, so generally attributed to the mere spatial distribution of particles, be abolished for good from scientific thinking; be utterly shelved, never again to be hung in needy pretence as a cloak on the miserable vacuity of the mechanical conception which, with its pitiful impoverishment of reality, is despoiling the universe and our lives therein of their sublime significance. And with it may be laid in eternal rest the innumerable bustling ghosts of that Persistent Protean Force which, like a hundred thousand legions of possessing devils or rapping spirits, are rushing to and fro among the inert and helpless particles of our world, shaking them into all manner of ephemeral shapes, to no earthly purpose save the fussy gratification of their eternal instigator. Avaunt, ye madly dashing, ever-mutating apparitions of sentimentally unknowable Force! Let alone those dead heaps of cosmic dust! We ourselves will henceforth manage the ordering business. Sentient human life, feelingly responsive, with its garnered wealth of a million fruitful years, is steadfastly advancing, winning over to its realm of sympathetic tenderness perversely plying powers, and adorning it with all the treasures of an exuberant world.

(Concluded next week.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SO-CALLED EXPOSE OF MADAME BLAVATSKY.

Editors of *The Index*:—

Will you give me a little space in your valuable paper for a few words regarding the so-called exposé of Madame H. P. Blavatsky, and the report of the Society for Psychical Research of London upon theosophic phenomena?

This report extends over several hundred pages, and is called scientific.

It must not be forgotten that, first, the investigation was self-constituted, and not requested by the Theosophical Society; and, secondly, that it related to a part of the history of theosophy which is not of great importance, nor dwelt on much by its members. We are a society devoted to Universal Brotherhood and Philosophy. It was true that Col. Olcott, the President, related to Mr. Hodgson nearly all the phenomena he had ever seen; but that was only injudi-

cious, for they were not performed publicly nor for the public.

Now, I was the third person engaged in founding the society here, in 1875. Have been very active in it ever since. Went to India, via London, in 1884. And yet Mr. Hodgson did not interrogate me, nor did he get the facts he relates in his report at first hands.

He says, among other things, that "Mr. Judge, an American, was at Adyar, and was not allowed to see the shrine or its room." This is false. I went to India expressly to be concerned in the coming exposure by the Coulombs, and I took charge of everything the moment I arrived there. I had the final and exhaustive examination made. I myself removed the shrine to an adjoining room, from which that night it disappeared. This was months before Hodgson arrived in India. If he saw what he thought was a part of the shrine, it was a joke put on him by Dr. Hartmann, who would be pleased to lead such a wild investigator into a trap. No part of it was retained by Hartmann.

Again, he describes a hole in the wall behind the shrine. There was none, and he gets it all at second hand. There was an unfinished opening in the second wall, behind the shrine, having jagged projections of lath ends all around it,—just as Coulomb had to leave it, when we stopped him. The cupboard put up against it was unfinished, and the false door thereof could only be opened with mallet and pry. All this was Coulomb's concoction, ready to be opened to Missionary Patterson at the proper time. But the proper time never arrived, and I will tell you why. I was in Paris in April, 1884; and, while there, a message was received,—in the very way which Hodgson thinks he has exploded,—informing us that the Coulombs had begun operations, and that, unless some one went and stopped them, they would get their traps finely finished, with a due appearance of age and use to carry out the conspiracy. So I started for Adyar, with full authority. But, while on the way, the people had received there a similar intimation, so that I found the Coulombs just out of the place when I arrived. At once, a register was opened there. Over three hundred people examined the place, who signed their names to a declaration of the condition and appearance of things; and then a resolution prohibiting further prying by the curious was passed. The very next day, Missionary Patterson, expert Gribble & Co., came to examine. It was too late. The law was already in existence; and Mr. Gribble, who had come as an "impartial expert," with, however, a report in full in his pocket against us, had to go away depending on his imagination for damaging facts. He then drew upon that fountain.

I tell you, Mr. Editor, the report of Hodgson is only half-done work. No account has been taken of the numerous letters received by me and others, during these years between 1874 and 1884, from various adepts, under circumstances entirely free from Blavatskyism. And he has failed to get the evidence regarding things at Adyar of the only person who went there free from excitement, and who remained cool while the rest were wild. An experience of ten years had placed my mind where the puerile traps of missionaries, or resemblances of letters from adepts to Blavatsky's writing, could not affect it. For I will divulge to you this, sir, that, if an adept wanted to write to you, the curious circumstance might be found that the writing would resemble your own. I once saw a message thrown upon the leaf of a book; and it was in the handwriting of him holding it, who was as much amazed as any one else.

One word more. Mr. Hodgson's argument on the evidence proceeds thus: Damodar says, in a separate examination, that the figure of the adept "went over a tree and disappeared," while Mohini says, "The figure seemed to melt away." Ergo, they lie, because they disagree as to the disappearance. This is sheer folly. Then he goes through what happened in Paris when I was present, asking Mohini and Keightley if a man might not have entered the window. They had forgotten the window. I say the window was in my room; and its height from the stone courtyard was over twenty feet, with no means of reaching by climbing.

Finally, I received in Paris several letters from American friends, ignorant of adepts; and inside were pencilled notes in the familiar handwriting which Hodgson has exploded and proved "fraudulent."

The report is valuable as a contribution to history; and when Mr. Hodgson has gained some acquaint-

ance with the several adepts, of whom he does not dream, who are engaged with the society, he and your readers may be pleased to revise conclusions, as science has so often been compelled to do.

Yours,
WILLIAM Q. JUDGE.
New York, February, 1886.

A QUESTION OF WORDS.

Editors of The Index:—

May I call attention to the following period in Emerson's "Over-soul"? "In youth, we are mad for persons. Childhood and youth see all in them. But the larger experience discovers the identical nature appearing through them all. Persons themselves acquaint us with the impersonal." Is this not an absolutely incorrect and sense-destroying use of the word "impersonal"? Ought it not to have read, "Persons themselves acquaint us with the universal personality"? For the "identical nature appearing through all persons"—appearing as personality in you and me and all—is therefore, as far as it does appear, personality and not impersonality. If the meaning was to say that this "identical nature" in all persons or their common personality does not belong to one or another in special,—nor to all, but all to it,—would not the wording suggested have been the correct one: ["Persons or individual personalities] themselves acquaint us with the universal personality"?]

It is a question of words, but errors often spring from a word. As will be seen in one case, the Universal Spirit does really appear, reveal itself through men, its nature through human nature. In the other case, it does not appear through men; and human nature is not a revelation of the Divine, but different in him or perhaps opposite to it.

Is it not another misuse of terms in one place to speak of the impersonality of the Universal Spirit, in another of the universal self? What is the difference between selfhood and personality?

It is worth while to settle the meaning and right use of words so frequently used, and that for our most important ideas.

H. TAMBS LYCHE.

REVELATION AND MORALITY.

Editors of The Index:—

Many are still afraid, even to-day, to believe that it has been man's own thought, experience, and actual social necessities which have evolved the ideas of morality now held by all nations. This, however, according to the best light and wisdom of modern research, is the actual state of the case. There has never been any supernatural "revelation" of the way of life. There has never been any direct word to man from out of the sky concerning duty or religion or social requirements. Man himself, through painful need and much of sorrow, has discovered and contrived all morality,—all the high, right, fine duties of man to man the world over, operated upon, however, of course, we must admit,—in a general, natural way,—by the high, right, fine forces of the universe, obedience to which has always been the condition of man's best life and progress.

If these fine forces of the universe are "God," and if man's growth under these forces and his continual rise to higher life, through the discovery and following of the wisest means and laws of his existence, may be counted a "revelation," then we may say there has been a revelation. But only thus. For we know to-day that there has never been a break anywhere in the orderly continuance of the world's natural energies. There has never been a time or place for any direct, special, "supernatural" revelation. Man has sought out and seized upon and utilized. And this that he himself has found, concerning the requirements of the highest kind of life, he has taken to himself in after time as a "revelation." Later generations and peoples have deemed it specially God-given, have deemed it "writ large," even as by the finger of Deity itself, on tables of stone, and then have themselves gone on discovering!

Practically, the highest kind of life has ever been for man his best-served deity. So that we find the moral sense slowly strengthening as the years have gone on; and, as through the ages it has grown and ripened, it has brought with it "codes of duty, ethical commandments, precepts of public and private conduct, legislative enactments, courts for enforcing

these, instrumentalities for ethical education, and numberless other beneficent organizations for securing human rights, for redressing human grievances, and for promoting human welfare."

Moreover, the best interests of humanity have been not only, but should ever be, the transcendent deity of man. For thus only shall the highest forces of the universe—which still we may call God, if we wish—blossom out for all sentient being into increasing glory.

JAMES H. WEST.

For The Index.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

What is Religion, in whose name
Such fearful deeds are wrought,
And dogmas yet more fearful still
Unto the spirit taught?

"It is the gift of God to man,
And to none else beside,
The breath of life unto his soul,"
A sage to me replied.

A yearning of that soul to bridge
That chasm which divides
The known from the unknown, and read
The secret which it hides.

'Tis not devotion, worship, praise,
The pious act or deed,
Though these may be the fruit and flower
That from its root proceed.

We know the earth was ages old
Before it had the power
Upon its face to bear a tree
Or show a single flower.

Its heavy air, unfit for life,
Supported giant ferns alone,
Which left the impress of their leaves
Imbedded in the stone.

So does religion in each age
Express man's yearning needs,
And leave an impress on the race
Recorded in its deeds.

Now rude and fierce with human blood
Behold its altars reek,
While fruit and flowers are offered by
The beauty-loving Greek.

Gotama and Confucius both,
Like fern leaves in the coal,
Ere Jesus came their impress left
Upon the human soul.

"The joys of life, e'en life itself,"
Loyola cries, "I'll give
Unto the holy Mother Church,
And die that she may live."

But perfect Love, which casts out fear
And raises and refines
Life's conduct, is the living Truth
The heart of man enshrines.

Creeds, dogmas, fables, myths, and all
Shall crumble and decay,
But Love, the kernel, live when faith,
The husk, has passed away.

Then cast aside all fear, O soul,
Religion cannot die:
The good and true of every age
The next shall purify.

MARY BAYARD CLARKE.

NEW BERNE, N.C.

THE journal of the National Indian Association for January takes the title of the *Indian Magazine*, and begins, with this number, a new series. This is an excellent journal, ably edited, with a corps of talented contributors, who deal mainly with the educational, literary, and social matters pertaining to life in India. It is published in London, by C. Kegan Paul, French & Co., price sixpence per number, or five shillings English money, if paid yearly in advance. The design of its publication is to promote mutual understanding and cordial relations between English people and their fellow-subjects in the East. The present number contains, among other timely articles, the following: "How to preserve Health in India, with Special Reference to Medical Women," by Dr. C. R. Francis; "A Word about England-visiting Indian Youths," by A. Kashmiri Pandit; "The Indian and Colonial Exhibition, 1886"; "Commercial Education at Madras," by R. M. M.; "The Countess of Dufferin's Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India"; "The Vernacular Lit-

erature and Folk-lore of the
Training College for School-mis-
—"A Christmas Dream,"—by Mary Lau,

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for March contains instalments of the serial stories by Henry James and Charles Egbert Craddock, "The Princess Casamassima" and "In the Clouds"; a quaint, short story, entitled "A Brother to Dragons," by an anonymous writer; an article on "Grant," by Col. Higginson; "The United States after the Revolutionary War," by John Fiske; and a memorial paper on "Elihu Mulford," by Horace E. Scudder. Dr. Holmes' "New Portfolio" gives two of the poet's latest "occasional" poems, together with some pages of pleasant moralizing. Other articles are by Justin Winsor, Dr. F. H. Hedge, and Henry Van Brunt. The poems are by Louisa Imogen Guiney and Andrew Hedbrooke. "A Shaksperian Scholar" is a review of Richard Grant White's "Studies in Shakspeare." Other long reviews are "Gen. J. E. B. Stuart," "Folk Tales," and "Tennyson the Conservative."

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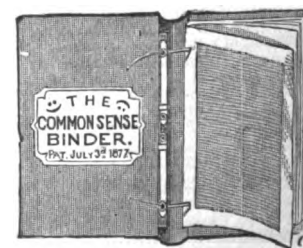
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

"WHAT IS THEOSOPHY?" is the title of a volume by a well-known Newport lady, which is to be published at once by Messrs. Cupples, Upham & Co.

THE death of the eminent New York physician, Dr. Austin Flint, leaves a great gap in the ranks of the medical profession. He was born at Peterham, Mass., Oct. 20, 1812. He had but recently accepted an invitation to address the British Medical Association on Medicine, in July,—an honor never before shown an American physician.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY says: "It is a melancholy fact that mendacity is becoming recognized as an art in parliamentary government in England. . . . I distinctly assert that the late government would have brought in a home rule scheme of some kind, if the elections had given them, combined with the Nationalists, a large majority over the Liberals. When they found they had not that majority, they got it into their heads they would be only working for Mr. Gladstone in that direction, and had better try to get up an anti-Irish feeling, and posture as the champions of the integrity of the Empire."

At the monthly dinner and discussion of the Unitarian Club in this city, one evening last week, Mr. Edward Atkinson spoke of the impolicy of setting apart a large amount of capital to build churches, used only one day in a week, when we cannot spare it. Indeed, he thought it rather superstitious to set aside so much. It was the truth of the sentiment preached, and not the place in which it is spoken, that is to be considered. On the score of economy, he said ninety per cent. of the people in this country have only forty or fifty cents per day to support them; and they cannot have much to pay for expensive worship.

SAYS the Boston Sunday Herald: "A bill passed by the Connecticut Legislature the other day renders it lawful for infidels to testify as witnesses;

but the privilege will not be of much value to the unbelieving dogs, since, as the newspapers of the State remark, Christian jurymen and Christian judges will take their testimony for what they think it is worth. And this, of course, is just nothing at all; for it is utterly absurd and unreasonable to suppose that the word of a Deist or Agnostic, Jew or Mohammedan, Buddhist or fire worshipper,—of anybody but a Christian, indeed,—is worth anything whatever. They are sure to be everlastingly damned in the next world; and the fewer privileges they have in this, the better."

At a meeting of the King County Bar, held at Seattle, W.T., February 27, resolutions were adopted declaring that the assemblage of the mob in that city, on the 7th and 8th of February, "was an unparalleled outrage upon the city of Seattle and its law-abiding citizens, and ought to meet the strongest condemnation of every honest, loyal man residing in it, and of every true American in the whole country"; and that those who are devoting themselves "to arraying one class against another—by lies and incendiary appeals—are the worst enemies of society; and are especially the enemies of our honest workingmen, whom they are striving to dupe and trick into becoming law-breakers, and whose livelihood they already have imperilled by frightening capital out of the country, and by breaking up industries which have only been established after years of laborious exertion and sacrifice."

MR. SETH HUNT, in a letter to the Springfield Republican, referring to the case of Adams, condemned to the gallows in this State, says: "In spite of the praiseworthy efforts of legal counsel, medical experts, philanthropic editors, and other humane individuals, a miserable man, with an unbalanced organization, a prey to a disordered nervous system, is to be dealt with under the savage law of retaliation,—the taking of life for life. In view of such a barbarity, one wonders whether Christians believe that Jesus was in earnest when he repealed the old retaliatory laws, and forbade the taking even of an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth. Capital punishment belongs to a dark and heathenish age, when bloody sacrifices were deemed necessary to atone for sin and appease the wrath of the gods, but is out of place here and now,—like a baleful star jostled from its eccentric orbit through blackness of darkness into the clear blue of the sunlit heavens."

THE following references to authors and their works are from a private letter written us by a friend, himself an author, who recently returned to this country, after a vacation of several months in Europe: "On my way back, I spent an evening with Leslie Stephen, who is hard at work on his Biographical Dictionary, and well satisfied with the success of his Life of Fawcett, I imagine, though he says he fears it is a failure. Prof. Croom Robertson's little book on Hobbes (Blackwood Series) is well received. It is certainly very well written. Grant Allen, I regret to say, is in very feeble health. I spent an hour with Mr.

Spencer at the Athenæum about two weeks ago. He talked discouragingly about his physical condition; but, to me, he seemed pretty well. I detected no signs of feebleness. James Sully is revising his *Psychology*. Shadworth H. Hodgson (who ought to be better known and more fully appreciated in this country) is carrying on with success the work of the Aristotelian Society. Prof. Robertson speaks very highly of the articles that are sent him for *Mind* by American contributors. He commends particularly the work done by the Johns Hopkins University people,—Stanley Hall and his coadjutors."

FIVE of Rabbi Schindler's lectures were recently reprinted from *The Index* in the Painesville, Ohio, *Telegraph*. In reply to an inquiry, Rev. Joseph Cook sent to that town, from this city, the following statement: "Excepting a few notices in sensational journals, I have seen nothing in print in Boston concerning Rabbi Solomon Schindler. I have never heard him or his utterances once mentioned in conversation here. You know more of him than Boston at large does." And yet Rabbi Schindler's lectures, entitled "Messianic Expectations," were printed in the *Herald*, *Globe*, *Transcript*, *Post*, and we know not how many other Boston dailies, not to speak of the Boston weekly journals in which they appeared. The Sunday *Herald* and the Sunday *Globe*, of November 1, had editorials on the lectures. On November 2, Rev. Dr. Gordon's reply to them appeared in the *Herald*. On November 3, the *Globe* had a long article presenting the views of different persons in regard to them. Several articles concerning the lectures appeared in the *Transcript*, and among them an editorial in the issue of December 23. They were, indeed, the subject of comment by the Boston press generally. The space given to Mr. Cook's lectures in the Boston papers this season is, we believe, not one-fourth, probably not one-sixth, of that given to Rabbi Schindler's lectures. Mr. Cook's statement, above quoted, therefore conveys an impression that is entirely false. It serves as an illustration of his method and habit of distorting the truth and disparaging men who differ from him, when, by so doing, he can make a point; and it is in keeping with his statements made a few years ago in regard to German students, the Free Religious Association, Emerson's change of belief, the position and claims of distinguished scientists, etc. He often tells his hearers that it is an "incontrovertible truth" that "character tends to permanency," and that there is no probation after death. Mr. Cook is now at middle age: his habits are formed, his character, such as it is, established, and becoming more and more fixed every day. He will, we trust, since he is so free with advice and exhortation to others, pardon us for suggesting to him that he should make an earnest effort—with prayer, if that will help him—to overcome, "before it is everlastingly too late," his rancorous disposition toward free thinkers and the bigotry and prejudice which cloud his judgment, and make him so often a perverter of the truth and a calumniator.

PROGRESS OF LIBERALISM.

Persons holding liberal views with regard to religion are often charged with having no missionary zeal; and often, too, they frankly admit that the charge is true, and they reproach themselves for the fact. Many of them are accustomed to say that the great mass of the people are all ready to be led out of the evangelical churches to the new views, if the new views only had as fervent a band of apostles to propagate them as have the old beliefs. Far be it from us to underrate the importance of the missionary temperament and zeal. We wish that Liberalism had a great deal more of active enthusiasm in the work of spreading its ideas than it has. If it has not and cannot have the same urgent motive as the old-fashioned evangelical believers have,—that of saving souls from the torments of a future hell,—it may have at least a very noble motive; namely, the motive of enlightening the human race and lifting it up to the capacity of wiser beliefs and more rational and righteous conduct.

But we much doubt whether the utmost missionary temperament and zeal would have any great success in carrying the modern rational and liberal views of religion directly to the masses of the people. The masses of the people like a religion of mystery and miracle. That a thing should be incredible, that a proposition should be unbelievable to man's natural reason, does not at all trouble them. They have, in fact, been taught for centuries that religion is a matter of faith, not of reason. The less they understand it, the more do they call it religion. Then, too, for the masses of the people who have any attachment to religion at all, especially for the great multitude sheltered by the Church of Rome, sentiment, association, and tradition count for much more than ideas. The work, therefore, naturally allotted to liberals in religion appears to be that of the gradual education and reform of public opinion,—beginning with the small circle of thoughtful and inquiring people closest at hand, and thence the influence percolating through adjacent circles and larger religious bodies, until at last it reaches the masses. If Liberals are doing their full share in this work, if they generously and zealously support any well-considered and well-guided efforts that are made in this direction, they have no occasion to reproach themselves for neglecting the great mass of the people, even though the latter do not as yet largely read their journals or flock to hear their discourses.

Progress, however, is not wanting. This work of propagating liberal ideas would not be void of results, even though the evidence of its actual power within the time of a single generation were much less conspicuous than it is. Emerson and Parker left no sect of their founding behind them. They did not plant churches. It was not the mass of the people, whether rich or poor, learned or unlearned, who went to hear them. It was the men and women whose minds were open to inquiry, who believed in mental and moral independence, and who were more inclined, perhaps, to work alone than in any organization. The few independent societies that sprang up in consequence of the ideas which Emerson and Parker had sown came for the most part for a special cause or were kept alive by a personal leader, and they have now nearly all disappeared. But any one who should argue from this fact that Emerson and Parker had no influence and left no power in the world to work after they were dead would greatly blunder in his observation of historical facts. The Unitarian denomination, which disowned them and their heresies a generation ago,

has now virtually accepted their theological positions. Emerson it already reckons among its saints; and his books are increasingly read by an increasing number of persons, of various beliefs, who go to him as one of a small group of writers in all the ages who are perennially resorted to for moral and spiritual inspiration. And Parker, by leading Unitarians, is now placed by the side of Channing in the denomination's history, his portrait is to grace the walls of the new Unitarian building in Boston, and a volume of his writings has just been published by the American Unitarian Association as one of their missionary books. Meantime, Western Unitarian conferences and societies, not to speak of many individuals and a few societies in the East, have pretty generally advanced to the principles of the Free Religious Association in framing their platforms of church organization and fellowship. Those of us who were in Cambridge at the time when, less than thirty years ago, the choice of Theodore Parker for their graduation preacher by a class in the Divinity School was vetoed by the faculty of the school, and the young men who sympathized with Parker's views were plainly told that they were not wanted in the denomination, can but wonder at these evidences, not only of the great change, but of the rapidity with which it has been effected.

Nor is it only in so-called liberal religious organizations that these evidences of progress appear. Orthodoxy also has been rapidly moving forward. What is called Liberal or New Orthodoxy to-day occupies a position very near the camp of the Channing type of Unitarianism. It is in some respects *beyond* the old Unitarian position. Henry Ward Beecher said in a recent sermon that the doctrine of evolution will rightly abolish the distinction between natural and revealed religion. In the same sermon, he spoke of "the fable of Adam's fall"; and, again, of the Bible, in these words:—

Men know perfectly well, when they use the Bible as their spiritual guide, what parts to select. They select the things that they need, the things that stir them, the things that their moral consciousness adopts. They know the different value between the long genealogical chapters in Chronicles and the Gospels of John and of Matthew. They know there is a different weight and value to different parts of the Bible, a volume of sixty-six different books, in different languages, published in different ages, with a thousand years between some of them, representing the lyrics and the literature, all the legislation, all the judicatories, and the slender stock of medical knowledge of the Jewish race. That volume, put together in such a way, is not of uniform value in all parts. The doctrine of inspiration which teaches us that God wrote it, and the whole of it right straight through, men do not believe, nor will they now fight for it. Ministers may assert it officially in the pulpit, but they do not personally believe it.

Now, Mr. Beecher may not be accepted as a representative of the New Orthodoxy. But he is its pioneer. Many are following whither he leads. Theologically speaking (and we are considering him only in that character), he stands to Orthodoxy as Theodore Parker stood in his lifetime to Unitarianism. Yet Beecher has met no such denominational antagonism as did Parker. His Church is still popularly, if not officially, counted in the list of Orthodox Congregational churches. But, with regard to the Bible and the history of religion, Plymouth Church pulpit is proclaiming doctrines which the old Federal Street Unitarian Church in Boston would have reckoned heresies, if Dr. Channing had gone so far as to utter them. A pure specimen of old-fashioned Orthodoxy it is not easy now to find. The sects have all made some progress, whether they are ready to confess it or not. More liberal views have, to a considerable extent, permeated and educated them. The

Congregationalist, in a late notice of Mr. M. J. Savage's last volume of sermons, said that the author's "statements of evangelical belief will not be assented to by those who hold it." Yet Mr. Savage doubtless knows what he himself was taught and believed when he was in the orthodox church; and if those who hold the evangelical belief to-day do not assent to his statements of the orthodox creed in which he was bred, this may testify to the fact that they have moved forward over a part of the road on which he has advanced.

Then, again, there is probably a larger body of thoughtful people outside of all churches, whether orthodox or liberal, than ever before. In this class are large numbers of scholarly and scientific men, and also people of keen understanding, without much advantage from culture, who have imbibed liberal thought from the general mental atmosphere of the age, and have also had a habit of thinking for themselves. Col. Ingersoll, with all his stores of intellectual wit and his brilliant gifts as a popular orator, could not have drawn, a half-century ago, such vast audiences as he attracts to-day, to hear his attacks on evangelical theology. Probably the largest cities could not then have furnished hundreds, where now thousands flock to hear his ridicule of the orthodox creeds,—even if, fifty years ago, he had been allowed to speak in such fashion at all. And, if it be said that he does not really attack the orthodox creeds of to-day, but only the ghosts of past creeds, this interpretation of the fact bears even stronger witness to the progress that has been made. If Col. Ingersoll were talking of things which had never been believed and had no genetic connection whatever with present orthodox beliefs, what possible interest could his lectures have to audiences? It is because he talks of beliefs which have been outgrown just far enough to become subjects of ridicule and yet not so far as not to be recognized as having been veritable creeds, if not even now somewhere in existence, that his topics have so much popular interest.

Next week, we shall draw certain inferences from these several facts of progress, bearing on the question of liberal religious organization and work.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

(Continued.)

IV.

Third Stage.

We perceive that everywhere mighty forces are at work upon the social fabric of the South; that those forces have not been idle in the North; that, in fact, the modelling of society anew upon democratic principles is progressing throughout the Republic; that from every quarter influences are assailing, undermining, besieging the old régime with its inequalities and wrongs. We know that its surrender, if not immediate, is certain, and that, when it comes, it will be unconditional and absolute. We have no fear. We do not doubt. We have an abiding faith that the whole country is in motion, moving according to the everlasting instincts of human kindness to that state where there shall be no white or black, no superior or inferior race, but children all of the same national mother and equals before her laws.

To hasten this time, much devolves upon the colored race. It, too, must be in motion. It, too, must feel the vast push and stir of the social revolution. Its shoulders must strain against the wheel of this immense car, and with invisible allies do its part.

How, then, are the new ideas affecting the social

life of this race and through it the social life of the South? We shall see.

At the close of the war, the blacks numbered about four million five hundred thousand. To-day, they number between seven and eight millions. This increase has been made against all odds,—amid universal lawlessness, misgovernment, and oppression. It speaks of physical health, a certain freshness and vigor. Proves that in the untried struggle for existence during the first twenty years of freedom they have more than held their own. If population is wealth,—in our country, who doubts it?—the blacks have done much toward enriching the South. They have nearly doubled the labor power of that section. Freedom has not deranged its industrial machinery. Notwithstanding the convulsions of this transition period, plantations have glistened with cotton and glowed with rice. These millions have lived and labored, rearing families, erecting churches and school-houses, buying land and building houses. The agricultural interests have prospered through their industry. The blacks have not, then, been a race of sluggards. To this extraordinary increase of numbers must be added a surprising aggregation of wealth. From the condition of chattel slavery, these people have become the owners of millions of dollars in real and personal estate. To industry they have united economy, and back of these are advancing self-respect and self-reliance.

Again, they have attacked their terrible illiteracy with an earnestness and success which have no parallel in the history of education. The old and the young, male and female, have turned their faces toward the light with one accord. The Pentecostal shower of the Alphabet and the Primer made them drunk with the joy of learning. Their thirst for knowledge was stronger, more thrilling, than the wild longing of Xenophon's ten thousand for the sea. By the glimmering glory of pine fagots, they have groped their way to a grander sea, wide-shining and sounding.

The social currents of the race life are flowing then in the right direction. And direction is all-important. Do not misunderstand us. We will not excuse its follies and errors. What we mean is that, notwithstanding these drags and drawbacks, the race is keeping well abreast the revolution,—meeting in a manly way its obligations to itself, the South, and the country.

There is a circumstance articulated to this portion of the subject which must not be overlooked in this discussion, for the part which it is destined to play in the solution of the problem is hardly inferior to any other cause. I refer to the rise of a class of small farmers in the South. It is an event of far-reaching consequence. Before the war, the whites owned not only all the land, but all the labor. This double ownership was the fundamental fact upon which rested the whole Southern system. The legal ownership of labor has disappeared. The exclusive ownership of land is beginning to do likewise. While it is true that the great body of this new class are small white farmers, its tendency to abolish this land monopoly is none the less effective. For, as it increases in strength, it will force distribution upon the South. The cost of production is less for this class than for the great planter class. The great planter class is not able to compete with it in the world's market. It is slowly modifying the landed interest, therefore, by compelling the large holders to adjust themselves to new conditions. These are subdividing and selling or letting a portion, at least, of the patrimonial estate. The rising class is thus re-enforced by a natural movement, and the agrarian wedge enters deeper the trunk of the ancient order.

This innovation reacts favorably upon the colored race. The increasing necessity for land-partition creates an increasing demand for tenants and buyers. The large holders must look largely to the industrious and reliable of this race for the supply. Intelligence, thrift, temperance, domestic well-being, on its part, will enhance the value of Southern property and increase Southern dividends. Common schools for the instruction of the blacks in elementary subjects, industrial schools for their training in the agricultural and the mechanical arts, will steadily grow in public favor, until public opinion makes them compulsory throughout the old slave States.

The struggle of the negro toward a higher life receives incalculable aid from this lateral movement of economic forces. He cannot remain stationary. Rise and advance he must. He will acquire property and knowledge. He will climb slowly, but surely, in the scale of civilized life. With material improvement will come new moral wants and a desire to gratify them. Respectability, a manly self-assertion and independence, will be no laggards. They will knock at the gate of inequality and oppression, and summon them to surrender. And surrender, then, they must. For, with him, irresistible powers are in league. Everywhere, they are fighting his battle, and bearing him to victory. Vast social energies are migrating Southward. They are moving from every quarter,—this Cimmerian host of liberty and equality,—closing in upon wrong, trampling down prescription, saying to the long-suffering victims of American caste, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." When this little flock of the Republic shall have fully entered into the promise, the Southern Problem will be solved; and the union of the two sections under a common government finished by the more perfect union of a common social system.

A. H. GRIMKE.

A PLAN OF ETHICAL STUDY.*

Our aim is to awaken an interest in the study of ethics. What do we mean by ethics? What is its place in the scheme of human knowledge? It differs, of course, from all the physical sciences, in that, while they deal with nature, it deals with man. But ethics also differs from psychology and what is known as sociology; for these deal with what men and societies are, and ethics deals with what they should be. The aim of ethics is to find a supreme rule or rules for human action, whether as individuals or societies. Ethics starts out with a presupposition; namely, that there is *something right* to do in the various circumstances of life,—by right being meant simply what we ought to do. This presupposition cannot be proved, if anybody doubts it. It can only be taken for granted, just as science takes for granted the idea of truth; and ethics seeks to find out what is right, as science, in the strictest sense of the term, seeks to find out what is true.

What is the *special* problem of ethics for us? It is, I may say, to find a supreme rule of action that commends itself immediately to our reason. If our ancestors, five or six hundred years ago, had been asked what was the highest law for men, many of them would have answered, To obey the Church. Two or three centuries later, they would have said, To follow the Bible. Probably some of our own fathers and mothers have taught us to find the rule of life in the teachings of Jesus or of Moses. But the most striking phenomenon in the modern intellectual world is the sense of the humanness and

fallibility of all these authorities. The Church is an assembly of men; the Bible was written by men; even Jesus and Moses were human beings, not essentially unlike ourselves. Why, then, should we bow before them? Even if we do bow before them, there must lie a reason for doing so; and that (reason) must lie in the fact that what they teach voices the instinctive and, perhaps, unconscious ideas of right that are in our own minds. And, if we do not show this reverence, it must be because something within us, at least dimly seen, commands a higher reverence. We have then to leave these ancient authorities out of account, and ask for a rule of action that commends itself directly to us.

It is sometimes held that each man's conscience is itself a divine guide. But the consciences of men vary from one another, the only constant thing being the idea of right and the sense of a sacred obligation to obey it. And what is right, what are the definite rules or rule of action, we have still to determine. And, even if the consciences of men did not vary, the question now is, What do they teach, what do they give us as supreme rules or rule of life? It is not impossible that perfectly mature consciences would agree, would find but one really rational rule of life. We have now only to ask, What is the nearest approach we can make toward discovering that rule? Our attitude is to be one of inquiry. Leaving aside all authority and trying to be as free from superstition about the matter-of-fact sort of consciences we have within us as about the great personages and institutions of the past, we are simply to ask, What is the supreme rule of life? We are to look on it as an open question. As the man of science is ready to be convinced by whatever appeals to his senses, so are we to be ready to be persuaded by whatever appeals to our reason, and to let the rationality of an idea alone determine us in accepting or rejecting it.

It would be quite out of place, then, for me to propose any rule that commends itself to myself. This is not a class in the ordinary sense,—at least, it is not my class. We are rather to learn at the outset what the great minds of the race have said. Our own several opinions, mine and yours, will come more naturally at the close of our investigations than at the beginning.

I have recommended to the committee in charge to take up, first, certain leading scientific writers of our own time. Science is one of the most striking of modern developments, and it will be particularly interesting to learn how men trained in its methods look upon ethics. Darwin is, perhaps, the foremost figure; and he has elaborated a theory in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of Part First of his great work, *The Descent of Man*. This view has been defined and popularized, and presented in most readable and fascinating form, by the late W. Kingdon Clifford, whose brilliant career as a mathematician and physicist was ended all too soon, and whose loss does not cease to be lamented in the higher circles of English thought. Then there is the philosopher who stands in such close sympathy with the scientific movement of our day,—Herbert Spencer,—who has developed an analogous though slightly different view in his *Data of Ethics*. Besides, there is the little treatise of John Stuart Mill on "Utilitarianism."* As the easiest and most taking introduction to our subject, I should recommend Clifford's essays entitled "The Scientific Basis of Morals" and "Right and Wrong," and then the study of Darwin, then of Spencer, and lastly of Mill.

* Remarks made before a class of young people formed for the study of Ethics, at its opening meeting.

* I might add, for those who read German, Dr. Georg von Gitzky's *Grundzüge der Moral*. It were much to be desired that a translation of this excellent little manual of utilitarian ethics might be made.

How should we approach these authors? I should say, in the first instance, simply with the effort to understand them. It is vain to criticise before we understand. In reading, we should let our minds lie open, and receive the full impression of the author's views. Then, perhaps, in a second or third reading, we should try to test those views, critically examine them,—not, of course, to find fault with them nor to defend them, but to see clearly what answer it is they furnish to our problem, and whether the answer really satisfies us. There are two tests we may apply quite impartially and without regard to the particular views we may be inclined to. First, are the rules or rule proposed the highest we can conceive of? Second, is there any duty, anything commended by our instinctive moral sense, that is not covered by the rule? It goes without saying that any moral principle, to be a principle, must be one than which no higher can be conceived; and, also, that, if there is a single duty that is not accounted for by the proposed principle, it is shown thereby to be untrue,—i.e., inadequate.

Later on, we might take up some of the great writers of the past. Kant and Aristotle,—I suppose there are no names quite equal to those in the history of ethical speculation; and, certainly, we should know something of them at first hand. I must not omit to mention, however, a book of the present time that, I sometimes think, will take rank with Kant and Aristotle in the future. In some respects, it is superior to them; for it is marked by a spirit the like of which I have never seen in any other ethical treatise. Most books on ethics advocate and urge a theory. This book seems to be written in search of a theory. I have never witnessed a calmer temper, a more judicial spirit. The leading theories of ethics are classified, and then taken up,—not to disprove or to defend them, but to inquire about them, whether they meet something like the tests I have already mentioned. It is *The Methods of Ethics*, by Henry Sidgwick.

All that I have thus far spoken of relates to the theory of ethics. After satisfying ourselves if it is possible, on this point, I should propose that we pass on to applied ethics. We should consider the duties of the individual in detail, the duties of society. We should take up, for example, not only personal ethics, but the ethics of the family, the ethics of business, the ethics of government. It is in these applications of the supreme principles that ethics will become rich and fruitful. Very clearly, we shall see that ethics is not a copy of facts, but an ideal for facts; that it is not the study of human life as it is, but of those rules obedience to which would bring life to what it should be. We should familiarize ourselves with the ideal of the family, with the ideal of industry, with the ideal of society as organized in the form of the State; and, instead of being dry and stale and commonplace, I suspect you will be surprised at finding how transforming and even revolutionary a genuine ethics would be.

But one word in closing. I trust you will give an illustration here of honest work and temperate and courteous discussion. I would almost say, Never debate here. Debates are often amusing and even convincing to those who take part in them; but these are not always, to use a good old word, edifying. Let each one endeavor to do justice to the author under consideration, and be conscientious in any objections he makes to his views. I should say that the leader or leaders of the evening should make it their special duty to present fair *résumés* of the chapter under consideration, and only after that should others present their difficulties or criticisms, or they themselves indi-

cate their own mind and conclusions about the author's view. And, above all, be expeditious. Discussions can often continue indefinitely, as long as the disputants have strength to speak and listeners patience to hear. But simply to present one's own difficulties or state one's own beliefs, without regard to others, need not take so long. The work should not drag, should not become wearisome to any one.

I am heartily glad, my friends, that you have undertaken this work, and of your own motion. I think you will be doing what no other body of young people in our city is doing. I take it as a fresh proof of the life there is in the younger element of our society; and, with these few words, I bid you a cordial goodspeed!

W. M. SALTER.

A LIFE OF JESUS.*

Since Jesus of Nazareth is worshipped as a god throughout the United States, a work which treats of his life, written by an eminent American, should naturally excite a wide interest.

The difficulty which Christians have in appreciating such a work is purely a literary one. In literary matters, the followers of Jesus are perfectly straightforward. They divide the writings of the world into two great categories, the sacred and the profane. The illustrious period of sacred literature is ushered in by the Decalogue, "written by the finger of God himself on two tablets of stone,"† *Anno Mundi* 2513 or B.C. 1491, just twenty-nine hundred and eighty-one years before the discovery of America by Columbus. The purity of the line of sacred literature is preserved by the ingenious method of declaring that "the Supreme Being is the author of all the books in the Old and New Testaments, as the writers spoke by his immediate inspiration." By this simple and precise arrangement, controversy is silenced; for, if all inspired pens can trace their lineage to "the finger of God himself," there certainly can be no dispute as to the authority of the sacred canon. All works of inspired authors belong to sacred literature. As to other writings, they are profane.

The book under consideration is profane. Its author is not inspired in the vulgar sense of the word. He is simply an eminent citizen and scholar, of unimpeachable character and most humane motives, who has endeavored, after a prodigious amount of study and research, which has been conducted in a perfectly judicial spirit, to state the truth concerning the life and character of Jesus. He has written in an age which is peculiarly rich in materials for forming a correct judgment as to who Jesus really was, the places he visited, the people he associated with, and the doctrines he sought to promulgate.

The first thought that arises after reading Mr. Talbot's book is of the disaster which must come to the beliefs of all Christians who are bold enough to study it. Anything resembling the belief that Jesus was a god is simply impossible, unless Mr. Talbot's numberless authorities and the conclusions which they authorize are false; and we have been unable to detect any inaccuracies among them. The next thought that arises is that Christianity has the power of living on quite independently of any amount of proof that its doctrines are false and that its creed is ridiculous. It is a physical organism which has acquired a sufficient store of vitality to last, for centuries to come, in the midst of the most unfortunate circumstances which it is possible to imagine for it.

If this is the case, it will be asked, Of what use

* *Jesus: His Opinions and Character*. By A. Layman. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1883.

† Exodus xxiv., 12.

are such critical works as Mr. Talbot's? They prove Christianity to be a false religion. They prove the doctrines of Jesus to be hopelessly contradictory and to a large extent unpractical, and yet their effect on the Church is almost imperceptible. It would seem, indeed, that Christians are just as happy and just as contented with themselves after as before these attacks. This question is of the same order as that propounded by a prominent business man of New York, in an eloquent defence of Christianity made recently before the Nineteenth Century Club. "Where are the philosophers and the critics who have opposed the religion of Jesus?" triumphantly demanded the orator. "What do they amount to? The New York Stock Exchange is widely conceded to be an assemblage of men fairly representing the brightness and mental force of our nation. Ask the Stock Exchange, if you will, Where are Immanuel Kant and Auguste Comte and Strauss and Renan; and, in all probability, they will reply that they have never heard of them." Had the speaker not been interrupted by the laughter which this display of innocence elicited, he doubtless would have continued, "Now ask the Stock Exchange who Jesus was, and they will all know."

This *naïve* manner of estimating the comparative extent and significance of reputation admirably explains the position and utility of Mr. Talbot's book. Christians, in general, do know just about as well as the New York Stock Exchange does who Jesus really was. But, until Christians familiarize themselves with the history of thought and the achievements of the great religious critics, they will not know much more about Jesus than the Stock Exchange does; and this is why they continue, obedient to the behest of their priests and ministers, to worship him as a god.

To the careful observer of passing events, it is more and more obvious that there is an aristocracy of intelligence in this country to which a few members of the New York Stock Exchange undoubtedly belong and from which the great body of orthodox Christians is rigidly excluded. This aristocracy is for the most part unconscious of its existence and of its exclusiveness. It is merely the result of that distinction which naturally belongs to minds of good critical ability. The creation of such an *élite* is the inevitable consequence of our government and institutions. The contact of our race with the cosmopolitan culture of Europe has already developed the fact that the American orthodox Christian is simply intolerable. His views of life, of history, and of humanity are so narrow and provincial as to appear grotesque in the eyes of the liberally educated. This state of things is well understood abroad, and it is beginning to be understood at home. It means that orthodox Christianity is regarded by the enlightened world as a species of illiteracy, as decidedly vulgar. And vulgar is merely a synonyme for uneducated, not refined. Such men as Mr. Talbot in the critical world and as Mr. Courtlandt Palmer in the social world are unconsciously, but none the less adroitly, giving form to this natural aristocracy of intelligence; and woe betide Christianity, when it has been discovered that to swing censers before altars, and to elevate the host while the cringing multitude bend the knee, or to affirm the inspiration of the Scriptures or the divinity of Jesus are, in an intellectual sense, coarse and vulgar practices, as they undoubtedly are!

When the illiteracy of orthodox Christianity is more widely understood, such powerful thinkers as Prof. John Fiske and such bright men as Phillips Brooks and R. Heber Newton will find it less advantageous to be classified as followers of Jesus.

RAYMOND S. PERRIN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. CONWAY'S "Armageddon" next week.

"GIORDANO BRUNO AND THE RELATION OF HIS PHILOSOPHY TO FREE THOUGHT," by Thomas Davidson, in pamphlet form, is for sale at *The Index* office. Price, ten cents per copy.

SAYS Dr. Hedge, probably the ablest philosophical thinker among American Unitarians: "There is a greater word than even 'religion,'—a word of farther reach, of more momentous import, including religion with how much else! That word is 'humanity.'"

MR. GLADSTONE is obliged to admit that the science of Genesis, though, as he conceives, supernaturally accurate in the main, is not accurate throughout, so that, according to his hypothesis, the Supreme Being, though deficient in information on certain points, and perhaps believing in the Ptolemaic system, has, considering the circumstances, made a highly creditable approach to truth.—*The Week*.

AS THERE was an error in Mr. Gill's reply to "Smith," as printed in *The Index* last week, the question and answer are here reprinted, with the latter corrected: *Smith*: "If what Brown calls the moon is 'all in his eye,' how is it that Smith sees precisely the same thing?" *Gill*: "Brown and Smith never see the same thing, as all scientists now agree. Smith's experiences answer to Brown's, because both are constructed on the same plan; and the pre-scientific mind confounds lexical correspondence with identity."

GEORGE HENRY LEWES calls the doctrine which he expounds in *Problems of Life and Mind* "Reasoned Realism." He says: "It is a doctrine which endeavors to rectify the natural illusions of reason, when reason attempts to rectify the supposed illusion of sense. I call it Realism, because it affirms the reality of what is given in 'Feeling,' and 'Reasoned Realism,' because it justifies that affirmation through an investigation of the grounds and processes of philosophy when philosophy explains the facts given in feeling."

MRS. JULIA ROMANA ANAGNOS, who died last week, at the age of forty, was the eldest daughter of Julia Ward Howe and the late Dr. S. G. Howe, and wife of M. Anagnos, superintendent of the Perkins Institute for the Blind in this city. She was a woman of culture and benevolence, and her life was a truly noble and useful one. Mrs. Anagnos was president of the Boston Metaphysical Club, at whose meetings she was accustomed to preside with gracefulness and tact. Possessed of rare social qualities, she was personally known to many; and her death is deeply deplored by a large circle of friends.

THE *Independent Pulpit* comes to us this month enlarged to twenty-four pages, every one of which is filled with interesting matter. Under the management of Mr. J. D. Shaw, who for conscience' sake left the Methodist pulpit a few years ago, this monthly has not only gained in circulation, but it has steadily improved in quality; and now it is one of the very best of our free thought exchanges published in this country. Mr. Shaw, who is a good speaker as well as a forcible writer, has done valuable work for free thought in Texas; and we are glad to see that he and his journal are so well sustained. The subscription price of the *Independent Pulpit* is \$1.50 per year. Address, J. D. Shaw, Lock Box 159, Waco, Texas.

"MENTAL SCIENCE MAGAZINE AND MIND-CURE JOURNAL" is the name of a monthly journal published at Chicago in the interest of the new sci-

ence of mental healing. "It does not," its prospectus says, "voice any ism, but advocates a revival of the 'faith once delivered to the saints,' whereby healing from sickness and saving from sin and death are made proofs of divine favor." The editors are Rev. A. J. Swarts and Mrs. Emma Hopkins. Among the contributors to the March number, we notice the names of Dr. W. F. Evans, Dr. J. R. Buchanan, Dr. E. J. Arens, and Mrs. A. M. Diaz. There have already been developed among the representatives and adherents of the "mind-cure method" considerable variety and even contrariety of belief. It seems to be the aim of this journal to afford all a medium for the expression of their thought and the exposition of their theories. The subscription price is \$1 per year. Address, *Mental Science Magazine*, 161 La Salle Street, Chicago.

MR. CLARK IRVINE writes: "You made some mistake in reply to an inquiry as to the oldest books of Scripture in *The Index* of February 4. Evidently, you have not seen Robertson Smith's lecture on the 'Old Testament in the Jewish Church,' the ablest criticism of the Bible ever made. He holds it off, and sees it as a whole, perfect master as he is of Hebrew. He proves that even Ezra was not written by Ezra, let alone Moses by Moses. Scholars must be correct." Our friend seems to have mixed up Amos and Moses badly. Robertson Smith, in his article on "Prophets" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, refers without dissent to the previous article on Amos, when it is said of his discourses, "There never has been a doubt of their genuineness." Our statement that Amos is probably the oldest book of the Bible (about 800 B.C.), remains unimpaired, so far as we know, by anything that Dr. Smith has written.

S. E. CASSINO & Co., Boston, have published *Messianic Expectations and Modern Judaism*, by Rabbi Solomon Schindler, in a handsome volume of two hundred and ninety pages. The preface is by Rev. M. J. Savage. In addition to the ten lectures given last winter under the title of "Messianic Expectations," this book contains seven others; namely, "The Pittsburgh Conference: Its Causes," "The Pittsburgh Conference: Its Work," "Modern Judaism," "The Sinaitic Revelation," "Moses," "Propagation of Religion," "Churches and their Relation to Morals." These lectures, so remarkable for their directness and boldness, have already been widely read, as reported in the Boston daily papers and copied into other journals throughout the country; and, in the substantial and convenient form in which they are now issued, they will, we are confident, be welcomed by many. Copies are for sale at *The Index* office, at \$1.50 per copy.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in the year and month of his inauguration, wrote: "Officers who have been guilty of gross abuses of office, such as marshals packing juries, etc., I shall now remove, as my predecessor ought in justice to have done. The instances will be few, and governed by strict rule, not party passion." In another letter, he said: "Of the thousands of officers, therefore, in the United States, a very few individuals only, probably not twenty, will be removed; and those only for doing what they ought not to have done. I know that, in stopping thus short in the career of removal, I shall give great offence to many of my friends. That torrent has been pressing me heavily, and will require all my force to bear up against; but my maxim is *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*." He concludes his celebrated letter to the New Haven merchants upon the subject of removals with the historic declaration: "The only questions concerning a candidate shall be, Is he honest, Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?"

In eight years, President Jefferson made but thirty-nine removals; and not one of them, he positively affirmed, was made for party reasons.

HENRY GUY CARLETON, in an interesting article in the *Scientific American* on "Rattlesnakes and their Peculiarities," thus refers to the sand or "desert" rattlesnake, so commonly believed to be on friendly terms with the prairie dog, whose burrow he occupies: "I have reason to believe that, when the rattlesnake inserts himself in the bosom of a prairie dog's family, he does so on fraudulent grounds, and is unwillingly entertained. The prairie dog carries no life insurance, and cannot afford a quarrel; and the snake is mean enough to take advantage of him. There is a little, brown, and very comical owl who likewise takes up residence with the prairie dog; but he makes at least a show of earning his rent by remaining at the entrance, and acting as janitor, politely bowing to everybody who passes. Neither snake, dog, nor owl seems to mind the other's presence, but are exceedingly sociable. The strange companionship is explained thus: The prairie dog's burrow is the only shelter afforded the snake from the intense heat of those arid plains; and, as the dog always sinks a well on his premises, it is the snake's only means of getting water, and I have demonstrated to my satisfaction that rattlesnakes speedily perish without it. In return for this hospitality, the rattlesnake takes charge of the census, and thoughtfully prevents the prairie dog from accumulating a larger family than he can conveniently support."

In a lecture on "Progress in Religion," delivered in this city last Friday evening, Rabbi Solomon Schindler said:—

Truth has come to be judged by its own merits, and error can no longer hide behind an illustrious name. Critical analysis has shown that the Bible, instead of being of divine authorship, is the work of many different individuals, and is wholly a human composition. The Liberal of the present age protests emphatically against the canonization of the past. He believes that the world has improved, instead of retrograding; that the ideal man is before us, and not behind us. This plank in the platform of Liberalism is of the highest importance, for it tends to upset the whole religious fabric of the past. If our ancestors are not our superiors in genius, wisdom, and goodness, if we know more than they did, if we are better than they were, why should we be guided by their instructions? Their laws have then no bearing upon us, their authority vanishes, their ideals disappear, and we have the right of legislating for our present wants and needs, as they did for theirs. No law of theirs is binding for us, merely because a Moses, a Lycurgus, or a St. Paul has established it. It can stand only if supported by its own intrinsic merit and if applicable to our present condition of affairs. The intercession of our ancestors as mediators between God and ourselves becomes useless from the moment that we consider ourselves as near, or even nearer, to God than they ever were. In a word, the whole system of religion which is built upon the superior goodness and wisdom of past generations collapses.

A UNITARIAN paper says that there is a moral in the following anecdote, childish as it seems: "A little six-year-old boy entered the house of a Methodist preacher, and told him that he had some kittens that he would like to sell him; that they were straight Methodist kittens, and he would sell them for one dollar apiece. The minister did not care to purchase, and finally the boy left. A few days after, the good preacher went to call upon a Unitarian minister; and, while they were talking, who should come in but the little boy who had the kittens to sell! Going straight up to the Unitarian minister, he commenced to plead with him to buy his kittens, assuring him that they were *Unitarian* kittens, all smart, and he might have them for a dollar apiece. The Methodist

preacher looked at the boy a moment, and then said: 'How is this, little boy? You told me only a few days ago that they were *Methodist* kittens.' 'Ah!' said the little fellow, 'they were Methodist kittens then; but now they've got their eyes open, so they are Unitarian kittens.' If the kittens were Methodists while blind and Unitarians a few days later, when they had just "got their eyes open," what did they become as they outgrew kittenish notions, and abandoned kittenish ways, and developed into full-grown, experienced, thoughtful, discriminating, sensible, and judicious cats? While holding fast to the categorical truths, they probably came to distrust everything dogmatical, whether called by Methodist, Unitarian, or other denominational names.

A CORRESPONDENT writes: "Are you not giving too much space to the discussion of Mr. Abbot's metaphysical and theological ideas, put forth under the imposing title of *Scientific Theism*? They could hardly receive more attention in *The Index*, if they were some great world-revolutionizing discoveries in science, instead of being what they are,—mere speculations, very old, and some of them, it seems to me, the opposite of 'scientific.' Although your own dissent from the conclusions of 'Scientific Theism' is pronounced, you seem to be trying to secure for the work an amount of attention which it does not merit." A scientific or philosophic thinker cannot consistently or fairly assume that his position on debatable questions is the true one, and that an author who differs from him is wrong, and that, therefore, little or no attention should be given to the author. Men do not write books on speculative and philosophical subjects to make money, or to get applause from the multitude; and, when a thinker of ability presents to the public the results of years of study and thought, the least we can do, in common fairness and in the interests of truth, is to give his views careful consideration, and encourage their candid examination by competent minds from every point of view. Whether the discussion result favorably or unfavorably to the views in question, it can hardly fail to stimulate thought and advance the truth. Buckle expressed the correct view of discussion in these words: "The great enemy of knowledge is not error, but inertness. All that we want is discussion; and then we are sure to do well, no matter what our blunders may be. One error conflicts with another: each destroys its opponent, and the truth is evolved. This is the course of the human mind; and it is from this point of view that the authors of new ideas, the proposers of new contrivances, and the originators of new heresies are benefactors of their species. Whether they are right or wrong is the least part of the question. They tend to excite the mind, they disturb the public sloth."

SONNET.

For *The Index*.

Oh, could we but forget! Thank God, we come
From the eternal past, no memory kept
Of those celestial bowers in which we slept
'Mid amaranths and roses,—floated home
O'er seas of amber,—neath the crystal dome
Of unremembered suns and stars! We wept,
And with our tears oblivion came. Then stepped
We through the ivory gates of Life, weird foam
Cast on the shore, forgetful of the coast
From whence it came; and we from thence go on,
Accumulating thought on thought,—wild tossed,
Full-freighted barks, the sad winds making moan
All through our heavy sails; no memory lost
Of all our dire mishaps and griefs,—not one.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

HOLLYWOOD, N.C.

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for MR. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For *The Index*.

"SCIENTIFIC THEISM."

BY DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

(Concluded.)

The true relation of exact science to space is easily understood. Noumenal existence reveals itself in strictly determinate modes of space-occupation. Noumenal changes are indicated by corresponding changes in such space-occupation and, moreover, in specific time-determinations. The business of our exact science is to learn, through most accurate experiential measurement, the specific modes of space and time determination of the natural objects and their changes. These specific determinations, thus fixed in numerical symbols, are available for mathematical operations; and the conformity of mathematical results with natural occurrences rests on the uniform progression of the actual changes undergone by the interacting noumenal powers.

In presence of the question of the veritable noumenal existence of space and its relations, as we actually perceive them, to which Mr. Abbot's pleading for "Noumenism" has been reduced, first by his own exclusion of all data of sensibility, and then superabundantly also by the annulment of space-influence as productive of qualitative distinctions, we have arrived at the very problem which gave rise to the critical philosophy and its peculiar theory of knowledge. Kant had learned from Hume, who thought and wrote under the influence of the "scientific method," that no dialectical trick of pure reasoning, no mere logical operation, can ever extend one jot our knowledge concerning matter-of-fact occurrences. After merely seeing a piece of bread, we might reason about it till the end of time and never find out, without further experience, the other properties it possesses,—how it feels, smells, tastes, nourishes, etc. As Kant himself expresses it, "We can never, by means of our understanding, come to gain an insight how anything can be a cause or possess power: these relations have to be taken altogether from experience." With his profound philosophi-

cal insight, he discerned at once that, if this be really the case, then—inevitably—are we forever and wholly confined in our knowledge to what is actually given to us in perceptual experience, that thought can never transcend the world of sensible facts, that all attempts at metaphysically over-reaching sense-experience must end in nothing but Utopian castle-building. For all that, he himself cherished most devoutly the belief in a sphere of transcendent subsistence. Was there then no way legitimately to prove its veritable existence? Within the whole compass of our legitimate knowledge is there to be found no science which erects its edifice without help of sense-material? If so, perhaps, after all, a justifiable way may be discovered of entering by rights of our human reason the sacred precincts of the intelligible world.

Many years, Kant worked with all his might at this great problem. How can reason, unaided by sense-material, construct valid knowledge? How are synthetical propositions *a priori* possible? At last, he thought he had discovered a way. The apodictic certainty and independence from sense-experience of propositions expressing geometrical relations seemed to warrant the actual existence of such *a priori* propositions, which fact would, in verity, prove the ability of our reason to construct, by force of its own intrinsic functions, universally valid knowledge free of sense-compulsion. How, then, is such spontaneous thinking-feat accomplished? It is obvious that, if anything in geometrical conception,—in the very space-relations by means of which Mr. Abbot hopes to grasp noumenal truth from the sensible side,—if anything assisting in the formation of geometrical propositions is at all derived from sense-experience, then there is an end for good of our hope of ever catching a glimpse of the intelligible world. It was under the influence of such considerations as these that Kant came to discover that space, and then time also, are in reality our own subjective forms of perception; and that all sense-material appears as a passive content of these otherwise empty forms. Now, geometrical constructions being put together without help of external sense-affection, we must evidently—so thought Kant—be gifted with a power of determining from within empty space. This power he named productive imagination. But, moreover,—and this is the pivot on which all mental philosophy turns,—we must also be gifted with a power capable of gathering up, of synthetically apperceiving and comprehending, space-determinations of any kind whatever, whether induced from within or from without. This synthetical power Kant called "understanding," just as Mr. Abbot does in the same sense. Understanding, then, is to these thinkers, and must ever be to all such as assume a constructive force inherent in mind itself, the only synthetizing power anywhere in existence.

It is, therefore, understanding or intelligence which, in Kant's opinion, constructs not only geometrical percepts, but puts also together from mere passive and scattered sense-data the entire perceptive or objective world. "Der Verstand macht allererst Natur." But, in spite of this all but wholly creative power attributed to intelligence, the end result of all Kant's laborious researches he himself sums up in the one supremely momentous and pregnant sentence: "Noumenon non datur scientia." We know nothing of the noumenal, intelligible world. Human intelligence can work only upon given sense-material.

When we consider that, after life-long fervid endeavor, this final sentence contains the deep sigh of resignation, the sacrificial offering on the altar of truth of the highest aspirations of one of the world's greatest thinkers, we bow our head

in profound veneration at so exalted an act of devotional self-denial.

If intelligence were really the synthetical power within us, then there would be no escape from Kant's verdict that nature is made, is actually constructed, by such intelligence. Nay, it can be clearly shown, contrary to Kant's assumption, that the sense-material, coming to us and falling into the empty forms of time and space, that these very "appearances" themselves are through and through synthetical products, and must therefore likewise be made up by the only synthetizing power admitted in existence; that, consequently, the entire world is, in verity, out and out the creation of intelligence.

Mr. Abbot differs here with Kant—the great consummator of Nominalism, Subjectivism, Phenomenalism, in fact, of all the isms he so strenuously opposes—in one single point only. With him, also, intelligence is the sole synthetic power, the sole establisher of relations between things. But, unlike Kant, Mr. Abbot maintains that the relations synthetically apperceived by individual intelligence are the identical relations which actually subsist in the noumenal world. As this is the focus of Mr. Abbot's entire system of "Noumenism," let us clearly summon up before our mental eye the presupposed state of things. In the noumenal world there is an infinite intelligence which creates the system of relations constituting the real cosmos. Our individual intelligence, being also a synthetic power, a constituter of relations, realizes or, in fact, recreates a minute fraction of the infinitely complex noumenal system. Now, this individually recreated fraction, however deficient as a realization of the entire noumenal constitution, is absolutely identical with so much of it as is thereby actually apperceived. We remember that, in the course of our argument, all that is merely "perceived by the sensibility" has been eliminated. Consequently, the entire question turns again only on space-relations; for time-relations are merely incidentally brought in, and their fate goes along with that of space-relations. Are there, then, in noumenal existence space-relations identical with those we individually perceive? Is Kant right in asserting that space is merely a subjective form of our own sensibility, ready for the reception of given sense-material? Or is Mr. Abbot right in maintaining that space itself is an absolute existent, and, like destiny, above all the gods?

He says: "Space and time are not known at all except as the universal conditions of all existence,—as absolute forms of all Thought because, and only because, they are absolute ground-forms of all Being" (p. 168). "The universe as divine object, and therefore the universe as divine subject, are thus absolutely conditioned on Space and Time" (p. 167). "The evolution of the universe" "is the *Infinite Life of God in Time and Space*." The creation of all things, then, takes place on the side of infinite intelligence solely by establishing determinate time and space relations, and on our finite side by re-establishing by dint of our individual intelligence a part of these very same time and space relations. This, then, is the gist of it all, the eternal business of infinite and finite existence. For, as "sensibility is no part of the knowing faculty," "as only related qualities are intelligible," and as "the thing can be understood only by the understanding alone," the understanding or knowing faculty can only comprehend time and space relations. And, as whatever it comprehends is identical with the "immanent relational constitution" of the noumenal world, it follows that this much-yearned-for noumenal world—if it existed at all—would consist of nothing

but intelligibly created space and time relations; would be, in fact, a kind of self-evolutionizing geometry. Mr. Abbot denies that Kant's arguments for the purely subjective or phenomenal subsistence of space are conclusive. The little experiment of the boy and the chair ought, however, to go some way to induce him to reconsider his position. But a still easier and more striking experiment will, rightly considered, entirely settle the matter. Crossing one's fingers in the old Aristotelian way, not, however, over a pea or the tip of one's nose, which objects are then felt double, but placing between the fingers thus crossed a knitting-needle or something similar, Prof. Croom Robertson observed that we recognize not only two distinct tactile impressions; separated from each other by a definite space, but that the impression coming from the finger occupying the upper position in visual space is felt in tactile space to lie *underneath* the tactile impression received from the finger occupying the lower position in visual space, and *vice versa*. This is due to no error of judgment, to no fault of our understanding. It is as positive a perceptual experience as any in nature. This being so, which space, then, is the real one, the tactile or the visual? Or, taking the two, widely separated, tactile impressions, which of them corresponds to the noumenal position of the one object? The fact is the tactile nerves of the fingers enter the central organ in the order actually felt, which means that our apperception of space is dependent on the arrangement and specific energies of our nerve system. When you feel or see a single object double, the nerves have played you that trick. It is not your intellect which is mistaken. There are actually two objects in the field of apperception. Normally, you feel your leg occupying a certain position in space; but the sensory nerve and the leg and its space are gone. "Oh, no! look, the leg is still there." Well, then, the tactile space-relations of the leg being annihilated, there must be another space in existence with other relations. Shut your eyes, and that space, also, together with all its relations, is gone. "But, surely," so idealistic and realistic Transcendentalists aver, "it is not the nerve system that originates space and its relations." Explain, then, intelligibly, scientifically, how space-perceptions are actually formed. When you hold an orange in your hand, you feel it, by means of that very hand, occupying a certain space and having a certain form: you see it, also, by means of your eyes, occupying the same space and having the same form. The sensory points of the hand and those of the eye, through which the respective impressions are conveyed to the brain, are two feet distant from each other. They convey to the central organ the impressed relations on two entirely different roads. Are these two entirely different sets of relations reaching the brain unified there by the intellect? Quite obviously, the intellect has nothing at all to do with their unification. They appear in consciousness at once fully and magically unified as one single percept. There is no mental elaboration at all at play.

Here is a man who has lost his arm years ago. He, nevertheless, distinctly feels his missing arm and hand occupying a definite position in space. He can even move his missing fingers just as he used to do when the hand was still there. This is what actually happens, what he truly apperceives within tactile space. His intellect is forced to acknowledge the fact, is forced to admit that, though no noumenal existence whatever corresponds to this compelled apperception, yet there it unmistakably is. Surely, the power that can thus create a tactile arm with no noumenal presence

to go upon will be found competent to do any amount of such like work. Dreams and hallucinations, the most positive proof imaginable of a subjective origination of space and all its relations, are declared by Mr. Abbot to be unreal, because they are not "regulated by the intellect." If the order of our perceptive world—all we feel, see, hear, smell, and taste—were in the least dependent for its perceptual realization on regulation by the intellect, we ourselves and the rest of it would then, indeed, be in a most pitiable and desperate fix: our perceptual world would immediately crumble into disconnected atoms, and we ourselves would perish before an hour was over.

We have to come to a positive decision about these relations. It will not do to go on seesawing, generation after generation, on questions so fundamental that on the answer given must to us, as intelligent beings, depend at last our whole course in life. The alternative lies between spiritual Transcendentalism and its ethical consequences or Naturalism and its very different ethics. Mr. Abbot himself is a genuine spiritual Transcendentalist, as will clearly appear; and science and its method have no room in the philosophy of intellectual creation.

Every individual carries his potential space about with him, as a functional capacity irradiating from his apperceptive focus. Everything that affects his skin, his retina, or even his other organs of sense, energizes definite positions of this space-sensibility. Thus, the veritable noumenal order of existents is only symbolically reproduced in this subjective medium. When we consider how comparatively few and selected are the attuned points which we offer to the entire scale of objective agitations, and what an immensely complex organic effect a few slight objective hints awaken in us; how, furthermore, this complex commotion results in a harmonized and significant percept within our unitary apperception,—we may come to feel that we stand before a far more profound mystery than one of perceptive realization through a mere intellectual mirroring of a system of preformed noumenal relations.

We have seen that our world of perception is not the result of a coalescence of the noumenon-object and noumenon-subject; that the immanent relational constitution of the noumenal world is in every respect utterly unintelligible to us; that even the bare space-relations, to which we found ourselves at last reduced, are, in reality, purely phenomenal revelations, in which the creative synthesis of intelligence plays no part whatever.

Herewith, this special investigation, urged by no other impulse than our common philosophical "striving after truth," may be considered to have reached its goal. For the entire transcendental superstructure of "Noumenism" falls untenably to pieces with the disintegration of its basis. As the immanent relational constitution of the noumenal world is not intelligible,—as, furthermore, finite intelligence is not the power which builds up or creates our perceptive order,—the conclusion is inevitable that infinite intelligence, as analogically conjectured, is not the power which creates the noumenal order, not the power which originates and energizes the immanent system of relations constituting the noumenal universe.

III.

The Universe neither Alive nor Organic.

Mr. Abbot, in contemplating the adaptation of means to ends, recognizes that "the finite intelligence originally deals with relational systems only in that which is given to it from without," while "an infinite mind would necessarily originate from within both matter and form of the

relational systems." "Hence," he says, "there must be unessential differences between the finite and infinite intelligence" (p. 149). The *unessential* difference which Mr. Abbot here notices is simply the one between my using a given tree for some purpose or other or making the tree myself, between employing ready-made material or creating it, between newly ordering the pre-existent powers which make up the immanent relational constitution of things or originating *de novo* these very powers themselves. This distinction Mr. Abbot has to call unessential, in order to uphold his system of Noumenism; for, then, "the nature of intelligence, as such, is"—rather, has to be—"identical in all possible forms and degrees" (p. 150). The fact is, in the whole wide range of actuality and potentiality, there can exist no difference more fundamental and essential than the one here slurred over. If we could, scientifically, get the very least inkling of how the system of interacting powers which constitutes the noumenal universe comes to exist and to display its activity, then, indeed, should we have succeeded at last in forcing a peep "behind the veil."

Mr. Abbot labors hard to make out that the cosmos is a huge, space-filling existent, livingly evolving itself in time,—an "infinite organism," as he calls it. To show the utter inadequacy of this—in our scientific era—far-fetched analogical conception, no attempt need be made to pierce into the realm of transcendental subsistence, as we were compelled to do in seeking for "infinite intelligence." The facts for actual comparison in this case are given in one and the same realizing medium. Here before us is the real organism, and there the real cosmos, or, at least, such a part of it as will either clearly sustain or clearly overthrow the analogical conception. Mr. Abbot tells us that the chief characteristics of an organism are that it "lives and grows." Now, the growth of an organism means, *essentially*, that a germ derived from a pre-existent organism reconstitutes a nearly exact copy of the organism it came from. Does, perchance, the growth of the "infinite organism" tend to reconstitute a nearly exact copy of another infinite parent organism from which it is derived? The life of an organism means, *essentially*, that, in the functionally disintegrating interaction with its environment, it maintains itself by reintegrating its structure with complementary material appropriated from the environment. Has, then, the "infinite organism" any environment in the interaction with which it can carry on any kind of living function?

We are dealing here with solemn problems. It behooves us punctiliously to give ourselves up to the guidance of verified truth, to submit with utmost fidelity to what nature scientifically teaches us. A mind not versed in scientific research can hardly imagine how great must be the self-negation, how complete the subordination of individual opinion and bias to actual fact, that go to make a true scientist. Mr. Abbot tells us that "it is no longer possible to point out where the line is to be run between living and non-living matter" (p. 185). Now, this very line between living and non-living matter is, of all lines, the sharpest possible that can in any way be run among material things. It is true we can artificially induce the formation of chemical compounds, which we call organic, because, normally, they are derived only from organic beings. One can possibly argue that no very clear line can be run, from a chemical stand-point, between substances thus called organic or inorganic. But, between a substance that is alive and one that is not alive, the difference is radical. Just watch, only for a few minutes, under the microscope, a moner, the sim-

plest "living matter" in existence, and you will become immediately aware of the unsurpassable gulf that separates its most specific and complex activity from all the dead particles around.

The peculiarities of life clearly realized, who would, with Mr. Abbot, maintain that "on the right settlement of the question whether the universe must be viewed as wholly organic or wholly inorganic at last depend all the highest ideal hopes, all the highest moral interests, all the highest religious aspirations of mankind"? (p. 186.) If this were indeed the decisive alternative, then *lasciamo ogni speranza*: with a wail of infinite despair, let us withdraw once for all from the cruel and meaningless sport. For the universe is in all reality wholly inorganic as well as wholly lifeless. The scientific method has to deal with stern facts, not with wishful imaginings. A substance or anything else is called organic or inorganic solely on account of its molecular structure, and its derivation either from organic beings or from inorganic things. Now, outside of plants, animals, and their remains, we can discern in the whole universe, from its farthest worlds, whose rays still make their way to our spectrum, to all the familiar substances that compose our own globe,—in the entire material world, we can discern nothing whatever that may legitimately be called organic. It is quite certain, then, that the universe is neither alive nor organic.

Mr. Abbot, in this fanciful investment of the cosmos with organic life, is as much mistaken as the Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Stoics of old, who did the same thing. Evolution, rightly understood, has not, as is often believed, abolished teleology altogether. It must be admitted that the universe is a most complex system of immanent relations. But, here again, the mystery of such universal co-adjustment of interactions lies far deeper than our shallow-sounding thought has yet come to fathom.

Casting a dazzled glance at the throng of visionary analogies bursting upon our view as surmised life-manifestation of the cosmic organism, at what final conclusion do we find Mr. Abbot eventually arriving? He emphasizes Bichat's great distinction between the two lives, the organic and the relational; between the life which subserves the "indwelling or immanent End," incarnate in the entoderm, and the other life which subserves the "outgoing or exient End," incarnate in the ectoderm. Mr. Abbot distinctly recognizes that, so far as finite organisms are concerned, the relational life subserving the exient end is vastly superior to the organic life subserving the immanent end. The latter, he himself tells us, is the life of "self-preservation," "self-development," "legitimate selfishness." The former—the exient, relational life, namely—is the life of "self-sacrifice," "self-devotion," "legitimate unselfishness." The two lives of the finite organism, taken together, accomplish, however, according to Mr. Abbot, well-nigh everything that is worth accomplishing in this world. He says, "The immanent end shows itself, by the pursuit of happiness, of knowledge, of moral and religious culture in general; 'by the foundation and fostering of institutions of all sorts for the preservation and spread and progress of civilization, and so forth; while the exient end shows itself in the reproductive and philoprogenitive instincts, in patriotism, in philanthropy, in devotion to the discovery of truth, and so forth; but, above all, in the supreme activity of love, veneration, and self-consecration'" (pp. 192, 193).

If it were profitable, we might argue that the "infinite organism," having only "internal ends," must be devoid of what we universally consider the higher faculties; for these are embodied solely in the relational life, in the life of exient ends.

No organism can fulfil these higher relational ends, unless it find befitting outside existence to fulfil them with. Indeed, as even, according to Mr. Abbot, the "human understanding and the will" "create absolutely," "in the world of actual existence," all those "systems of objectively real relations" (p. 117) which compose the veritable medium for the exertion of the relational life, including everything to which we attribute any real worth, what becoming sphere of action is, in truth, left for the "infinite understanding and will"? Under Mr. Abbot's own guidance, we have found that the "infinite understanding and will" are, indeed, wholly occupied with the abstract and empty task of constructing the infinite geometrical relations which our finite understanding then partly apprehends as a veritable but inadequate revelation of noumenal existence. Contemplating the wealth of our human life of finite relations, we feel almost tempted to exclaim with the great Christian mystic Angelus Silesius:—

"Ohne mich kann Gott auch kein nun mehr leben.
Wenn ich nicht wär', müsst er den Geist aufgeben."

"Scientific Theism," closely examined, appears as one more vain effort to transport human intelligence—out of its proper sphere among sense-manifestations—far away into the Utopian realm of intelligible subsistence. Like Berkeley's early thought, it sets out by proclaiming the identity of perception and being, exulting in the coalescence of the finite and the infinite presence within the luxuriant actuality of perceptual revelation. It ends by substituting for the spontaneous mystery of the all-containing perceptual manifestation the eviscerated expanse of infinitely vacant space and time relations. Like Berkeley's later thought, it summons from out the empyrean waste the creative power of infinite intelligence, to construct in abstract self-sufficiency a perfect order of existence. From within human life, individual intelligence is then set to recreate, by dint of growing recognition, this same higher, sense-purified, intelligible reality,—finite intelligence identifying itself with infinite intelligence by reconstructing its purely intelligible order. "Hence," says Mr. Abbot, "man's present intelligence, if only infinitely expanded without the slightest change in its essential nature, would be thereby rendered adequate to the absolute comprehension of the absolute All" (p. 148). Here, also, the same old, old story,—a blank, ratiocinative formula filled up with human sensibility and suffused with human emotion, human thought felt as a tiny islet of inadequate recognition emerging from the infinite expanse and profundity of all-comprising perfection; the goal of human striving, a widening and deepening of such recognition, so as, at last, to become one with the "absolute All." This, in essence, is also the creed of "Scientific Theism." And, in truth, it is a goodly company in which we find its high-minded author, including many of the greatest and most aspiring souls that have ever lived. What profusion of sublime enthusiasm has been sunk into this emotional abyss of boundless fulfilment ever since the human heart began to crave for ideal perfection! We mean, therefore, no personal disparagement, no irreverential disregard, by once more exposing to severe scrutiny the vagaries of the spiritual assumption. Spiritual Transcendentalism has ever been a lofty creed.

Still, it is the same old, Oriental, world-sick philosophy and religion, seeking victory over the arduous stress of actual life, over the ever-anxious, never-completing strain of temporal exertion, seeking joy unalloyed or restful ease by admittance at last to the eternal fulness of beatified Perfection, if not to the absolute quiescence of Nirvana.

What we are in need of in our new, hope-abounding, Occidental world is a philosophy and religion of life itself,—a nature-rooted creed that will hallow human achievement by its fervid devotion to the common weal.

"Surely, whoever speaks to us in the right voice, him or her, we shall follow,
As the water follows the moon, silently with fluid steps
anywhere around the globe."

CORRESPONDENCE.

CRITICISM.

Editors of The Index:—

Dear Sir,—I noticed in last *Index* a review of a book called *Social Wealth*, by J. K. Ingalls, in which you quote the author's definitions of the terms Interest, Profit, and Rent. Interest, it seems, is "a fraudulent claim of one party to an exchange, by which a charge is made for the flight of time between the inception and completion of an exchange"; Profit is "a false entry in the business ledger, in which a dealer charges time for the same thing"; and Rent is "an immoral tax." The review speaks of the "real merits of the volume and the intelligence, earnestness, and independence of the author"; but I think that any rational reader would be more disposed to question the sanity than to recognize the intelligence of the author. There is a sort of diseased fervency about the socialistic writers of the present day, which may be called earnestness; but it is not deserving of so fine a name. They seem to fix their minds so completely and abstractedly on the cases of the Stewarts, the Vanderbilts, and the Goulds that they lose sight of the true nature of capital, and do not appear to have the slightest conception of its fertilizing effects on the commerce and manufacturing industries of the world. Interest, so far from being "a fraudulent claim," is a deliberate bargain between lender and borrower, by which the borrower agrees to pay to the lender a portion of the profits he will make on the use of the money. Profit, instead of being "a false entry in the business ledger," is the legitimate reward of the merchant who brings the products of far distant lands and places them at the consumer's door, or who buys the goods of the manufacturers and carries them within reach of the poorest laborer in the land. He is engaged in a great public service. The difference between the price which he pays for his goods and that at which he sells them is his profit, on which he lives and pays the expenses of his business. Only the diseased mind of a socialist could see anything false about it. Rent is a charge made for the use of land or buildings. So far from being "an immoral tax," it is a great boon to the houseless, who have no means of building for themselves, and who would otherwise be deprived of shelter for their families. Something will always be paid for the use of land, whether we go by Henry George's nostrum and call it tax, or whether we call it rent. Nobody will pay for the use of land, unless he sees a fair prospect of making his living by it. I should not like to put much trust in the morality of a man who sees anything immoral in rent. It is the duty of every man, out of the produce of his labor, to lay something by for old age. To do this, it is, in the majority of cases, necessary that he should deny himself many indulgences; and he must feel assured that his accumulations will belong to himself and to nobody else. If he puts his savings into the shape of a house, and hires it to a man who has no means of building for himself and who cheerfully pays for the accommodation, there is a mutually beneficial exchange of services. No sane man would dream of calling the bargain an immoral one.

It does not seem easy to reason with men capable of giving utterance to such absurdities; but, considering the mischievous effects such ideas may have on ignorant minds, I think it is the duty of the press to take every opportunity of exposing them and explaining the fallacies on which they rest.

J. G. WHYTE.

OTTAWA, CAN., 19th Feb., 1886.

[A writer may have very erroneous and absurd views on one or more subjects, and yet be, as we think Mr. Ingalls is, intelligent, earnest, and independent. A mere statement of the theories above criticised was

thought sufficient, without any attempt to point out to the readers of *The Index* their fallacious character.

B. F. U.]

TIME.

Editors of The Index:—

Herbert Spencer, as quoted by Mr. Underwood in a recent able article, says that time is the blank form of all succession and coexistence. Is not this to define by covertly slipping the thing to be defined into the definition as the defining term, thus defining it only by itself, with a show of doing much more? For what is succession? A mode of relation in time. And what is coexistence? Another mode of relation in time. What, then, is it that Mr. Spencer says? Why, that time is the blank form of relation in time. That is, it is the blank form of itself as a ground and order of relation between objects or events,—the blank form of relation in the same blank form? To my poor wits, such a definition seems proper to a rather blank form of philosophy. I can make nothing of it, and beg to be instructed. To define anything whatsoever as the blank form of blank-form relation is to speak in terms that will remain quite meaningless to me until I shall, if God will, get light upon the matter from wiser men. And, obviously, this is done in defining time as the blank form of time-relation. Time is, no doubt, an order of relation. Our idea of it as such, whether acquired or innate, is a simple, irresolvable datum of the mind. As applied to objects and events, it has two modes, synchronous and serial relation. With what propriety it can be called the blank form of its own modes, I do not see, nor by the small force of my unaided wits am I likely ever to see. I see only that, when abstracted from all actual relation in time, it becomes a purely abstract conception,—of course.

D. A. W.

[Mr. Spencer's views and reasonings in regard to space and time may be found in the second volume of his *Psychology*. They cannot be disposed of by any such criticism as the above. The discussion of the subject would require more space than we care to give to it, considering the comparatively few interested in such a discussion.—B. F. U.]

KINDNESS OF D. A. W.

Editors of The Index:—

Please permit me to express my warmest thanks to D. A. W. for his singularly generous allowance that I may call myself a goose if I wish, and for his humble confession—the justice of which I am incompetent to dispute—that the term is often applicable to himself. I hope he will also allow that I am at liberty to refrain from thus characterizing myself, which, in public at least, I do not propose to do.

Respectfully,

WM. I. GILL.

P.S.—I am almost sorry that my style has such power on the mind of D. A. W.

BOOK NOTICES.

SARAH AND ANGELINA GRIMKÉ: *The First American Women Advocates of Abolition and Women's Rights*. By Catherine H. Birney. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1885. pp. 319.

In reading this record of the wonderful and gifted Grimké sisters, it seems almost possible to believe—as they did in their own cases—in the supernatural "setting apart" of some lives for a higher "mission" than that of common men and women. These two, out of a family of fourteen, with twelve years' disparity in their ages, the daughters of John F. Grimké, a wealthy and influential Southern gentleman of Charleston, S.C., born, as they were, in a slave-holding community, and accustomed from birth to the ministrations of a race held in bondage; brought up in luxury, and with no environment which could be expected to give any impulse toward the life of reformers,—it is wonderfully interesting to note the gradual processes which changed the whole tenor of their lives, and made of these modest, refined, cultured, fashionable, and, above all, conscientious young girls the evangelists of abolition, the irrepressible pioneers in the woman's rights cause, the faithful defenders of liberty of conscience in religion, the daring advocates of free speech, and self-denying philanthropists, who were known to the world as Sarah Grimké and Angelina Weld.

It was conscience, awakened by common sense and inspired by religious devotion, which first gave them an impetus toward the glorious though unattractive path of reform. They became, early in life, searching for some higher incentive of living, religious devotees, almost fanatics. Sarah, the eldest, drifted, in this search, from Episcopacy—the family religion—to Methodism, thence to the Quaker belief, and at last into a more liberal but earnestly held religious faith. Angelina, the younger, more beautiful and more intense, found her way out from Episcopalianism, through Presbyterianism, into Quakerism, and so to a broader religious outlook.

When we read how, during the first years of their more enthusiastic religious life, the sisters, at different periods, "labored" with the other members of their family; how they constantly "bore testimony" against the evils of slavery, in the midst of a slave-owning circle of friends and relatives; how Sarah was severely "exercised" in mind because of the acceptance of a handsome umbrella from her brother Henry, a slaveholder, and finally returned it; how Angelina refused for a time to enter her mother's drawing-room, because of its too handsome upholstery and adornments; how they both abandoned all finery or display in dress, and took their finest lace veils, flounces, trimmings, etc., to stuff a cushion with, believing it would be a sin even to give such gaudy trappings to any one else, for fear of encouraging vanity; how they both sacrificed their favorite novels by cutting them up; how they thought it wrong to jest or be merry; how their commonplace and conservative mother was worried by these and other conscientious antics of these "ducklings" of hers,—we can guess that they must have been, in spite of—nay, because of—their goodness, very uncomfortable members of an aristocratic, ease-loving, luxury-enjoying Southern family.

But, while the reader sympathizes involuntarily with the alternately shocked and bored relatives, whose most sacred family traditions were so sternly attacked by these "foes in the household," it is impossible not to admire the genuine earnestness of these two high-souled, truth-loving, truth-speaking, and truth-living sisters, whose noble conscientiousness, though severe and strained, restores one's faith in the possibility of keeping true to one's highest ideals, even in this age of seeming superficiality, shams, and indifferences.

Nothing could more strongly reveal the evils of slavery, not only in its effects upon the dependent people who suffered most directly from it, but upon those who assumedly reaped what benefits were to be derived from it, than the horror with which the practical working of the system inspired Sarah and Angelina Grimké, although they were "to the manner born."

It reads more like a romance than a prosaic statement of facts which really occurred within the memory of some living, when we read how these daughters of the South renounced a luxurious home, tender family ties, high social position, dear friendships, with all the pomps and vanities usually so enticing to girlish hearts, at the dictate of conscience, pleading in behalf of humanity, and entering their unflinching protest against slavery as a sin in the very stronghold of the evil. The story of such lives is full of inspiration toward higher living and thinking.

The Anti-slavery Movement, appealing as it did to the sympathies of women and arousing intense interest among the most thoughtful, earnest, and feeling of that sex, who were, however, forbidden by usage, precedent, and prejudice to take any effective active part in a work so suited to them, very soon turned attention to the anomalous position of women in society. Among the first to arouse public opinion to a discussion of this position, by inveighing against the injustice done their sex, were the Grimké sisters. It was in 1836 that they began to give public lectures against slavery; and, in the following year, we find Angelina expressing herself thus in a letter to a friend: "At Friend Chapman's, . . . I had a long talk with the brethren on the rights of women, and found a very general sentiment prevailing that it is time our fetters were broken. . . . I feel that it is not the slave only that we plead, but the cause of woman as a moral responsible being."

From this time on, she (and her sister Sarah as well) worked as earnestly for one cause as for the other, and bravely spoke at all times her sincere convictions in regard to the injustice done to women,

even when advised by such staunch friends of the women's cause as John G. Whittier and Theodore D. Weld (whose beloved and loving wife she afterward became) "to let it [the question of women's rights] alone for the present, because it will involve topics of such vast importance, . . . and the wrongs of the slave are so much greater than the wrongs of woman they ought not to be confounded," etc.

The records of the Anti-slavery and Woman Suffrage Movements would be incomplete without these memoirs of two brave, bright, devoted women; but, apart from the light thrown upon the gradual progress of these movements, this volume has a charm all its own in the romantic story it unfolds, with many strange and touching episodes and incidents, which we have no space even to hint at here. The one thing lacking in the volume, nicely bound and printed as it is, and concise in its statement, is portraits of each of the sisters, which would give added interest to the biographical sketches. S. A. U.

A SHORT HISTORY OF NAPOLEON THE FIRST. By John Robert Seeley, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, and author of *Ecce Homo*, etc. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1886. pp. 315. Price \$1.50.

As is well known, Prof. Seeley has for years made Napoleon and his times a subject of careful study. And, when the publication of the work was announced, it was expected that it would prove a profound analysis of the theme, a philosophical as well as an historical treatment of the Corsican's wonderful career, and a real contribution to Napoleonic literature. The expectation is fully sustained. The work is no mere compilation from ordinary authors, nor a mere condensation of others' views. Prof. Seeley has studied the despatches preserved at the Record Office, the Napoleonic correspondence, and availed himself of sources but recently opened,—Jung's works, Hüffer's, Von Sybel's, Count Boulay de la Meurthe's study of the Egyptian Expedition; the Memoirs of Hardenberg, edited by Ranke; Oncken on the *War of Liberation*, and original researches now being made by A. Stern. In this volume is incorporated the substance of the author's article, occupying thirty-six pages in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A third of the volume, which is entirely new, deals with Napoleon's relation to his age, his place in the history of France and of Europe; and it is especially valuable for its political generalizations. The author endeavors to write without prejudice or passion, but this is something very difficult for an Englishman, writing of Napoleon, to do; and Prof. Seeley does not, we think, succeed completely. Yet the work is one of the best short histories of Napoleon's career, if not the best, that has been published. A likeness of the remarkable man, from a portrait painted by Boilly, accompanies the book; and on page 236 are two views of his head from a cast taken after death. B. F. U.

NATURAL THEOLOGY, OR RATIONAL THEISM. By M. Valentine, D.D., ex-President of Pennsylvania College and Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Penn. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1885. pp. 274. Price \$1.25.

This volume comprises the substance of lectures given to the students of Pennsylvania College, and furnishes a compendious statement of the various theistic evidences, made with such judicious modifications as the author believed requisite to make these evidences harmonize with the best accredited thought and knowledge of our times. The evidence is divided into "Presumptive," "Ontological," "Cosmological," "Teleological," and "Moral"; and "The Attributes of the Deity" and "The Relation of God to the Universe" are discussed at some length. While the book offers no original view of the theistic question, it has decided merit as a comprehensive and concise presentation of what may be advanced in support of natural theology. In the concluding chapter, Dr. Valentine declares that this natural theology vindicates the existence of God, but that it can give only a partial view of God's character; that it leaves us in ignorance of one specific end in life and the means of accomplishing it; that it gives intimations of immortality which yet fail to bring it to full light; that it furnishes no remedy for sin; and that men left to the mere light of nature and reason are lacking in the knowledge necessary to a right and happy life. A supernatural revelation is therefore necessary, and that we have in the Old and New Testaments. B. F. U.

The opening article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for March, "Biological Teaching in Colleges," is by Prof. W. G. Farlow, of Harvard University. In "A Thinking Machine," Prof. Grant Allen shows the insufficiency of the ultra-materialistic way of accounting for mental phenomena. In "Health and Sex in Higher Education," Dr. John Dewey, of Michigan University, presents the results of the first properly directed effort that has been made to ascertain, from the facts, the average influence of college study upon large numbers of young women who have been engaged in it. "Prom to Genesis" is Mr. Gladstone's reply to Prof. Huxley's "Interpreters of Genesis and Interpreters of Nature." Dr. Charles C. Abbott discusses the value of the "Animal Weather Lore," on which country people relied more before the civil service reports were started than they do now. Prof. Edward S. Morse furnishes an illustrated article on "Japanese House Building"; Dr. Samuel A. Fisk presents the advantages of "Colorado as a Winter Sanitarium"; Dr. Heinrich Mayr discusses the "Durability of Resinous Woods"; Dr. Grace Peckham considers the condition of "Infancy in the City"; Mr. N. H. Egleston speaks a word in favor of the general institution and observance of "Arbor Day"; Mr. Lansing has an instructive paper on "Discrimination in Railway Rates," and Chauncey Smith's article on "The Influence of Invention upon Civilization" is concluded. A portrait and biographical sketch are given of Sir John Bennet Lawes, the founder and manager of the famous Agricultural Experiment Station, at Rothamstead, Eng. The editor, at his "Table," has some very plain talk on a recent case of "literary piracy." New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The March *Wide Awake* opens with one of Lungen's best frontispieces, "Under the Electric Light," a brilliant night scene, and some charming verses by Edgar Fawcett, entitled "Pictures on the Pane." Among its many attractions are a stirring poem by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, "The Tenement House Fire," illustrated by Hassam; "An Unintentional Chase for a Polar Bear," by Fred Schwatka; "Stoned by a Mountain," by Rose Kingsley; and "The Horsehouse Deed," a story of colonial times, by Mary F. Wilkins. There is a brief sketch, with portrait, of Mrs. H. B. Stowe, a poem by James Berry Bousel, with many other interesting articles, stories, and poems.

The February number of the *Revue de Belgique* contains the third and last part of D'Alviella's "Religious History of Fire." This is summed up in four periods. 1. Man knows fire, but cannot use it. 2. He can use it, but not produce it. 3. He can light it by rubbing or knocking bits of wood or stone together. 4. He has invented such means of lighting it as the flint and steel, mirrors, lenses, and matches. There is also an account of a journey from Zanzibar to Kerema, and a review of the laudatory Report on Primary Instruction in the United States, recently presented to the French minister of public instruction by M. Passy.

"LIPPINCOTT'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE" for March, in addition to its two serial stories, has an interesting short one by Brander Matthews, entitled "Perchance to Dream." The poems in this number are by John B. Tabb, F. D. Sherman, Clinton Scollard, and Helen Gray Cone. Lawrence Hutton discourses of "The American Play," which he declares is yet to be written. The most notable article is one by W. H. Babcock, entitled "Song-games and Myth-dramas at Washington." Randle Holme writes of "The One Pioneer of Tierra del Fuego."

The New York *Fashion Bazar* for March, in addition to its large colored fashion plate, contains twelve full-page and a large number of half-page illustrations of latest styles in dresses, wraps, hats, bonnets, etc., for ladies and children, with full explanations in regard to their many fashion notes. And also long instalments of charming stories, written by "The Duchess," Mary E. Bryan, and others, with many domestic hints and recipes. Published by George Munroe, New York. \$3.00 per year.

"OUR LITTLE ONES AND THE NURSERY" for March sustains its reputation as a juvenile zoological magazine by its stories of "A Feathered Hero," "The Pet Seal," "Coonle," "A Bad Neighbor" (a mud-fish),

"Scamp and the Dutch Dog," "A Hotel for Dogs," "The Mouse and the Music-box," and a story of a pet lamb, entitled "Pete in the House." All these, with the other stories and poems of the number, are accompanied on every page by handsome illustrations by the best artists.

The March number of the *Pansy* is as bright and winning as its flower namesake. It has good serials from Pansy herself and from Margaret Sidney; while every branch of good reading is represented,—history, natural science, travel, behavior, and morals,—all in the most entertaining style. *Pansy* is only ten cents a number. D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, Mass.

GENERALLY, what hinders discussion is irritation; and irritation and anger start up from a great many sides and from a great many reasons. Directly people's own pet theories are controverted, a natural resentment takes possession of them; and when this is the case, in however small a degree, there is no hope, or little hope, of a satisfactory conclusion being come to from any argument they may embark in.—Unknown.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MR. GLADSTONE declined last week to recommend the appointment of a day for national humiliation and prayer because of the distress among the working classes.

SAYS the Boston correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*: "Joseph Cook is not making the stir with his Monday lectures he used to make. They are an old story now, and have lost their bloom."

THIS item is from one of our Boston dailies: "A Boston publisher gives as his opinion that there is no such profitable piece of book property as 'a novel with a great deal of religion in it; not too much, but a good deal.'"

WHEN Gov. Robinson appoints April 8 to be kept throughout this Commonwealth as "a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer," knowing that it will be a day of unusual feasting and merriment, he indulges in religious cant, and none the less so because the meaningless words appear in an official proclamation.

MR. GLADSTONE, in the Irish Reform scheme which he has formulated, is evidently far in advance of public opinion in England; and if, in spite of all opposition, his great influence shall induce the majority of the electors of the United Kingdom to support his measure, his success as a leader will be one of the most remarkable in the political history of modern times.

IN response to a letter of request signed by many prominent New York people, among them Felix Adler, Carl Schurz, E. L. Youmans, George William Curtis, Parke Godwin, Robert Collyer, the poets Stedman and Stoddard, and others quite as well known, Mr. M. D. Conway has consented to give four lectures at the University Club, Madison Square, on the evenings of April 1, 8, 15, and 22. The subjects will be "The England of To-day," "London: Its Prose and Poetry," "The English in India and Australia," and "The English Church and the Question of Disestablishment." Mr. Conway's impressions, derived from his long residence

in England and his visits to some of its colonies, cannot fail to be deeply interesting.

THE funeral of Senator Miller, of California, cost the government about \$20,000. A special train of four cars was considered necessary to convey the body, the wife and daughter, one senator and five congressmen, to the Pacific Coast. "What the expense would have been," says the *Springfield Republican*, "had the death been better timed for a pleasure trip and thus attracted a full committee of senators, it is only possible to surmise. All congressmen do not, however, come from so distant a State; and the ordinary expense of a funeral is from \$5,000 to \$7,000,—luxurious apartments at hotels, champagne *ad libitum*, and generally high living being, according to congressional usage, essential for the proper expression of poignant grief." For the extravagance of congressional funerals there is no excuse, and it ought to cease at once.

SAYS the London *Secular Review*, whose editor is himself a Scotchman: "When a Scotsman is common, he is damnably common, and egregiously inflated with the most irritating kind of conceit. What struck us when we visited Ecclefechan was that such a cedar as Carlyle ever grew from such a midden as the nadir of the Scottish peasantry. In and about Ecclefechan, we found some specimens of the most ignorant of all God's creatures. Hardly a soul we met seemed to have read a line of Carlyle. He had shot up completely from them, and above them, like the terrible pyrotechnics of a volcano from the uninteresting expanse of a stercorous swamp. Not a man seemed proud of him, not a woman seemed to have the faintest idea why people from a distance made a fuss about him; but they were all anxious enough to turn a penny over him, if they could only know how."

MANY of our business men who in past seasons have gone to Florida and other Southern States, to escape the February and March weather at home, have this year followed the line of the Mexican Central Railroad into the land of the Aztecs. *El Monitor Republicano* of the City of Mexico says that the small floating population of that city has lately been swelled by American excursionists, including bankers, railroad directors, newspaper men, merchants, and manufacturers, all anxious to study the country; that the hotels can scarcely accommodate the visitors who pour into the capital city by every train; and that strangers are to be met with everywhere, in the streets, on foot, in hacks, on the street cars in the city and suburbs, until it looks as though the Yankees had marched on the neighboring republic and taken possession. A very inviting place is Mexico to the tourist at this season of the year, and it is now comparatively easy of access. In the near future, we are likely to have closer business and social relations than hitherto with this land of ancient American civilization.

A WASHINGTON correspondent of the *Pittsburg Leader* says that a very large per cent. of the people throughout the country seem to be bent on

"evangelizing President Cleveland," who recently remarked to a friend, "If the advice given me was concentrated on Africa, it would civilize and Christianize that whole wild and wicked and dark country." Many people, when they grasp the President's hand, breathe an audible prayer for him. This, we are told, has a very perceptible effect upon him; "for he said he didn't think any man or woman with sense and a heart could fail to be affected by the prayers of an earnest people, when he or she knew they were so constantly delivered." "It is something like love in its physical effect," said Mr. Cleveland, one day. "Now, if one is very earnestly and sincerely loved, that affection is sure, if kept up and demonstrated, to have its way, unless the suitor is absolutely offensive. The mere fact that so much confidence and affection are persistently bestowed will touch a heart of stone. So the intense interest shown by so many in a man's spiritual welfare must eventually touch him, if he thinks. And the man or woman who cannot be reached by the prayers of a nation is a strange being, indeed, when he or she knows the prayers are being offered."

VERY significant are the speeches made in the English House of Lords last Friday, with the vote by a majority of fourteen, that "the time has come when, in the interest of religion and education, all national collections should be opened to the public on Sundays as on other days." The ideas and practices of the Jewish Sabbath revived in England about four hundred years ago, and maintained by the Protestant clergy, in defiance of reason and common sense and against even the plainest teachings of the New Testament, are fast losing their hold on the English people, thanks to the increase of popular intelligence and the decline of priestly authority. Lord Bramwell, turning to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his fellow bishops,—who, of course, opposed the motion,—said: "I am perfectly satisfied that it is the religious part of the matter that is at the bottom of the opposition to the motion. We are alone in Christendom in observing Sunday in the way we do. The English view of Sunday is a novelty. I object to the way in which Sunday is observed, because it is a day wasted. It ought to be a day of recreation and enjoyment. There is nothing in a man's nature which tells him that it is wrong for him to enjoy himself on Sunday. The proper interpretation of the supplication 'And lead us not into temptation' is, Do not lay down for us a rule for Sunday which we cannot observe. Prince Bismarck has recorded that, when he was in England, he always had a painful impression of the English Sunday; that he was always glad when it was over, and that he was sure that many Englishmen had the same feeling. That is the condition of things that I ask the House to set about to remedy. The English Sunday is misspent. It is worse than misspent." It is not doubted that the Commons will follow the Lords, and that the "Sunday opening question" in England will soon be settled by the victory of progress over conservatism and cant.

SLOW GROWTH OF LIBERAL ORGANIZATION.

We spoke last week of the rapid progress of liberal religious ideas in the last half-century. Yet, notwithstanding the facts that give abundant evidence of this progress, if we look for the result in the special organization of religious Liberalism, we shall be disappointed. The religious Liberalism that has broken away from the churches has shown as yet little genius for organization. It has been much stronger on the destructive than on the constructive side. And the classes of people that are naturally reached by the new ideas appear, for the most part, either to prefer the iconoclasm of Ingersoll, uncombined with any religion whatever, or to stay in evangelical churches where Liberalism takes the form of a doctrinally diluted Orthodoxy, flavored with the religious sentiment of the churches and possibly with some of the traditional emotions of the discarded Calvinism.

Even the liberal religious denominations that have regularly organized churches do not manifest a progress that at all corresponds to the general progress of liberal ideas. Universalism, taking the country through, is acknowledged to be losing ground rather than gaining. There appears, indeed, to be no longer any need of a Universalist sect for promoting the Universalist doctrine, which has now obtained recognition in several sects. The growth of the Unitarian denomination is very slow, not at all keeping pace with the increase of the population in the United States. In the West, the number of Unitarian churches shows a slight yearly advance. In the East, the denomination barely holds its own. In Boston, the Unitarian stronghold, it keeps its twenty-eight or twenty-nine churches (including mission chapels); but the number has been about the same for many years, and meantime the city has been doubling its population. In New York, with its nearly one and a half millions of people, there are but three Unitarian societies; and there have been the same for twenty years. In a few other Eastern cities and towns, the showing might be somewhat better than in New York and Boston; but, in others, it would not be even so good. Liberal Quakerism and other sects of so-called Liberal Christianity do not appear to manifest any better signs of active growth.

If we look at liberal movements outside of all the old sects, there is Spiritualism, which has a great multitude of followers and is actively propagandist; but it is divided into factions and has no organization as a church, while portions of its disciples are seriously compromised by fraud and moral uncleanness. With all its activity, and with its one distinguishing cheerful belief, it has yet manifested little or no organizing capacity. The National Liberal League was launched ten years ago, with as perfect a constitution as was ever put on paper. But, for reasons which need not be recounted here, the organization soon went to wreck; and even the fragments of it, which have been since floating around, have now pretty nearly disappeared. The Free Religious Association came to work upon public opinion through the platform and the press, and has confined itself to that mission. The Ethical Culture Movement, fired with all the moral earnestness and zeal of the old Hebrew prophets, applies itself to the task of organizing local societies. Perhaps it is to have a success proportioned to its zeal in the organization of the Liberalism which has broken away from Churches, whether Hebrew or Christian, into a constructive working body. We sincerely hope it may be so. But, in ten years since this movement started, it has formed only three soci-

ties; and it cannot therefore be said to have gone very far in reaching the masses of the people. There are a few other societies, here and there, that are doing similar constructive work for Liberalism on an independent basis, apart from all ecclesiastical affiliations or names; but they can be counted, probably, on the fingers of the two hands, if not of one.

Now, we would not belittle the work which these sporadic liberal societies, and the Ethical Culture Movement, and the pioneer liberal sects are all doing toward solving the problem of liberal religious organization. They are all helping onward that coming Church of Reason and Humanity which the radical believer has been wont to prophecy in his vision of the "new heavens and the new earth," and we wish them the fullest success in accomplishing their highest aims. But, useful and necessary as these efforts are, a consideration of all the facts of religious progress does not lead us to look to the organizations of Liberalism alone for the signs of the coming Liberal Church. Did we see no signs elsewhere, we should not be so hopeful of that rational and humane Church of the future as we are. This new Church for the new times is to come, in our opinion, very largely, if not mainly, by the gradual enlightenment and transformation of the great religious bodies which now occupy the field, and have held it for generations and centuries. The existing Churches are, to our view, the important missionary field of Liberalism. They are to be converted. And a radical religious society, whether of the free Congregational, Ethical Culture, or liberal Unitarian order, is working constructively,—not merely for the few scores or hundreds of people whom it may count in its membership, but for all the churches and synagogues around in which there are any thinking men and women whose minds are open to new ideas, and who are inquiring for a more real and rational religion. These reform movements, though small in themselves, point the way whither the great religious bodies will slowly follow. Gradually, the leading spirits of the Churches, their theological seminaries, their ministers, their denominational publications, will catch the light of the new era of thought, and absorb a more rational doctrine; and, then, the new views will be distilled through a reformed administration and activity of church life to the masses of the people.

Religious Liberalism, then, is not called to the task of building a great ecclesiastical structure to shelter the multitude. It is summoned to the reformer's mission of inoculating public opinion with truer religious ideas and a more robust moral sentiment. Its work is to present religion in a form acceptable to Reason and satisfying to the highest ideals of Morality. Where the conditions favor, let it organize societies and create institutions that shall serve as tentative models for the coming Liberal Church. But let it not be discouraged, if these do not spread rapidly. As the mental atmosphere of society is purified from the dust-clouds of error and superstition and the human mind is penetrated by the sunshine of higher truths, gradually the old Churches will take down their shutters, open their windows to the light, let in the more salubrious air of the new day, sweep the cobwebs of dogma and tradition from pulpit and pew and communion table, and teach the higher worship which is the service of truth, right, and humanity. In a word, it is the main work of religious Liberalism to sow ideas, with no great anxiety over the question who are to harvest or when the harvest is to be. It is enough that all earnest liberal believers, whether working alone or in company, by their unwavering fidelity

to their principles, by their thorough faithfulness in their own characters and lives, by their charities and philanthropies, are surely helping to increase the harvests. Liberalism is not responsible for furnishing the ears that will hear its word; but every earnest word, backed by earnest deed, draws to it a somewhere waiting, listening ear.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PARIS SCHOOL OF RELIGIONS.

The Ecole Pratique des Hautes-Etudes is about to open a new section, that of the Religious Sciences. The religions of India, Egypt, the far East, and Arabia, the Shemitic and Islamic creeds, the Hebrew language, the history of the origins of Christianity, of dogmas, of the Christian Church, of canon law, and an exposition of Christian literature,—such is the programme of studies for the first session of this new school. The faculty is composed of twelve professors, several of whom are known on your side of the Atlantic. M. Hartwig Derenburg, who will fill the chair of Islamism and the religions of Arabia, is the son and grandson of distinguished Hebraists, and is himself an authority in France on all that pertains to Oriental subjects. M. Léon de Rosny, the learned ethnographer and Orientalist; M. Albert Réville, professor of the History of Religions at the College of France; M. Ernest Havet, whose writings on Christianity are of the first order; M. Sabatier, professor at the Paris Protestant Theological School; M. Bergaigne, professor at the Sorbonne,—such are some of the eminent scholars that are to give the stamp to this new departure in religious science at this great university centre.

It appears from the *Temps* that the announcement of the creation of the school has occasioned no little commotion in the Catholic circles of this country. This was quite natural, however, following as it did so closely upon the suppression of the State theological faculties. Some of the Catholic journals, according to the writer in the *Temps*, have pronounced the proceeding to be scandalous. The government is blamed for its choice of professors, and particularly because no real Catholic has been offered a chair. Hence, they say, there is no truth in its boast that the school is to be neutral. More than that, it is aiming to advance the cause of irreligion. The fact is, on the contrary, that the Minister of Public Instruction did everything he could to obtain Catholic professors who would labor side by side with Protestant, Jewish, and free-thinking colleagues. But all his efforts were in vain. Repeated and pressing invitations were given, but neither priests nor laymen would accept a professorship in a school based on absolute neutrality in the matter of creeds. And, curiously enough, their reason for refusing was this very neutrality. I remember a similar instance of this Roman narrowness that occurred in America. The authorities of Cornell University have never been able to get a priest to speak from the pulpit of Sage Chapel, where Protestants of every denomination, and even no denomination, have been only too glad to ventilate their peculiar views on religious questions.

The French Catholics pretend that the object of the school is to propagate incredulity. But the *Temps* answers this objection very satisfactorily by pointing out that, if this had been the aim of the government, the lectures would have been given a popular form, and would have been thrown open to the public. Quite the contrary, however, is the plan that has been adopted. The term lecture cannot strictly be applied to the manner of treating the subjects to be taught. The classrooms are situated in the contracted library of the

Sorbonne, and there is room for scarcely a score of pupils. The professor and his students are seated around a common table. It is evident that scientific truth and honest scholarship, not proselytism and propagandism, are to be the ruling spirit of this choice body of teachers and disciples; and there is every reason to hope that their influence will be soon felt on the future religious life of France.

"Is there any ground for the complaints of the Catholic press?" asks the writer in the *Temps* who then proceeds to answer his own question, as follows: "There is in this new creation an innovation that Catholicism cannot tolerate. It means the secularization of religious instruction. It is the last step in a reform that began in the primary school, and now ends in the theological seminary. When theology is treated scientifically, it loses its confessional character and becomes a subject of university study, like all the other branches of human knowledge, and at the same time escapes from the yoke of authority, to be examined critically, freely, and honestly. It is quite evident that a church that accords the laymen only the right of submitting, and that recognizes as the arbiter of all differences only visible and official and religious authority, will be very slow to accept such a new conception. But we think there is no reason to be alarmed at this. A freer and more serious study of religions and religion will not only have as its effect the lessening of the fanaticism of Conservatives, but also that of Radicals, which is no better, and is, in fact, of the same nature. Hatred and intolerance are both born of prejudices. In dissipating prejudices, impartial science does a work of peace and liberty." All American Liberals must say Amen to these sentiments.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, February.

DUALISTIC AND MONISTIC CONCEPTIONS OF NATURE.

1.

The *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1885, contains an article by Prof. St. George Mivart on "Organic Nature's Riddle," in which he says: "A thoroughly mechanical conception of Nature is the scientific ideal of an influential school of thinkers. They follow the lead of Descartes, who would be surprised, could he see his doctrine of Animal Automatism and the mechanical evolution of new species of plants and animals so eloquently advocated." Dr. Montgomery, in a paper on "The Dual Aspect of our Nature" (see *The Index*, November 5), terms this scientific ideal a **MECHANICAL FALLACY**. He says "that this scientific ideal, in its purely kinetic form, does not exist in Nature. This notion of a definite fund of available and manifest force attached to matter, and giving rise, through mere redistribution, to all the varying phenomena of nature, is a doctrine involving, without mistake, a fatalistic determination of all actions of animate as well as inanimate bodies. It is impossible, therefore," he says, "to make any headway in a monistic and non-necessitarian understanding of our life and doings, without clearly exposing the fallacy of such" mechanical interpretations. Montgomery brings the physiological conception of nature to bear with considerable force on the mechanical views of this influential school of thinkers, especially on the views of Huxley, Spencer, and Haeckel.

But, as he regards it to be important to make some "headway in a monistic" understanding of our life, it will be well to ascertain what notions are involved in the *Monistic Conception of Nature*. Concerning this conception, Prof. Tyndall says (*Fragments of Science*, sixth edition): "When mat-

ter was defined by Descartes, he deliberately excluded the idea of force or motion from its attributes and from its definition. Extension only was taken into account. And, inasmuch as the impotence of matter to generate motion was assumed, its observed motions were referred to an external cause. God, resident outside of matter, gave the impulse. Against this notion of Descartes, the great deist, John Toland, strenuously contended. He affirmed [two hundred years ago] motion to be an inherent attribute of matter, that no portion of matter was at rest, and that even the most quiescent solids were animated by a motion of their ultimate particles. The success of his contention, according to the learned and laborious Dr. Berthold, entitles Toland to be regarded as the founder of that monistic doctrine which is now so rapidly spreading."

If Toland's contention with Descartes' philosophy was a success, why has it been without influence on modern thought? A consideration of Huxley's lecture on Descartes before the British Association at Belfast, in 1874, may throw some light on the question. But, to clearly comprehend the advances which have been made in the sciences of physics and physiology in the last few years, it is necessary to notice the confusion which has taken place in the meaning of the terms used in these sciences. One of the highest authorities on physics in England is Prof. Tait. In his last work (*The Properties of Matter*, 1885), he says there are two classes of things only, matter and energy. Consciousness and volition do not belong to the domain of physics. Matter, he says, is distinct from energy, and that matter is the means of manifesting energy. The properties of matter comprise the ideas that cluster around mass or inertia, such as those of weight, cohesion, elasticity, etc. Tait has selected from various writers definitions of matter. According to his own definition, matter is whatever occupies space. The physical universe has objective existence. Our knowledge of it is derived solely from the senses, and he further says the knowledge is always imperfect and often misleading.

In a lecture to the students at the Edinburgh University, in 1877, on "The Teaching of Natural Philosophy," Tait says Newton described it as the study of the powers of nature, the investigation of the motions they produce, and the application of the results to explain other phenomena. Newton, by a powerful mathematical method, developed the laws of motion, and applied them to physical astronomy, and hinted that a similar method would be extended to other phenomena of external nature. This has been done to a remarkable extent during the two centuries which have elapsed since the publication of the *Principia*. In many respects, life itself is dependent on physical conditions; and, recently, the physiologists have seized the natural philosopher's method of experimenting. But the supposition that the highest as well as the lowest forms of life, including consciousness and volition, can be fully explained on physical principles alone, is simply unscientific. Tait further says: Physical science does not lend any support to such an idea. The supposition that life, even in its lowest form, is wholly material, involves the denial of the truth of Newton's laws of motion, or it is an erroneous use of the term matter. Both suppositions are alike unscientific. The modern extension of Newton's statements enables us to specify more definitely the range of physical science, which may now be called the science of matter and energy. These are the only real things in the physical universe, and they are unchangeable in amount. Matter consists of parts that preserve their identity; while energy is

manifested only in the act of transformation, and though measurable, cannot be identified.

Judge Stallo holds that the creed of an ordinary physicist forty years ago was something like the above. He terms it the atomo-mechanical theory, and says that it is in irreconcilable conflict with modern theoretical chemistry. It is the theory which Tait taught in 1877, and he holds the same theory now. But it is dualistic, and utterly opposed to the monistic conception of the universe, which Tyndall says is so rapidly spreading.

As to the teaching of the natural philosophy described by Newton, Tait says that it ought to be taught popularly, of course; but the majority of popular scientific works are written by authors who, as a rule, have not exact knowledge of their subject, and who avoid committing themselves among difficulties which they must appear to explain. Each author has, therefore, recourse to vague generalities and the use of fine language, which is out of place in science. If an author endeavors to escape from a difficult position by darkening all around, by an inky cloud of verbiage, like a cuttle-fish, close the book at once, and seek information elsewhere. A great deal of the shallowest of the pseudo-science of the present day probably owes its origin to the habitual use, with reference to physical phenomena, of terms applicable to the actions of human beings alone, and not to matter and energy. In this pseudo-science, the stars are to love and hate one another, to feel pleasure and displeasure, and to try to move in a way corresponding to these feelings. The latest phase of this peculiar non-science tells us that all *matter* is *alive*, or, at least, that it contains "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life," whatever these may be. Of course, this is a fling at Tyndall's Belfast address in 1874.

Tait said to the students of the natural philosophy class at the Edinburgh University that, from the state of the great majority of our schools and of our elementary text-books, he should prefer that they came there completely untaught in physical science. Then they will have nothing to unlearn, for to unlearn is the hardest task ever imposed on a student. The old metaphysical pretenders to science had some small excuse, from the fact that true science was all but unknown in the days when their *a priori* dogmatism was looked upon as science. This race is well-nigh extinct; and the paper scientists have taken their place, who pour out a strange mixture of half-apprehended fact and thoroughly appreciated nonsense of a self-contradictory character, who pester men of science to an extent disproportionate to their own importance in the scale of being.

It must be admitted that there is much truth in what Tait says of the shallow pseudo-science of the present day, of the popular scientific works, and of the elementary text-books on natural philosophy used in English schools. The same may be said of what is taught in the colleges and schools of America. I have an intuition that Tait would place Herbert Spencer among the paper scientists. Tait is a clear-headed, but somewhat splenetic writer. De Blainville, it is said, thought that his *spleen* was as good as Cuvier's *gall*. It is probable that Tait may think that his spleen is as good as Huxley's gall, but I have never seen any keen "encounter of their wits." It is a mistake to suppose that the "old metaphysical pretenders to science are well-nigh extinct." They are "as plentiful as blackberries" now. Judge Stallo's profound declaration ought always to be borne in mind, that the opinion of contemporary physicists is erroneous, who affirm that there was a break of continuity in the progress of knowledge at the time of Galileo and Newton

and Bacon, and that since then the old metaphysical method was discarded in science. On the contrary, Stallo says the endeavor of scientific research is constantly thwarted by the insidious intrusion into the meditations of the men of science of the old metaphysical elements. In support of Stallo, Montgomery says: "Not a single item in the original [Descartes] conception of life has any foundation in reality. Yet, in a slightly modified form, it still dominates our biological science."

Even in Montgomery's summary (in *The Index*) of the various physiological articles which have appeared in *Mind* during the last few years there is an intrusion of the metaphysical element; and, without disrespect be it said, there is a "cloud of verbiage," which makes it difficult to follow and to clearly understand him. A patient reader must admit that this is a fact. I do not know how it may be with other readers; but I must confess that, after reading Montgomery's summary over several times, I could not pick up a salient phrase to form the starting-point for a criticism or see what was the goal he was aiming to reach. Such does not occur in the *Unseen Universe*, by Profs. Tait and Balfour Stewart, although they pretend to know all about the populations in that universe. It may be "poor stuff," as John Stuart Mill said of Leibnitz's *Monadology*; but what they mean can be clearly understood. Want of space does not allow much to be said about the words that have been used during the last forty years to replace the old words of matter and motion, or about the change of meaning which they have undergone, or about the new terms which Montgomery uses to replace them, such as kinetic influences, objective substratum, power complexes, mental presence, and extra-mental presence. It may be said that biologists and psychologists have produced such a confusion of terms that, to use Bishop Berkeley's phrase, they have kicked up such a dust there is no seeing through it.

JOHN CHAPPELLSMITH.

EDUCATION IN UTAH.

As every fact in regard to the condition of society in Utah is of great importance at the present time, I would like to call attention to the report of its educational position in the last issued report of the Bureau of Education for 1883-84.

In 1884 there were 48,889 youth of school age, six to eighteen. This was an increase of 2,981 over the year before. Of these, 59.98 per cent. were enrolled in public schools; and the average attendance was 39.01 per cent. The average term of schools was 135 days. The expenditure for schools was \$204,340; the whole number of teachers, 592; the average monthly pay of teachers, \$49.80 for men, \$28.80 for women.

The superintendent says, "There has been a natural and vigorous growth in the schools, and a great improvement in the character and value of the instruction given, an increasing demand for good and well-trained teachers and for good and well-furnished school-houses, with a determination on the part of school officers and people to do all that is possible toward securing these." The Territorial and county superintendents in convention determine what text-books are to be used in the public schools. Public schools are supported from a tax of three mills on a dollar of ordinary taxable property, from taxation of railroads, sale of estrays, and a special district tax not to exceed two per cent. a year. The University of Deseret gives free tuition to forty normal students, in addition to the forty annually provided for by the Territory

The County Teachers' Association holds ten sessions annually, and discusses the following, among other subjects: the grading of schools is economy of means, time, and labor; the employment of non-progressive and transient teachers is not a remunerative investment; the encouragement and support of proficient teachers are public benefits; the school should be made a pleasant place of resort, instead of a purgatory, for boyhood. The University of Deseret is the only public high school reported. Hon. L. John Nuttall is Territorial superintendent of district schools, Salt Lake City.

I have selected Montana as offering as fair a comparison as could be made of the educational condition of Utah with another Territory. In Montana are 15,082 children of school age; the percentage enrolled is 53.82; and the attendance 29.60. The average term of schools was 103 days. The expenditure for schools was \$260,030; the whole number of teachers, 292; the average monthly pay of men, \$71.40, and of women, \$54.50. The superintendent reports encouraging improvement in the schools. The schools are supported by a county tax of not less than three or more than five mills on a dollar, from taxes voted by the districts, various fines, and sales of lots. No normal instruction is reported, but some beginning of high schools and of teachers' institute.

The only very marked difference in the statistics of the two Territories is in the greater cost of schools and teachers' salaries in Montana. Otherwise, with a little superiority in the attendance, the condition of education in Utah seems very similar to that of other Territories. The same high expenditure appears in the report of Washington Territory; and the enrolment, 70.70 per cent., and the average attendance, 63.66 per cent., are also high, but the number of days is only ninety-two. The whole number of teachers is eight hundred and thirty-one, averaging only a little over twenty-six to a teacher, which would seem to show that some of those transient and inefficient teachers are employed who are not approved of by the institute of Utah. The other Western Territories are not very well reported, except Dakota, which has 77,499 children of school age. Her record of enrolment and attendance is similar to that of Utah; while the number of teachers, 2,911, is extraordinary, allowing less than eighteen pupils to a teacher. The expenditure for schools is \$1,306,879. If the results of education in Utah are at all equal to those of the other Territories, the greater economy in the use of means is very striking. At least, this report does not show an illiterate and barbarous community having no regard for education; and, if we have the faith in public education which we have always professed, I think we may augur favorably for the future destinies of the "desert State."

E. D. CHENEY.

THE LEGAL "AGE OF CONSENT."

In this "Christian Commonwealth," a girl ten years old has reached the "age of consent,"—the age at which she may consent to her own ruin. If at this age, when the girl-child has no legal right to consent to anything in regard to property or in regard to her person,—with the exception named,—and when she is incapable of understanding the meaning of consent to her own violation, she is corrupted and outraged by a heartless wretch, who is afterward able to make out the case one of free choice on her part, she is without legal redress. There is no criminal law under which the offender can be punished for thus taking advantage of the ignorance and innocence of the female child. We have a statute which pun-

ishes with fine and imprisonment the abduction of a girl under sixteen for purposes of clandestine marriage or public prostitution, but not for abduction merely for seduction. The father may institute a civil suit against the violator of his daughter for "loss of service," and that is all, when the offence committed is one of the meanest and blackest possible,—the corruption of youth, the murder of virtue and innocence; in many cases, the degradation of a life full of possibilities of usefulness and happiness to shame and infamy. Recently, a bill was introduced in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and is now pending in the Senate, to raise the age of consent from ten to twelve years. This bill reflects little credit upon its authors. In England, when the age of consent was thirteen, the wrongs done to girls were so numerous and so outrageous that Parliament, in response to an aroused public sentiment, enacted a law changing the age of consent from thirteen to sixteen. And, now, the legislators of this State propose to raise the age from ten to twelve! What knowledge has a girl of twelve to qualify her to decide intelligently and responsibly in regard to an act likely to launch her upon a life of which she, in her innocence and purity, can have no conception? Hon. Elijah A. Morse, of Canton, is entitled to the thanks of the people of this Commonwealth for moving in the Senate, on March 12, when the House bill came up for engrossment, that the age under which young girls cannot legally consent to their own ruin be raised from twelve to sixteen. The Massachusetts legislature is now being urged to amend the bill still further by changing the age of consent to eighteen. The wide-spread and increasing interest in this subject is likely to wake up our sleepy legislators, and to suggest to them the importance of making the law regarding the protection of female children harmonize with the public opinion of to-day, which is not satisfied to see women treated as slaves and young girls unprotected from dangers to which their innocence exposes them.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

THE fourth annual Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, held in this city last week, was fairly well attended. Mrs. H. R. Shattuck, president of the association, opened the proceedings with an able and pertinent address, explaining "The Basis of our Claims," after which Mrs. Dora Bascom Smith, under the guise of a recitation from *Josiah Allen's Wife*, "Sweet Cicely," gave a mirth-provoking yet thought inspiring lecture on Woman's Rights, which was greeted with applause, as were the songs sung by that old-time "sweet singer in Israel," John W. Hutchinson. Mrs. Lillie Derveaux Blake, of New York, spoke of the methods of suffrage work as carried on by herself with others in her own State. She was followed by Mr. S. C. Fay, who, in his usual chivalric spirit, defended the rights of woman to the ballot. Miss Lavina A. Hatch gave a comprehensive résumé of the practical work of the association during the past year in distributing leaflets, circulating petitions, sending letters to congressmen, writing suffrage items for the daily press, organizing a class for the study of politics, etc. She was followed by Mrs. H. H. Robinson, corresponding secretary, who reported from the Woman Suffrage Associations with which this society has been in correspondence, consisting of sixteen States and local associations and organizations in Canada, England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Denmark. Rev. J. W. Hamilton gave some reasons why women should have equal political privileges with men; and Dr. Salomé Meritt earnestly urged that moth-

ers should have a voice in legislation, if for no other reason, to protect their little daughters, referring to the Massachusetts "law of consent"; and brief addresses from Miss Emma F. Clair and Mrs. Lucy S. Daniels explained, humorously, why those ladies "wished to vote." A number of resolutions were adopted at the close of the session, among which was one demanding that the "age of consent" in Massachusetts be raised to eighteen years. At the last session, addresses were given by Mrs. Martha Sewall Curtis, of Burlington, Mass., a young and enthusiastic claimant for her rights; by Judge Robert C. Pitman, who argued the justice of the women's claim for self-representation, and by Mrs. Blake, who pictured an ideal "True Republic," in which all citizens were represented, where "taxation" meant also "representation," and where a government "of the people, by the people, for the people" was something more than a mere formula.

ATMOSPHERES. *For The Index.*

Low and heavy, cold and gray,
Hang the clouds in drear November;
While the wind, with sullen moan,
Train of ill its undertone,
Sweeps upon us from the east,
Head and heart and flesh the prey
To Pandora's woes. Dark day!
'Tis a day we shall remember.

Winter comes, and northern wind
Blows from coldest arctic places,—
Lands where slender flowers pale
Waft no fragrance on the gale.
Pure and strong, thy breath we find,
Spirit of the frost and sleet.
Only stout and stanch can meet
Thy cold touch upon their faces.

Sweet south wind, from land so fair,
Balm of love and fragrance flinging,
Lurks no poison, chill, and death
On thy soft and scented breath.
All is harmony in thee.
Wafted on thy laden air,
Mingling with its perfumes rare,
Joyous notes of birds are ringing.

Brave west wind, yet gentle, too,
Thou, of all, art for my choosing.
Wholesome is thy influence,
In thy touch beneficence.
Life and joy and strength are thine!
Thou art trusty, thou art true
As thy heaven's expanse of blue,
Charms of north and south winds fusing.

Knowest thou not, O friend who feels,
Of the human atmosphere?
Hast thou, in its alien air,
Felt depression, doubt, and care
Chilling thee like eastern wind?
Subtle, still, it o'er thee steals,
Bruises, irritates, not heals,
Tortures with distrust and fear.

Atmospheres thou, too, hast known,
Like the icy wind from far.
Those who have them,—strong are they,
Yet of warmth impart no ray.
Tender ruth, they know thee not!
For the weak who, stumbling, moan
Ne'er, by shrift, to them atone.
Pure they shine, like heaven's bright star.

Friend, my gentle friend, in thee
Dwells the south wind's atmosphere.
Doubt and care and vague unrest
Find no place within my breast:
Ne'er a haunting shade to mar
Cometh between thee and me.
All is sunlight, flooding, free,
Looking in thine eyes so clear.

Friend, like west wind, true and brave,
Well for those who own thee nearest;
And, if any know thee not,
Drear must be their earthly lot.
Never weakling thou, and yet
Still so tender thou canst save
Hope and courage from the grave.
Gentle, strong, thou art the dearest!

ANNA OLOOTT COMMELIN.

The Index.

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

WILLIAM J. POTTER, } Editors.
BENJAMIN F. UNDERWOOD, }
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For The Index.

OUR ARMAGEDDON.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

To your welcome my heart responds. But your kindness must be met by candor. At whatever risk, I must utter at once my confession of faith. It is this: God is good. On that paradoxical ground I stand, and you must be prepared for the worst. And, as it is from this point of view that we shall presently review the fields of Armageddon, I must dwell on it. This my faith, that God is good, has been reached late in life. During a long study of demons, I made the discovery that, after refining my conception of a god by Unitarianism and theism, my deity had still a demonic touch about him,—was still a giant, often using his strength like a giant. I tried to recover on the field of philosophy a deity lost on the field of theology, but soon found that a spiritless search. Walking once with Strauss beside the Neckar, I asked his thought about immortality. His answer began with the remark, "It is a question of anthropology." Later, I found that theistic controversy was engaged on a problem of dynamics,—whether or not nature was created by a personal power. Then an old Adam of Methodism rose in me. I felt that religion was properly not concerned with theories about the remote origin of nature or the preternatural destiny of man, but with this salvation of man from evils that actually afflict and degrade him. John Wesley relates that, when he was involved in doubts, William Law said to him: "I see where your mistake lies. You would have a philosophical religion, but there can be no such thing. Religion is the most plain simple thing in the world. It is only, 'We love Him because He first loved us.' So far as you add philosophy to religion, so far you spoil it." This remark made a lasting impression on Wesley, though he never realized how much of what he thought religion was remnant of primitive science. Men are never conscious of their superstitions. No doubt some think we are superstitious in believing there is

any reality in religion at all. For one, I feel certain that religion is a reality, and that it is separated by an impassable gulf from every form of theology. The problems of philosophy are interesting: tender feelings and hopes are often concerned with their solution. A man's desire to live after death is as natural as his desire to live tomorrow: his desire to meet his loved and lost in heaven is the same as his longing to keep them out of heaven as long as medical skill can do so. It is natural that, amid the evils and contradictions of this world, man should cherish the faith that somewhere in the depths of the universe there is a mind to which all disorder is order, all discords musical. To views and hopes involving the happiness of any, and not claiming to be essentials of religion, one is glad to offer the hand of a sympathetic agnosticism. But neither the theories nor the agnosticism have any necessary relation to the moral and religious sentiment. E. von Hartmann says, "To the religious consciousness, it is meaningless to say there is a God without saying what he is." We love that God who loved man: no other conception can really kindle the heart. What woman loves Jehovah as she loves her babe?

If you ask my definition of religion, it is sufficient now to answer that, by suffrage of the world and the ages, religion is essentially the love of good and hatred of evil. There never has been but one religion. Whatever deities men may believe in, or whatever theology, their religion consists in the pursuit of some things as good, and abhorrence of other things as bad. Therefore, I say, God is good. Jehovah may proudly claim, "Behold, I create good and I create evil." The Unknowable,—which meets us as the mother of Odysseus met him in Hades: "Thrice I sprang toward her, and was minded to embrace her: thrice she flitted from my hands as a shadow or even as a dream,"—the Unknowable may claim to be the source of all phenomena; but religion must have a God it can love, and it cannot love the source of all phenomena. Good men may extol with their lips a deity who says, "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?" But their real opinion of the evil in a city, and of its author if they get hold of him, may be gathered from police reports. A god deduced from nature would be unmoral as nature, and must sometimes inspire a fearless mind to say, with an English poet, "I believe in God, but am against him." Progress is a perpetual war with nature, and religion a revolution against the gods of nature. Religion has no need of any Almightiness: it needs a Heart. Its enthusiasm is for the weak,—not for Omnipotence, but for its victims,—Zoroaster, Prometheus, Jesus.

The religions of mankind are not traceable in gods embodying the forces and phenomena of nature, but in gods that interrupt the laws, arrest and coerce the forces for service to man. Most of us have borne a part in the battle of science against supernaturalism; but, now that the victory is won, we may do justice to the enemy. My own belief is that the religion of every people is expressed mainly in the miracles it believes. The New Testament miracles show what the people think a god ought to do and would do, if he moved among men and women, and saw their want and hunger and tears. I think so too. And I do not believe the sects that locate all miracles among ancient tribes will ever prevail against Catholicism and Spiritualism and Salvationism, beneath whose vulgar signs and wonders works a revolt against the Christian restoration of pagan heavens, with blissful gods indifferent to human agonies. The other day, a relative in Virginia

told me of a pious negro woman who related in meeting a wonderful story. She declared that, having gone to a spring for water, she heard the sound of Gabriel's trumpet. Her Baptist brethren could believe a good deal, but this was a little too much for them. Heads were shaken, and a brother expressed the general scepticism by saying there might be doubts whether the sister "really 'scerned the trumpet or only thought she 'scerned it." The woman was in evident trouble at having her statement doubted; and, at length, an aged man arose and said, "Arter all, bruthren, maybe Gabriel *did* give the poor gal a toot or two."

What could be more reasonable? Assuming that there is a Gabriel, that he has a trumpet, and that he knew the poor creature was thinking about him, surely, the least gentlemanly feeling would prompt Gabriel to give his humble friend "a toot or two." The old negro's conception of the archangel seems an improvement on Milton's. It was to such lowly Baptist believers beside the Jordan that the dove descended, and the divine voice said, "This is my beloved." A heavenly "toot or two," heard by sorrowing and expectant hearts, whether beside the Rappahannock or the Jordan or the Ganges, is enough to explain the mythologies of the world. It is easy for science to smile at this folk-lore: it is more important that science should comprehend it; and it is absolutely necessary that Free Religious people should recognize the truth and prophecy in it. Those are the prayers which science is to answer, the miracles it is to surpass, the dreams and visions which are to be more than fulfilled by a human trinity of head, heart, and hand.

Two things, then, are assumed in every variety of religion: first, that goodness alone is divine, that it is by no means omnipotent, but sometimes even helpless,—hanging on a cross; second, that this divine spirit is in steady conflict with the actual forms of evil and with the mass of evil in the world, which it never created, but hopes to subdue. This limitation of Deity, this recognition of the conflict between good and evil, is as fully present in modern Positivism as in ancient Parsaism. From the year One and from the banks of the Jumna, we hear the incarnate Krishna saying to his hero, Arjuna: "I am born by means of my delusive power: whenever there is a decline of religion and an insurrection of vice and injustice in the world, I create myself; and thus I appear, from age to age, for the preservation of the good, the overthrow of the evil, and the establishment of virtue." To that grand strain, the nineteenth century responds beside the Thames, by the voice of Clifford: "The human race embodies in itself all the ages of organic action that have gone to its evolution. The nature of organic action is to personify itself, and it has personified itself most in the human race. . . . In this principle, therefore, we must recognize the mother of life, and especially of human life; powerful enough to subdue the elements, and yet always working gently against them; biding her time in the whole expanse of heaven, to make the highest cosmos out of inorganic chaos; the actor, not of all the actions of living things, but only of the good actions; for a bad action is one by which the organism tends to become less organic, and acts for the time as if inorganic."

Among the old legends that veil the maternal spirit, ever in travail for the happier world, is that of Armageddon. The new English translators, against protest of the Americans, have made it Har-Magedon, which looks like literal translation into vulgar English. The legend itself has many times been adapted to vulgar notions. Ar-magedon, "the hill of Magedon," was

a sort of Bunker Hill to the Jews, where Saul was defeated and killed, when invading the Philistines, and Josiah met the like fate, when fighting the Egyptians. But they had legends of earlier victories won there by Barak and Gideon. The hill and plains had been the scene of historic conflicts,—of alternating victories and reverses for Israel,—so that, when they had adopted the Persian idea of a war between Ormuzd and Ahriman,—the good and the evil Power,—this old battle-ground served as a similitude. To the early Messianic believer, it became a metaphor. There the seer of Revelations saw gathered the brood of the dragon,—unclean spirits, spirits of devils working signs, and kings of the whole world, gathered unto the great day of God,—and there the vials were poured out upon them. A good many were destroyed,—wicked kings and merchants and all the abominations of Babylon,—but not the old dragon, deceiver of them all. He was chained in a pit, to be loosed after a thousand years. It has seemed to many an instance of misdirected clemency. But there was a reason for it. When Man Friday asked Crusoe, "Why not God kill debbil?" the pious man could not explain; but he might have answered: "It would have been idle to report the devil dead. The story would have been too thin."

To mediæval Christians, this allegory and vision became realistic,—real as their oppressions if they were poor, as their ambitions if they were powerful; and all looked forward to the completion of a thousand years, when the battle of Armageddon was to take place and the hosts of evil to be overthrown. That year passed peaceably, and with it the millennial dreams of the Church. And, it must be added, its millennial fears; for many a bishop and many a king breathed freer for not hearing that sound of Gabriel's trump, for which the poor listened and longed like our negro woman in Virginia. All this is but the form familiar to us of a universal tradition and faith. In every country there has grown up a corresponding history, to be transmuted to allegory and crystallized to a creed. Antiquated by experience for cultured Christendom, Armageddon is still seriously expected by Parsees and Moslems. Among Europeans, this belief, since the year 1000, has shown an increasing tendency to collect its converts in asylums. But now and then in England, and here also, an enthusiast of that kind gets loose in the world. A remarkable instance appears in the career of the late Gen. Gordon, the so-called "Christian soldier," who has left in Africa the reverse reputation of a slain antichrist.

When the Mahdi was approaching Khartum on one side, and the English expedition for rescue on the other, Gordon wrote in his diary the word Armageddon. Soon after, an Emir wrote, We have slain the antichrist Gordon. The Moslems are nearest in their faith to the humble believers in Christ for whom the Book of Revelations was written. Their Christ is the figure of primitive folklore, and they ever watch for his coming to cast down the latter-day Pharaohs and Neros who oppress them. That late war in the Soudan was a literal Armageddon; fought on the old lines, characteristic of the end of an Old World, and deserving careful survey from this New World, destined to increase as that decreases. If ever a man was apparently doing the literal work of an antichrist,—of an opponent to the Saviour of men and lover of enemies,—it was this man who insisted on slaughtering a people from whom neither he nor his country had suffered wrong, and in whose destruction he and his country had no actual interest. There was a cynical gratuitousness about the thing which precisely fulfilled the

traditional conditions of Armageddon. The ideal Ahriman, or Satan,—the *diabolos* hid in the Moslem Iblis,—is animated by a disinterested love of destruction and evil. The Messiah—the Mahdi—is animated by a disinterested love of good. The situation was perfectly plain to the Soudanese: they fought for God and his Christ with an inspiration of which England has not been capable since the crusades. Gordon was about the one Englishman willing to wage war for Orthodoxy, which alone was involved. In his mad-bull rush at heresy, he trampled down patriotism and humanity, to perish at last with the flower of the British army.

To Gordon's fanatical Trinitarianism, to his purely theological enmity, the Mahdi and his friends opposed an actual religious enthusiasm. For them, all the law and the prophets were summed up in an order to throw off an oppression. To them, it was war against every kind of villainy, and for life or death,—a genuine Armageddon, where God had set himself to Satan. This great defeat of theological and ecclesiastical Christendom, with all its wealth and power, by religious and believing Christendom, in its poverty and ignorance, is a writing of flame on the walls of the world, showing that this vaunted Christian civilization has been weighed and found wanting. There is a power generated by religion,—that is, by passionate love of the right and passionate hatred of the wrong,—which tends to evaporate under the influence of a theology made to imperial and priestly order. There is a great deal of religious feeling among Christians of all sects. It is visible in their charities, which confront all sufferings save those of heretics. But the evils they oppose continue. The statistics are not materially affected; kindly Christian efforts still appear like sweeping a little snow here and there, to find the like drifts next day. It is winter in the air that causes the trouble, and to clear that away is now no part of the hope or aim of any Church. To our great and wealthy Christendom, the early spread of Christian faith by poor and ignorant apostles appears miraculous. But that was the natural effect of perfect faith in a new earth at hand, and nothing like it is attainable by a theology which surrenders the earth and bids hope wing its way to a world beyond man's influence.

The average theological instruction is that there is one God, of whom are all things and by whom are all things; that all sin and wrong are permitted by him; that the crimes and evils of the world are overruled by Providence to good ends, but that those by whom they are committed will be punished in another world; that the powers that be are ordained of God, who is king of kings; therefore, they should be submitted to and obeyed; and that all should consider their lot in life and their troubles providential, be resigned thereto, and look for compensation in spiritual improvement here and happiness after death. That is a comfortable creed for bishop or monarch,—for all who have found godliness profitable. But it is not really believed by anybody. Nobody is resigned to any pain he can escape, however providential. If a man has lost an arm, ordinary shrewdness may lead him to accept any compensation, spiritual or other; but, if the other arm be endangered, no promise of spiritual benefit will induce him to part with it. No race ever believed in one god only. Those that make most pretension to monotheism—Jews and Moslems—have heavens populous with angels, genii, and demons, presiding over all the departments of nature and life and death. It is impossible for human beings to deal with all the crimes and agonies and diseases of this world as the work of a good God. The laws of evolution

are against it. People must try to better themselves, because nature has for ages been securing the survival of such and extinction of the resigned.

There was one side of theology which temporarily buttressed moral order,—its doctrine of heaven and hell. This tremendous bribe and menace did once restrain mankind a good deal, though real morality got small share of the benefit compared with that derived by tyrannies that identified their law as God's. Social and political progress have been largely arrested by these tremendous sanctions, as may be seen in the crushed condition of countries where such beliefs linger most. Granting that individual conduct has been made more orderly by such hope and fear, they have lost their old force. Modern theology has so rationalized away heaven, to suit a sceptical age, that its attractions have faded; and as for hell, in order to keep it, they have had to make it a rather comfortable place. In a late number of the *North American Review* there was a defence of the eternity of future punishment by a theologian, at the close of which he admitted that hell might be a pleasant place, and he did not suppose its residents would leave it were heaven offered them. This is probably the last defence of the doctrine we shall see. It reminded me of an answer Carlyle once gave to a notorious fellow who, half-tipsy, came to him, saying that he was anxious about his soul. "And what's the matter with your soul?" said Carlyle. "I'm afraid I'll go to hell," said the fellow. "Varra likely," answered Carlyle; "and you ought to be thankful you've got a hell to go to." We have no hell now, only *sheol*. Who's afraid of *sheol*? *Sheol* is only a decent shroud for a dead dogma. Its pallid ghost survives to frighten only those that need not be frightened,—pious women and children. Both heaven and hell must lose their effect progressively, as society passes farther from the ages of barbarous punishments and enjoyments amid which these notions originated.

Now, it may be asked, if theology is not virtually believed, why complain of it? Why slay the slain? I answer, It is necessary to recognize that the evils they once confronted are not dead. We have our battle of Armageddon yet to fight, and the old weapons have broken in our hand. Nor can they be mended or remade, or used if they were made. For, in truth, Armageddon has changed, with all its conditions. It isn't even a battle any more. We have got Eastern Scriptures written amid war, captivity, and ransom, so deeply in us that religion speaks military language, and is in perpetual parade. About a dozen new religious armies register themselves annually in England; and they seem to do some good by substituting a more harmless intoxication for that which afflicted many homes, also by giving poor prisoners of the Sabbath a legal Christy minstrelsy. But, as regards the great aim of religion, as regards the new heaven and earth, salvation armies are the reduction of militantism to absurdity.

Armageddon has dissolved into another view altogether. The holy war between God and Satan and their angels has faded into a vast illusion. All arbitrary powers have passed out of the universe, which is always what we think it, however much such phantoms may still haunt brains unsunned by thought. Darwin's great generalization struck the hour that unmasked the wild carnival of gods and demons, revealing forces inferior to man. The dread Fates are clerks of the statistical bureau. Eolus edits the weather column, and Jove is a dynamiter. Man rises from his knees, rises to his feet, and discovers that he has all along been the victim of natural evolution, because he did not know its art of war.

Now, he has learned that he can shape a world to his fancy as certainly as he can shape a sheep. Now, man is his own fate, makes the winds his servants and his messengers a flame of fire.

When Franklin bottled the lightning, he was considered an Ajax: the pulpit thundered against his daring impiety. It was echo of the ancient curse on the first tiller of the ground, the first builders of towers, the first bearer of fire and the arts to men. Nevertheless, one of Jove's bolts was bottled; and, from that time, it has been studied and analyzed, until science has learned how to store up lightning and regulate its action. Some years ago a Frenchman crossed the English Channel bringing sixteen thunder-storms in a Gladstone bag. He conveyed them to Sir William Thomson, at Glasgow, who showed them to me,—so many little metal boxes, canned lightning. Dr. Buchanan came in one day to borrow one of these boxes, saying that he wanted to use it on a patient,—a little child that had a tumor on its tongue, which he was afraid to cut off or to burn off in the old way: the heated wire sometimes loses its heat, has to be reheated, causing much pain. The stored electricity was taken to the child's room, the wire was kept at one heat. In one second the lightning touched off the tumor, painlessly, soft as a mother's kiss; and the child is well.

"Curtain thy heavens, Jove, with cloud and mist,
And, like a boy that moweth thistles down,
Unloose thy spleen on oaks and mountain-tops;
Yet canst thou not deprive me of my earth,
Nor of my hut, the which thou didst not build,
Nor of my hearth, whose little cheerful flame
Thou enviest me!"

"I reverence thee?
Wherefore? Hast thou ever
Lightened the sorrows of the heavy-laden?
Thou ever stretched thy hand to still the tears
Of the perplexed in spirit?"

This is the revolution wrought by religion, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Human worship began with man adoring the elements, and ends with the elements adoring man. Gods begin with pronouncing the human heart totally depraved, and end with citing the human heart to prove their existence. The stream of tendency that makes for righteousness is the tendency that has made man. Nature's one great balance, outweighing her weeds and ferocities, is to have evolved the conscience of man. But for that, atheism or pessimism would be the only alternative of thought.

On the other side of Armageddon battlefield, the unmasking of devils has changed the character of man's moral struggle for existence. The waste of human energy in prayers and sacrifices to deities that did not exist, in passionate loyalty to phantasms, was like the waste of steam before engines were invented. The outlay of religious force in combating demons instead of evils was like the pious culture of deadly snakes in India, along with hymns to gods for slaying imaginary dragons in the clouds. And it seems there are Indias not far away. Hindus will not burn bodies that have died of small-pox, because small-pox is held to be a person who will be angry if scorched. Canadian Catholics regard small-pox as a retributive power to be propitiated by processions, which draw crowds and diffuse the disease. Such misdirection of the attack on evil is like troops firing on friend for foe. The only conceivable advantage of the devil theory is that it might tend to make men look beyond evil phenomena to their causes; but that advantage can only be gained when the superstition ceases, because the fictitious cause not only misleads remedial effort, but makes every evil moral and mental also. If loyalty to a god can say, "Though he slay me, I will trust in him," hatred to a god's supposed enemy may say, "Though he heal

me, I will kill him." Men have killed many of their friends and saviours, because they supposed them soldiers of Satan, being unable to judge them by their fruits, because their theology confuses good and evil. Satan may come with the fruit of knowledge, to found a college in Eden: he may come with art and beauty and mirth. Jehovah may come with cursings, thorns, and thistles. Under the sorcery of superstition, mankind will put Satan's light for darkness and Jehovah's darkness for light. And thus by faith man can give his phantoms form, can turn his nightmares to daymares that trample him in the dust.

More wonders can be wrought by the creed-breeder than by the cattle-breeder. The priesthood may deny evolution, but they have created their world by it. They have taken care that their regulations shall be approved to every man by appropriate blessings and cursings, however little those regulations may be related to the facts of nature or morality. The Church has always known how to tame its shrews, if they prefer truth to creeds and charity to sacrifice. "How bright and goodly shines the moon!" quoth Petruccio. "The moon! the sun!" says Catharine.

"Now, by my mother's son, and that's myself,
It shall be moon, or star, or what I list,
Or ere I journey to your father's house."

Poor Catharine has got through her fight. She is very hungry.

"Be it moon, or sun, or what you please;
And, if you please to call it a rash candle,
Henceforth I vow it shall be so for me."

The world is beginning to recognize the difference between sunshine and moonshine; but it will be some time yet before mankind trust their senses, longer yet before they utter the verdict of their senses. The most radical are tamer than they know. The world has so long been divided into believing sheep and unbelieving goats, there has so long been a survival of the sheepish,—we are all descendants from the sheep,—that for some time the majority will be dumb before their shearers who give them green pastures. But let us not fail to recognize the higher influences that are now with the old pastures. Beyond the force of self-interest, beyond the force of habit, there are sweet and tender associations with the ancient homes of faith, and sweet virtues have climbed over those feudal walls; and it will require a long time for any new abodes to equal their charm. It must content us for the present that the old is increasingly willing to adopt improvements. For some time, Christianity has been ashamed of its fire and fagot; and it is now maintaining a God of love instead of wrath, a human Jesus in place of a Christ casting unbelievers into outer darkness.

It is not easy now for any preacher to describe how Nero celebrated his own divinity with burning Christians for torches, and proceed to declare that Christ will eventually manifest his divinity by the light of burning unbelievers. In an early century, the god of wrath recovered his lost altars by alliance with the gentle Jesus; and though that lover of enemies, raised to Jehovah's right hand, was appointed to damn his enemies, yet now he in turn has to ally himself with the human Jesus, recovered by sceptics from his cold celestial sepulchre.

Such victories as this are won in our new Armageddon,—victories in which none are defeated. Free Religion can never desire a partisan triumph: it cares most for kingdoms that come without observation, like soft summer dawns. It is not pressing a set of opinions.

It is important that the search for abstract truth shall go on; for, in the end, every truth will prove productive. But those whose past is in the moral

and religious and social service—whose aim is humanization of the earth and the joy of mankind—need not suppose that sects and superstitions will yield to logic and criticism. Lucian and Celsus and Bruno before us piled up arguments. It is even doubtful whether there were not relatively as many mediæval as modern free thinkers. Their intellectual shafts made little impression on the mass. Those who never reached their creed by logic will not lose it by logic. It is folly to suppose that a man of untrained critical faculty, accustomed to submit to juries and majorities questions he has no time to investigate, will yield his comfortable relations with this world and comfortable certainties of another for novel criticisms and negations. All that must be left to the forces of evolution, which happily are accelerated by the diffusion of education; and the special task of the Free Religious man is to insist on the religious and ethical factor of the evolution,—to introduce it everywhere, increase it, intensify it. We are not seeking a syllogistic victory, not victory for any abstract principle. Anacharsis Clootz declared to the revolutionary assembly in Paris that the democratic principle is so precious that it would be cheaply purchased by the destruction of the whole human race from the face of the planet. That opinion may accord with the deity who deluged the world, but hardly with the deity revealed in the heart of man. The religious principle is unknown save by successes manifest in the elevation of all. It aims to recover the whole world for justice, peace, and happiness. There can be no triumph of Free Religion which leaves behind the institutions and churches. These cannot speedily be given new heads, but they can be given new hearts. Belief in witchcraft is nearly as wide-spread now as it was a thousand years ago; but we hardly recognize it, because it has a new heart,—a heart created in the age of Channing and Parker and Emerson, full of faith in progress and sympathy with human sorrow, far removed from the weird and malevolent incantations of serfs invoking devils against their oppressors. The appearance of man on the planet does not involve disappearance of the anthropoid, but it does involve disappearance of the wolf. The higher religion must be content, for the present, with clearing the world of brutal, immoral, hostile forms of faith, and hope that these new conditions will lead on the intellectual wisdom.

In this is indicated the method of our work in Armageddon. The wise man, says Confucius, uses what is in man to reform man. In mankind, love for what is good and fair, the moral sentiment,—though it may be paralyzed by terror, and sometimes silenced by temptation,—is the ancient foundation on which human society was built. It has been overlaid by wild growths of ignorance, but in all their stems is something of the original granite. How confident the average Christian is that his Bible, his Word of God, is opposed to polygamy, favorable to the elevation of woman, to progress, freedom, equality, human fraternity! That mistaken brother has got a new heart. It beats amid an organization inherited from antiquity,—an organization of notions contrary to tendencies of our age. Primogeniture, despotism, thrones, race hatreds, masculine domination, intellectual thralldom, are not merely textual in Christianity: they are its foundation stones. Take from it these ideas,—the only son of a supreme monarch selecting favorites from a particular race, promising his disciples thrones over mankind, resting his favoritism on blind belief in supernatural pretensions,—take away that, and you have a good and wise street preacher, but no distinct system of belief. This man with the new heart, propitiating

his past with phrases while his spirit marches with the present, is not a favorite with free thinkers. They say he has no right to his uniform, and ought to be made to declare under which king he will fight. But that only shows how far militantism survives among "free thinkers," some of whom are inverted sectarians. To a thinker really free, to one who has no camp and seeks only that the light he loves shall prevail,—rejoicing if it steal through crevices and visit spirits in prison, or in dogmatic dungeons tint some flower with hues of the wide sky,—to such a one, the man who has put a nineteenth century Jesus into his antiquarian frame is the man he is primarily seeking to create. Bodies are not built up or renewed at once, but atom by atom, until all the old ones are replaced. When you have got a healthy heart beating inside, it will steadily build the kind of head and hand it needs.

Liberal public teachers have been wearied with the question, "If you pull down our creed, what are you going to put in its place?" Some one asked Voltaire that, and he answered, "I remove a cancer from you, and you ask what I shall put in its place!" As a matter of fact, it is impossible for one belief to depart, save through the presence of another. If a man refuses to believe that two plus two equals five, it is because he has discovered that two plus two equals four. Every clear denial is an equally clear affirmation. But beneath that persistent question the real one is, What institutions are you going to put in the place of these Christian ones? what homes, hopes, affections, characters, are to replace these which, with all their faults, bring much happiness?

To answer that what they so value is no more Christian than the sunshine would be preposterous,—in the literal sense of that word, putting first what should come after. Our position is that we desire to remove only the acknowledged faults and defects of our civilization, to heal social and physical diseases, respecting all that is sound and whole. Every free man believes as much as he can, and agrees with others as much as he can. It is only a survival from ages of intolerance that makes a heretic pugnacious. But where dogmas promote discord, where hearts are frozen by creeds, where men sacrifice justice and liberty to idols, and bind heavy burdens on their fellows in the name of religion, there is our Armageddon, where truth and right must stand and strive till they prevail.

They will prevail only as they strive lawfully, and not in the old militant way. Evolution has taught us that. The religious thinker of to-day stands amid established errors as primitive man amid the gourds and briars he has changed to melons and roses. He did not bruise them. He co-operated with what was best in them, and commanded by obedience to their law. The victims of error are to be shown wherein they are its victims, how their moral natures are lowered and their culture arrested and their Christ crucified by discouragements of thought, dislike of honest opinion, and by laws that coerce conscience.

Our theory is that these evils have a deep root, like that birthmark in Hawthorne's story, which the chemist removed from his wife's cheek. Life went with it. If Christians should treat good atheists and good Brahmins and Buddhists like brothers; should they allow perfect freedom on the Sabbath; should they tax a church the same as a theatre, since otherwise every citizen is taxed for that church; should they encourage every thinker to utter his thought, and honor his courage if his thought be against their creed; if they raised moral character above Orthodoxy,—then intellectual errors would surely follow the arbitrary, unjust, immoral, and uncharitable usages

that make their habitat. So I think, but shall be happy if Christians believe their system can survive withdrawal of all artificial supports, and show their confidence by such withdrawal. That would make society a friendly Armageddon, where all shall compete in services to truth and right, and the best method be made manifest, to the joy of all.

In other words, the first task of religion is to convert Christianity. It needs to have a clean heart created within it and a right spirit renewed within it. When it gets that, it may still require some time to shed its superstitions,—as long, perhaps, as it took the early believers in Christ to discover that their new faith was inconsistent with Jewish ceremonies. That is comparatively a small matter. The main thing is to bring the Church under conviction of its sins against the charity, the humanity, the justice which its members claim for their Christ. And that we can best do by so representing in our own lives the justice, generosity, and humanity required, investing truth with the sentiment and sweetness that twine like roses round old altars, till pious fears shall be allayed, and devout women and children confidently move to frontiers once associated with the pioneer's axe and hut, but which shall now be seen bright with happy homes. It seems to me that the negative task of free-thought is about ended. Its duty was to convince the tribunal of reasoning minds, not the unreasoning; and the verdict is clear. I cannot help thinking that the service most needed by Truth is now rendered by those who associate it with the loveliness of life, with culture and refinement of manners, with the oil and wine which soothe and refresh the weary, wounded travellers on the world's hard highway.

Science, too, must become a subject of grace. It is a dismal feature of our time that there is no religion in which Science can believe. But Science is our chief miracle-worker: the coming human religion must depend on that trinity of Heart, Head, and Hand,—of Love, Knowledge, and Wealth,—whose undivided substance shall perform the true miracles; that is, shall introduce a power able to control and apply natural forces to humane ends, to create by purposed selection, to be thus a providence to mankind. The man of the past offered prayers: the man of the future will answer them. Emerson's first volume of Essays ends with the pregnant prophecy, "When Science is learned in love, and its powers are wielded by love, they will appear the supplements and continuations of the material creation." That is precisely our need. The world is a very fair study of a world, but it is sadly unfinished; and now, when the discovery has been made of the art by which it was made thus fair, we find the power that might continue the creation, and do away with its brutality, without the required "enthusiasm of humanity." Science has for centuries been a suspect to religion: it has had to gain freedom through fire and fagot, making its records in tongues unknown to the people, and has acquired an instinct that shuns both priest and priest-ridden. Until religion is entirely detached from the crude science of antiquity, now preserved as theology, we cannot hope that Science will be thoroughly humanized. It will one day be felt as astounding that great scientists should reverence the law of evolution without perceiving that they are reverencing the heartless gods of primitive man, visiting the sin of fathers upon their children, consecrating predatory instincts. To know the law of evolution endows man with the giant's strength, but we had better not know it than to use it like a giant. The order of nature is moral disorder. There is needed a religion

which shall move men to substitute moral for natural selection, and steadily remake nature into the image and stature of a perfect man.

To that end, religion must also convert wealth. I see your incredulity, and admit that the camel's passage through a needle's eye seems small compared with this last miracle. But, with the God I am thinking of, all things are possible, even the melting of these golden icebergs into streams that shall make our waste places rejoice and blossom like the rose. Wealth, also, is without a religion. In all the Christian ages, no divine man has appeared, saying to it, "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and follow me." I conceive that many a millionaire, if convinced that he could by large outlay permanently remove any disease or evil from the world, would not count the cost. Religion has never yet set before wealth any such hope or motive. It has admitted the fatal superstition that the evils of this world are necessary, incurable, disciplinary, only to be redressed in another. This leaves wealth without an ideal.

What sanctions are left to a religion that can promise neither hell nor heaven? What motive can it use to curb selfishness and animate duty? What answer can it give to the man who asks, "Why should I give up any enjoyment for the advantage of another?" If the old fears of hell and faith in heaven actually availed so to curb and inspire mankind, this would be a more serious question. But they do not. The terrors are laughed at; the rewards, even when believed in, are offered for favors to God, and not for services to man. The destructions of time cannot be arrested; and, in the presence of these decayed, uninhabitable ruins of Eastern faith, we must hasten to build us new mansions.

And what solid material have we to build with? I believe that religion needs a heaven to animate it, but it must be a heaven unclouded by doubt. That heaven it can only find in the vision of a perfect world,—a world purified of evil, whose inhabitants shall no more say, "I am sick," where tears shall be wiped away from all eyes. I believe that religion must dread the hells of disease and selfishness and strife. And that all the great forces of the world will be concentrated upon the extermination of those hells, the realization of that heaven, when a generation is trained from the cradle to serve no god but perfect man, to dread no hell but human corruption, to seek no paradise but an earth transformed by art and science, a society transfigured by truth and love. Stones rejected of the builders because unsuited to support the thrones of prelate and potentate, ruling by terrorism and favoritism, practised in this world and projected into another; the sense of honor, left to be defiled on the duel-ground and battle-fields of barbarism, yet there able to command more courage and sacrifices than any deity; sympathy, compassionateness, which dogmas have tried to consume with their implacable god and purposeless hell; example, by which a community is made of one language,—the sculptor of character,—whose power is perverted by prayerful transfer, of parental responsibility to the Holy Ghost; the love of happiness, largely left to creep in rank tangles of self-indulgence, because not consecrated and cultured to find its flower of joy in bringing happiness to others, its thorn in selfishness,—these, rejected by the builders of an authority not based on reason or right, but on abjectness of fear and desire, must be corner-stones of the human religion.

These are the forces of religion, by which it were able to turn its back on heaven and cheerfully enter hell for the sake of its beloved. When the soul falls in love with its ideal, it is not a Pla-

tonic affection: it must win and realize its vision, or perish. The old forms idealized by the souls of men have fallen: what they thought stars have proved to be meteors. There is nothing left but to lavish our spiritual affections on what we have. We are not the first who have done that. It is said that after Mohammed had his heart taken out by an angel while he slept, and put back after something had been removed from it,—perhaps his orthodoxy,—he gazed upon one grain of sand in the desert where he sat alone. As he gazed, the grain of sand swelled to a beautiful world, and bowers of paradise with waiting brides. Let us not see less in this fair New World than Mohammed saw in his desert! Great things are still visible to great souls. There is a Republic of Man at hand. Not by observation does it come: but wherever the man of science is at work seeking some farther knowledge of the secrets of nature whereby he may master its wild strength; wherever the scholar and the poet burn the midnight oil that they may bring to man that history of his past and that image of his future which shall give this life some range of eternity; wherever the physician is striving to gain knowledge that shall soothe anguish, and the philanthropist confronting every form of misery, there are at work the forces of the true religion, angels of a new heaven building the new earth around us.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE CHURCH.

Whereas the greatest barrier to woman's emancipation is found in the superstitions of the Church, and the literal rendering of Scripture text and allegories by which those in authority are armed with the potent words, "Thus saith the Lord," to compel woman's subjection and belief in dogmas that cripple her development and freedom,—therefore

Resolved, That a thorough consideration of this question should now be urged in the American church; and, for this purpose, delegates from State and national conventions should be sent to all sectarian conventions, and committees appointed to visit the clergy in their own localities, to urge more enlightened teaching in their pulpits in regard to woman.

With this resolution, Mrs. Stanton sent the following letter to the National Woman Suffrage Association, of which she is president, and before which it was read, at the recent convention held in Washington, D.C.:

"*Dear Friends*,—My convictions from year to year have been steadily growing stronger that, before we can secure woman's emancipation from the slavery and superstitions of the past, we have an important work to do in the Church. Hence, I would suggest in our plan of work for the coming year that we now begin the same vigorous agitation in the Church that we have kept up in the State for the last forty years. As the canon law, with all the subtle influences that grow out of it, is more responsible for woman's slavery to-day than the civil code, with the progressive legislation of the last half-century, we have an interest in tracing to their origin the lessons taught to woman in the churches, and a right to demand of our theologians the same full and free discussion in the Church that we have had in the State, as the time has fully come for woman to be heard in the ecclesiastical councils of the nation. To this end, I suggest that committees and delegates from all our State and national associations visit the clergy in their several localities, and attend their various convocations and general assemblies, to press on their consideration the true position of woman as a factor in a Christian civilization. Woman to-day, as ever, supplies the enthusiasm that sustains the Church; and she has a right in turn to ask the Church to sustain her in this struggle for liberty, and not only as individuals, but as influential organizations, to take some decided action with reference to this momentous and far-reaching movement. It matters little that here and there some clergyman advocates our cause, so long as no sectarian organization has yet recognized our demand as a principle of justice; and the debate is rarely opened in their councils, being generally treated as a speculative, sentimental question un-

worthy serious consideration. Neither would it suffice if they gave in their adhesion to the demand for political equality, so long as by Scriptural teaching they perpetuate our social and religious subordination.

"The State has long granted us respectful hearing before congressional committees and legislative assemblies, and it is now full time for the Church to follow her example. Lawyers and judges have listened to our arguments; while the civil code has been essentially modified, and some of the worst features of the common law abolished. Leading statesmen have taken part in the debate on the constitutional rights of woman, and recognized our claims as citizens of the republic. Scientists, in a rigid analysis of sex, have proved by innumerable facts that the primal form of all life is feminine, exploding the fable that man was first in the creation.

"And now the time has come for theologians to give expression to some well-digested ideas on this question, and substitute arguments for the sophistries too often used in our pulpits. In view of the intelligence, morality, and liberal education of the women of this period, all those texts of Scripture and parables referring to her as the author of sin, as an inferior, and a subject,—a weaker vessel,—should no longer be read in our churches, as they humiliate woman and destroy the respect that is her due from the rising generation. All these ideas should be relegated to the ancient mythologies as mere allegories, having no application whatever to the woman-kind of this generation.

"Everything points to a purer and more rational religion in the future, in which woman, as mother of the race, will be recognized as an equal in both the Church and the State. Archdeacon Farrar, in an article in the January number of the *North American Review*, says, 'The three elements which are essential to the teaching of a strong, living Church are Tolerance, Freedom, and Progress.' He gives in his article suggestions on various popular questions, on which he says it is the duty of the Church to make its voice heard. To his list, I add, 'Justice, Equality, and Liberty for woman.'

"ELIZABETH CADY STANTON."

CORRESPONDENCE.

A PREDICTION.

Editors of The Index :—

In reply to the following paragraph which appeared in your last issue, I have a word to say:—

"The fact that Carlyle's old house at Chelsea has fallen into the hands of the proprietor of a quack medicine, and that no word has come from Carlyle in regard to the matter, is decidedly against the belief that those whose earthly life has been extinguished can communicate with this world."

Carlyle has possibly found, as so many men of letters have done before him, that his scorn of and his neglect to investigate the most important and most fully demonstrated truth which his era held has given him such an unenviable position among the conceited ignorant that he is only too glad to earn his way into better company by an absorbing study of the A, B, C, of life! In that case, he is not particularly anxious about the fate of a forsaken domicile, however dear the associations which formerly had centred there. I venture the prediction that, when he gets ready to speak, he will say something that will make the ears of those tingle who dare ridicule the sublime facts of modern Spiritualism!

Cordially yours,

OLIVIA F. SHEPARD.

Boston, March 8, 1886.

[We shall be glad to hear from Carlyle when "he gets ready to speak," and to print in *The Index* anything he may see fit to communicate for the world's enlightenment. If he does speak, his words will bear ample evidence of their genuineness. There has been only one Carlyle.—B. F. U.]

HOPE AND REFLECTION.

Editors of The Index :—

I hope for a better development of universal reason and for a scientific method attaining to a universal religion and philosophy enjoyed and comprehended by all intelligent persons.

If a writer has studied the philosophy of Spencer up and down to the Unknowable, and somebody ex-

presses a hope for a future "philosophy which must be comprehended by all rational beings," it is inadequate to proclaim that "such a philosophy must be so extremely simple as not to be entitled to the name of philosophy at all"; and, after giving several definitions of his philosophy and of his master, he finishes his reply with the peculiar dictum, "Such a philosophy can be comprehended only by clear-headed and profound thinkers."

When a noted philosopher proclaims, and his disciples believe in, an "Unknowable," a majority of good thinkers generally will try to ascertain something more regarding the clouds and mountains, but will not look down with them into their abyss. Such thinkers experience and appreciate facts. They value rational doctrines of the atheist, materialist, theist, and of the scholars Berkeley, Spencer, and others; but, when it comes to individual notions and conclusions, one said, "If Berkeley says there is no matter, it is no matter what he says"; and, when Spencer concludes his philosophy with the theory of an Unknowable, it is not known what he means, "powerful reason" and "concurrence among modern psychologist and philosopher that our knowledge is limited to our state of consciousness," notwithstanding. To set God and infinite wisdom on a throne in heaven is one extreme, and to assume that finite wisdom has arrived at an ultimatum is another. There are many thinkers who cannot find a limitation on either side. But they are going on striving to ascertain more and more from the unknown. They agree with Longfellow, when he says:—

"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul."

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N.H., March 15, 1886.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF GOETHE. Lectures at the Concord School of Philosophy. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886. pp. 454.

This volume contains thirteen of the lectures and essays read before the Concord School of Philosophy in July, 1885. Several of the lectures on Goethe are omitted here, the lecturers having either published their essays elsewhere or withheld them for other uses. A condensed report of these lectures was given to the readers of *The Index*, by Mr. F. M. Holland, at the time of their delivery. Hence, we shall now notice them but briefly. We give a list of subjects and speakers: "Goethe's Youth," Prof. H. S. White; "Goethe's Self-culture," John Albee; "Goethe's Titanism," Thomas Davidson; "Goethe and Schiller," Rev. C. A. Bartol; "Goethe's Märchen," Rev. F. H. Hedge; "Goethe's Relation to English Literature," F. B. Sanborn; "Goethe as a Playwright," W. O. Partridge; "Das Ewig-Weibliche," Mrs. E. D. Cheney; "The Elective Affinities," S. H. Emery, Jr.; "Child-life as portrayed by Goethe," Mrs. C. K. Sherman; "History of the Faust Poem," Denton J. Snider; "Goethe's Women," Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; and "Goethe's Faust," W. T. Harris.

The tendency in most of these lectures is to idealize the great poet through too excessive a veneration. The essayists, recognizing his work and strength as a great thinker, philosopher, and charming poet, having made a special study of him, flatter themselves that they have discovered, in their careful attempts at analyzation, the occult meanings hidden in the various phases of his work, and proceed at once "to gild refined gold, to paint the lily"; but only rarely does the criticism or analysis here given furnish the reader with any particularly new interpretation or revelation in regard to the great German writer, in spite of the frequent pretty tricks of transcendental word-jugglery exhibited by many of these partakers in this Goethe symposium. The commonplace moralist, however, cannot fail to be struck with the prevailing tendency in these lectures—even when the lecturer is a professional teacher of morality, like Rev. Dr. Bartol—to excuse or gloss over the palpable immoralities in the life of the man, because of their admiration of the thinker. While the confessed sins of Goethe's life are thus generously overlooked or condoned, his theological heresies are carefully explained away, the meaning of certain expressions stultified, warped, and twisted to conform to his admirer's wish. Of Mr. Davidson's paper, which is marked by discrimination in discussing the character of the great genius, and some

others, this cannot be said. In spite of Mrs. Cheney's charming idealization of Goethe's comprehension and admiration of the "supreme abstract idea of womanhood," the "eternally womanly"; of Mrs. Howe's choice culling from his writings of the most ideal among his women characters to show his supposable underlying appreciation of the best in womanhood; and of the side-lights thrown in the same direction by Mrs. Sherman in her lecture on "Child-life as portrayed by Goethe," the impression remains to the unbiased reader of his works—an impression deepened by the story of his life—that to him women owe no great debt of gratitude as a champion or true interpreter of genuine womanhood, outside of the distortions of sentimentalism and romance. Yet we find in the list given of the works of various authors treating of Goethe no less than fifteen by women writers and admirers. The handsome portrait of the poet which adorns the frontispiece may, perhaps, easily explain one reason for his personal attraction for the women who knew him during his lifetime. This portrait and the engraving of his bust, taken in old age, show us a noble head and a winning physiognomy.

S. A. U.

TWENTY-FOUR SERMONS PREACHED IN ALL SOULS' CHURCH, NEW YORK, 1835-1881. By Henry W. Bellows, D.D. Selected and edited by his son, Russell N. Bellows. Published by the editor. New York, 1886.

This volume has been lying too long on our table waiting to be read. Nor have we now had opportunity more than to take pieces of it at random here and there. But these are sufficient to enable us to say that the son has done well to collect and print these sermons as a posthumous memorial of his father's pulpit work. The congregation that heard the discourses must be specially glad to have them. But Dr. Bellows was a leader among the Unitarians so conspicuously commanding that the volume must find, in the denomination at large, many welcoming readers. The sermons range through the last sixteen years of his life, though no dates are assigned to them individually, except to the last, which was an occasional sermon delivered at the dedication of a church in 1881, not many weeks before the preacher's death. This sermon is of generous breadth in its thought and spirit, at the same time that it is a vigorous plea for keeping historic connection with the Christian Church and retaining the Christian name and the attitude of discipleship to Jesus. It is kind toward those who no longer profess to be Christians, but it is an argument against their position; and it closes with ascribing to Jesus the title of "Master and Lord." Yet that Dr. Bellows, at least in the latter part of his life, used this title only in a metaphorical sense, is evident in the sermon immediately preceding this, on "The Distinctive Mission of Unitarian Christianity," in which he said: "We find and we acknowledge no finality in the Scriptures, no finality in the word or person of Jesus. It is only the Truth that is our finality." This latter discourse, which also bears the marks of having been an occasional one, is a fervent plea for Reason as the final tribunal of authority, and gives proof throughout of a great change in Dr. Bellows' views after the time of his famous discourse on "The Suspense of Faith," in 1859.

W. J. P.

THE FINAL SCIENCE, OR SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM. Being a Strict Application of the most Approved Modern Scientific Principles to the Solution of the Deep-seated Problems of the Age. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1885. pp. 194.

This volume professes to be a defence of materialism, and an attempt to explain the universe on materialistic grounds. But it is really a take-off, and its object is to make materialism appear ridiculous. The work is a very clever piece of satire. It abounds in witty thrusts, and its sarcasm is sometimes very keen. This passage in regard to atoms gives some idea of the vein in which the work is written: "At one time, the atoms were originally at rest; but then there was insurmountable difficulty in getting them to move. Therefore, they were originally endowed with motion. Sometimes, the atoms were all alike; and then there were only quantitative relations, not qualitative differences. They retained this state so long as motion was imagined capable of accounting for the variety found in the universe: when the imagination became enfeebled, qualitative differences were introduced into the atoms. Their present status

is hard to determine, since they are not stationary enough to admit of careful examination."

THE MESSAGE OF THE BLUEBIRD TOLD TO ME TO TELL TO OTHERS. By Irene E. Jerome. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. Price \$1.00.

Those who are already acquainted with Miss Jerome's exquisite work as poet and artist in her *One Year's Sketch-book* will welcome this beautiful and artistic souvenir, a dainty combination of song and illustration, which is remarkable as being the product of one woman's hand and brain. It makes a lovely and unique Easter offering, and consists of eight full-page woodcut illustrations of spring scenes, accompanied by refined, descriptive, and poetic verse, printed on plated paper, bound in covers of "imperial antique," knotted with silk floss of several bright colors, neatly packed in an attractive box, and makes one of the most æsthetic gift-books of the season.

A STRIKING portrait of the Spanish orator, Emilio Castelar, adorns the frontispiece page of the *March Century*, and is accompanied by two articles in regard to him and his influence on Spanish politics, one by William J. Armstrong, entitled "Castelar, the Orator," and the other by Alvey A. Adee, giving some "Reminiscences of Castelar." The most fully illustrated articles of this number are "Italy from a Tricycle," written by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by her husband, Joseph Pennell; "City Dwellings," by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, "Mountaineering in Persia," by S. G. W. Benjamin; and "Shiloh Reviewed," by Gen. Buell. Frank R. Stockton's psychometric story, "A Borrowed Month," is concluded. Mrs. Foote's unique "John Bodewin's Testimony" foreshadows speedy conclusion, and the second installment of Howells' story deepens our interest in it. The short story entitled "John Toner's Experiment," by Miss Kernan, is strongly written. Washington Gladden has a timely article on "The Strength and Weakness of Socialism." The departments of "War Memoranda," "Topics of the Times," "Open Letters," and "Bric-à-brac," while containing much that is interesting, yet call for no special mention; and the poetry of the number offers nothing of particular merit.

THE Freethinkers' Magazine is published now every month. The March number contains well-written and interesting articles, among which are "Cremation vs. Burial," by Charles Well, M.D.; "Spiritualism," by William Henry; "An Address" (to his orthodox friends, on the Bible), No. 3, by A. B. Bradford; "Modern Thought," by H. Clay Luse; "Beecher on Evolution," by William F. Lyon; "The Edmunds Bill," by Helen H. Gardner; and "Theodore Parker," an editorial. Salamanca, N.Y.: H. L. Green, publisher and editor.

DON'T flatter yourself that friendship authorizes you to say disagreeable things to your intimates. On the contrary, the nearer you come into relation with a person, the more necessary do tact and courtesy become.—O. W. Holmes.

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"Who doubts," says the Boston Herald, "that it is a wise and salutary legislation that protects the property of minors against thieves and sharks, by refusing to let girls be held responsible for contracts till of legal age, and so presumably old enough to know what they are about? But is not this question of bodily purity a still more momentous one? The dollar sacredly guarded by law till the age of eighteen, but the body left free to be flung into the gutter at twelve. This time, let the women of Massachusetts press home upon every legislator the indignant question why he does not vote to raise the legal 'age of consent' to shame and degradation at least as high as it stands for marriage or for dollars and cents! Or, at any rate, to show clear reason why a discrimination should be made between the two cases."

THE Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, Mass., cautions all women to be wary of advertisements and circulars promising—on receipt of a certain sum—work at home, with large earnings. Those desiring information regarding circulars and advertisements offering to women work at home should address Mrs. A. M. Diaz, President of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 74 Boylston Street, Boston.

WATSON GRIFFIN, of Montreal, will publish an article in the *Magazine of American History* for April, entitled "The Consolidation of Canada," in reply to Dr. Bender's article in the February number, "The Disintegration of Canada," which appears to have created a great commotion in the Dominion.

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In the *Critic* of March 20, the first place is given to an account of a collection of manuscript books and poems, autograph letters from famous writers, etc., which includes most of the literary treasures belonging to Mr. James R. Osgood, the publisher, now shortly to be sold. The manuscripts of Emerson's *Representative Men* and Dr. Holmes' *Autocrat and Professor* are described; and a long and interesting letter from Jean Jacques Rousseau is printed in both the original French and a free English translation. A sonnet by Keats is also published for the first time.

THE April number of the *Popular Science Monthly* will contain an important original article by Herbert Spencer on the limits and interpretation of the doctrine of natural selection, and the position of Mr. Charles Darwin in respect to the theory of evolution. There have been so much confusion and exaggeration upon this subject as to make desirable an authoritative statement of Mr. Darwin's just claims in connection with the doctrine of evolution, and no man is so capable of making this estimate as Herbert Spencer. The paper will be elaborate and striking, and is certain to be very widely read.

MR. JOHN B. MORLEY, of Painesville, Ohio, writes: "It is perhaps needless for me to say that I consider *The Index* at the present time the equal, if not the superior, of any journal now published in the country; but as long as the columns of our metropolitan journals, responsive to a public demand, are weekly filled with the vaporings of such men as the Revs. Cook, Talmage, Moody, Sam Jones, and Small, the general recognition of *The Index's* superiority must of necessity be a question of time. But that that recognition will come I feel as well assured as I do that, in the end, true knowledge will overcome charlatanism or light dissipate darkness."

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MISS LOUISA HOWARD, who died last week at Burlington, Vt., aged seventy-eight, and among whose public gifts are mentioned large contributions to the Howard Relief Society, Home for Destitute Children, and Young Women's Christian Association, did not believe in funeral displays. Her last words were, "Let no money be wasted on my funeral, but save it for the poor."

COMMENTING ON Rev. Joseph Cook's recent exclamation, "I am for Christian socialism and against atheistic socialism; I am for the institutions of Lassalle and against those of Karl Marx," John Swinton's paper remarks: "Let him [Mr. Cook] ask of the first woolly-headed pickaninny he may happen to meet, and he will have a chance of learning the fact, unknown to him, that Lassalle was a Jewish disciple of the Hebrew Karl Marx."

THERE is a William Carlyle at Ecclefechan who does not believe in the best-known member of the Carlyle family. William is the beadle of the United Presbyterian church in the village; and to a pilgrim, who recently visited the grave of Thomas Carlyle, the beadle said: "Heaps of people from foreign parts come to see the grave; but, although I am a Carlyle myself, he is no prophet with me. I ken better. In fact, the folk here do not think meikle of him. His books are not read hereaway at all." The pilgrim was the Rev. J. H. Thomson, of Hightae Free Church.

DR. JANE CULVER read a most instructive paper last Sunday before the Parker Memorial Science Class, on "Philosophical Old Age." Next Sunday, the address will be by Prof. Edward S. Morse, on one of his favorite scientific subjects. The class is in a most prosperous condition, and is doing excellent work. The lectures and discussions at all its sessions this season have been of a high character, and they have been listened to by quite large as well as appreciative audiences. This class, so called, has grown to be a large and flourishing society, of wide and continually increasing influence; and, as an agency for awakening and sus-

taining interest in scientific subjects and diffusing the best scientific thought of the day, its value cannot be estimated.

DR. J. R. MONROE published last week the first number of the thirty-first volume of his *Iron-clad Age*. It was started at Rockford, Ind., and named the *Rockford Herald* in 1855; removed in 1857 to Seymour, Ind., and called the *Seymour Times*; and three or four years ago it was removed to Indianapolis, and given its present name. The *Age* is independent, radical, and witty, is the organ of no party or clique, but of its editor, and has a way of its own in combating superstition. We congratulate our friend on the publication of a free-thought journal under his ownership and management for thirty years.

THIS paragraph from a letter in the *Pittsburg, Pa., Despatch* is of interest: "Mrs. Annie Besant, who is probably the cleverest woman in England, is associated with Mr. Bradlaugh in the publication of a free-thought newspaper. A few years ago, they hoped to solve the labor problem by teaching the doctrine of Malthus. They saw the labor market overstocked, men competing with each other for the privilege of working, wives and children forced into competition with husbands and fathers, and fancied that if fewer children were born of the working classes there soon would be fewer working people and, consequently, higher wages. Possibly, they reasoned well; but, while they taught, the children kept on coming in droves, all the same. Mrs. Besant has recognized the futility of the plan, and now looks to socialism rather than to Malthusianism for the relief of the workers. Mr. Bradlaugh stands still. He is brave enough to fight Gabriel and all his hosts; but he knows there is not a constituency in all the United Kingdom so far advanced as to elect a socialist to Parliament, and is therefore an intense 'individualist,' whatever that may mean. When pushed to explain by what other method a wage slave can become anything else than a wage slave, he resorts to his clever lawyer's tricks, and of course fails to answer."

REV. GEORGE J. LOW, rector of St. Peter's, Brockville, Ont., in a recent sermon, after saying that "not only our Lord Jesus Christ, but the whole Word of God, from beginning to end, countenances and makes provision for the drinking of intoxicating liquor," that "therefore either the consumption of such liquor is lawful and right or the word of God is wrong," and, after disposing of the claim sometimes made that "two kinds of wine" are mentioned in the Bible, the reverend gentleman continued thus: "The third answer to this dilemma is that of the infidel prohibitionists; and their reply is, 'It is true that the Bible allows the use of intoxicants; and so much the worse for the Bible.' Well, this answer has the merit, at all events, of being straightforward and logical. But you see to what it leads. Perhaps you may be surprised to hear of infidel prohibitionists, yet there are very many of them in the United States. They have a very extensive

literature of their own,—newspapers, novels, etc.,—all inculcating total abstinence and atheism." The town of Liberal, Mo., this preacher says, has been advertised "in terms to this effect: that in said town there were 'no churches, no devil, no Christ, no God!'" It has been common, hitherto, for the pulpit to represent drunkenness as the legitimate result of "infidelity"; but now a preacher associates with it, in order to make them odious to his hearers, total abstinence and prohibition. "Times change, and men change with them."

ACCORDING to the *Chicago Herald*, Sam Jones has a very poor opinion of many of his profession: "I tell you," cried Brother Jones, "that the worst enemies God has got to-day are in the pulpits of this world." The audience was with Sam in his low estimate of the pulpit. It applauded; but its greatest demonstration, its heartiest approval, followed Jones' declaration, "I believe as many preachers go to hell in proportion to their numbers as any class of people in God Almighty's world." That brought down the house. There was no qualification, no limitation." The *Herald* says that this itinerant from Georgia "seems to gather his opinion of ministers from the very Uriah Heepish manner in which such of them as are puppets in his hands receive his bastings. They are so very humble under his lash and the storm of derision he raises against them." The same paper states that the revivalist has declared his purpose to reform his speech; but alas for the frailty of human nature! "The jargon of the swamp, the debasing lingo of the irreclaimable progressive euchre player, the abounding epithet of tap-room frequenters, the colloquialisms of the unregenerate and impolite, will come trippingly from the tongue of the revivalist. But a few more weeks of the bracing and enlightening environment of Chicago may be trusted to improve the preacher's speech."

AMONG the despatches published in the daily papers last week was the following: "A prominent Pennsylvania railroad manager said to-night: 'The advance of twenty-five cents a ton on coal announced by all companies to-day is expected to be confirmed by the meetings of the Pennsylvania coal companies next week. Strictly speaking, no coal combination has yet been formed; for no papers have been signed and no binding action taken. It is simply an understanding between gentlemen.'" When members of the coal ring combine and carry out a plan to enrich themselves by raising the price of coal, they make the consumers pay a higher price than would be charged under free competition, and they limit production in many manufacturing industries. Yet their compact is simply "an understanding among gentlemen." When their employes combine for the purpose of increasing their pay by preventing production until their demands are complied with, these wealthy coal producers regard the action of the miners as lawless, an invasion of the rights of capital, and destructive of social order as well as of business prosperity.

A FACTIONAL REACTION AMONG UNITARIANS.

We have spoken of late of the good signs of progress among Unitarians, as, notably, the publication of a volume of the writings of Theodore Parker by the American Unitarian Association. We have also referred to the outbreak of a new conflict in the denomination, particularly in the West, over the question who are to be counted Unitarians. This question has been raised by Mr. Sunderland, the Secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference, who thinks that that Conference has allowed altogether too much latitude in the direction of the Free Religious platform. He would have a rule established by which both societies and ministers should subscribe to certain beliefs before being admitted to Unitarian fellowship. These beliefs, perhaps, may be accurately summed up under the phrase "Christian Theism." This required creed—for a creed it is—would not have been regarded as very exacting a generation ago. Indeed, probably at that time all recognized Unitarian ministers and societies would have readily assented to the proposition that this statement, or something with even more of Christian dogma, was the basis of their fellowship; and, if any had demurred to making it, the demur would have been on the ground that there was no need for them to express such a belief any more than to assert that the sun shines, or probably, too, in some cases on the ground that to make such a statement of belief together, however true, would be contrary to fundamental Unitarian principles. But, to-day, even the simplest doctrines of "Christian Theism" cannot be drawn into a formal statement as condition of Unitarian fellowship without cutting off a number of societies and ministers already recognized as within the denomination.

How far this reactionary movement is to proceed and what effect it is to have, it is impossible to say. But it seems likely that it will delay the inauguration of that era of liberty and reconciliation among Unitarians which, it has been prophesied, was soon to come. It has even been said that their next National Conference would follow up the reconciling work which the Unitarian Association has been doing, and remove from its Constitution the long debated theological Preamble. But this can hardly now be expected. True, this movement appears to represent only a faction of the denomination. But it is a faction that is showing a good deal of vigor and zeal. Its leaders are respected for their personal character and denominational loyalty; and all the conservative elements of the Unitarian household—some of them have been in a condition of hopeless quietude of late—will naturally rally around them. If, with such advantages, they do not make a better fight than Mr. George H. Hepworth did for a limiting creed several years ago, it will be proof that the rank and file of the denomination have, indeed, since then made a long advance.

The new monthly publication, the *Unitarian*, of which Mr. Sunderland is the managing editor, is, it is now clear, the organ of this reactionary faction; though it seems strange, with this bias of the magazine so marked, to see Messrs. Robert Collyer and Charles G. Ames announced among the editorial contributors. They have not usually given the influence of their names to any narrow and exclusive denominational policy. In truth, it was difficult at first to believe that Mr. Brooke Herford, who is joint editor with Mr. Sunderland and does much of the editorial writing in the paper, could agree with the latter that Unitarian societies and ministers ought to be bounded by a creed. It has been understood that Mr. Herford,

though well known to be conservative in his own beliefs, was in favor of striking out the objectionable Preamble of the National Conference, and putting no words there that could offend the consciences of any part of the members; and he has done some things since he came to Boston that indicate a disposition to a large and inclusive fellowship. But it would seem now that either he has been misunderstood or has changed his views; for, certainly, his present course is inconsistent with such a position. From some of his utterances and doings of late, it looks as if he felt himself specially called to resist the influence which Emerson has had upon Unitarianism, and to throw himself particularly against the advance of Free Religious ideas in the denomination. One can but respect his earnestness and admire his vigorous activity; but, when it comes to Herford against Emerson, one can but see that it is an ecclesiastic against a prophet, and it needs no great skill to foretell on which side the victory will finally be.

The animus of the *Unitarian* is shown not only by its leading editorial articles, but quite as much by its brief notes. For instance, the old historical church at Northborough, Mass., where Dr. Allen ministered for a lifetime in the spirit of the old-fashioned Unitarian liberty, is called to account, because, in a recently adopted covenant, it omits not only all theology, but the word "worship." In the March number, one of the editors—presumably Mr. Herford—pointedly tells those who cannot come to the work of the denomination with certain beliefs that they are not wanted. This is quite in the spirit of the short-sighted leaders of thirty years ago, who told the young men sympathizing with Theodore Parker's views that the denomination did not want them. But the climax of narrow prejudice and sectarian zeal is reached in a news-note concerning the recent exercises of dedication in the new Unitarian church at Philadelphia. Whoever writes these notes, the editors assume responsibility for them. This is what the one in question says: "The only drawback to the occasion was the part put down on the programme of the opening evening for 'Scripture reading,' which turned out to be a long patchwork of snippets, partly from the Bible, partly from all sorts of authors, ancient and modern. Probably, there were not ten Unitarians in the church who were not ashamed of it." These selections were made and read by Mr. J. H. Clifford, minister of the Unitarian church at Germantown. *Unity*, in view of the *Unitarian's* severe criticism, has published them. They prove to be, as *Unity* says, a "noble" scripture; possibly, too long, but excellent in sentiment, spiritual in tone, and every way appropriate to the occasion. We indorse Mr. Gannett's judgment in *Unity*, when he says: "We should hang our heads in sorrow, if we believed there were ten Unitarians in that church who, listening to this reading, were 'ashamed of it.'" No unprejudiced reader of the selections can have much doubt that it was not the sentiment of any of the passages that caused this outburst of criticism, but the fact that they were not all from the Bible. We are pretty sure that the critic who could thus write of these passages uses the Bible as a fetish. If Mr. Clifford had only read entirely from between the covers of that book, no matter how unfitting or unspiritual the selections might have been, would this critic have said that the congregation was "ashamed of it"? Doubtless, not; for he plainly shows that it is the *book*, and not *ideas*, that he reverences.

While the *Unitarian* inside is thus vigorously applying itself to the brakes, that it may stop the denominational advance, on the outside of its

cover there is a suggestive advertisement headed "New Books, by Unitarian Authors," and subscribed "For sale by the American Unitarian Association, Boston." Presumably, this was prepared by the secretary of that Association. Not only does the list contain the recently published volume of Parker, but the first-named book upon it is Francis E. Abbot's *Scientific Theism*; another is F. L. Hosmer's and W. C. Gannett's volume of Poems; and another is the present writer's *Twenty-five Sermons of Twenty-five Years*. Now, Mr. Abbot has always held the theistic views which he holds to-day; but his "Impeachment of Christianity" he has never withdrawn from circulation. As to Mr. Hosmer, we are not sure, but Mr. Gannett does not call himself a Christian, nor does the author of the *Twenty-five Sermons of Twenty-five Years*; and all of them have been in the habit for years of selecting their "Scripture reading" "from all sorts of [good] authors, ancient and modern." Yet, somehow, the American Unitarian Association has come up to the point of classifying them, Mr. Abbot and the rest, as "Unitarian writers," notwithstanding their non-Christian position. But, if Mr. Herford and Mr. Sunderland are right, these men do not belong in the Unitarian ranks at all. There are, evidently, Unitarians and Unitarians,—some *outside* and some *in*. In this conflict between the *inside Unitarian* and the *outside Unitarian*, which will win? The former is making just now the more stir; but the latter has the larger circumference and, we judge, the greater staying power.

WM. J. POTTER.

THEOSOPHY AS A CULT IN INDIA.

I.

The pictures fabricated in our youthful minds, with infinite care by missionary zeal, regarding India, are fast fading away. And, as the unreal image dissolves into the nebulous recesses of the missionary head-quarters, the outlines of things as they really are in that country come into view. What reasons these paid servants of the Church had for thus beginning a deception, and for now keeping it up, we need not inquire into. It is sufficient to know that they do so.

The other day, in Brooklyn, N.Y., a returned missionary said, in a public meeting, that the poor Hindus need and are asking for the gospel of the Christians; that the condition of their women is deplorable; and lastly, to cap the climax, that Buddhism never could satisfy the intellectual needs of the people there, that it is fast losing ground, and that now is the time for the good Christian here to step in, pay out his money, and send more men—like the speaker—to bring these poor people into the true fold. Such is the constant cry at every missionary meeting.

In order intelligently to consider the question of Theosophy as a cult in India, it is necessary first to see how much truth there is in the statements we have just quoted.

They are undoubtedly false, and flow either from ignorance or from wilful tergiversation. The proposition that Buddhism will not satisfy the needs of the people is a species of trick, because the Hindus do not, except in some few cases, hold to Buddhism. They are of the Brahmanical and Mohammedan faiths, and of course do not pay any attention to Buddhism. But those who are Buddhists—in Ceylon nearly all the people, and many in India—could never accept Christianity, because the latter is based on as much faith, suppression of intelligence, and miracle as the most corrupt form of Buddhism; while it is well known and accepted among students and thinkers

that pure Buddhism is of the highest metaphysical and intellectual character. The experiment only succeeds in cases where, as has been done in Ceylon, the Roman Catholic Church makes converts by adopting and adapting later and popular Buddhist practices and legends as a part of the religion offered to the people, just as was done in the early part of our era, when pagan feasts, fasts, and saints were incorporated into the new religion.

For about the last fifty years, the English government has been giving to the Hindus free education in the colleges which confer degrees; and, if there is anything a Hindu of the better class likes, it is a degree given by a competent college. But these colleges are absolutely unsectarian; while those schools and colleges which the missionaries established are, of course, sectarian, according to the particular sect to which the missionaries belong. Previous to the establishment of these governmental institutions, almost the only way in which Hindus could learn English—absolutely necessary to them from the ever-growing English influences with which so much trade had to be done—was by going to the schools of the missionaries, in which English was taught. Several Hindu merchants have said to me, in India, that that was their only reason for attending those schools, and that they had a feeling of gratitude to the missionaries for the service thus rendered, but that they never did and never could accept their religion. Since the spreading of the governmental colleges, the natives attend there, to the sorrow of the missionaries. But the natives like it better for two reasons: first, because they give degrees under government auspices; and, second, because they are let completely alone in their religious convictions. To all this, the missionaries have made and are now making violent objection; and each issue of the *Epiphany* in Calcutta, and other organs in their interest, are full of the matter. They have even gone so far as to try to influence the British government.

Having understood this, let us now pass to another branch of the subject. The young Hindus of whom we have been speaking are, by nature, in possession of metaphysical faculties of the highest order, transmitted to them by heredity, and necessarily cultivated not only by the system of religious teaching, but also by the very structure of the language in which they have to study their religious and philosophical tenets. In Madras, I have given out prizes at Sanskrit schools to little boys of from four to five years of age, as well as to those older. The Sanskrit is not, properly speaking, a dead language; for it is in constant use at any gathering of pundits met for religious or sociologic discussion, and of these there occur many. I remember one which was held at Madras in 1884, to consider the subject of child marriages. The Deputy Collector of Madras, Mr. Ragonath Row, who is also a prominent member of the Theosophical Society in India, came from the meeting to see me, and told me about the discussion, and that it was conducted altogether in Sanskrit. I have also numerous young and old Hindu friends who all read, and can, if needed, speak in Sanskrit.

At the same time, with these changes in the matter of education, there was also going on another change among the young men of India, in that they were beginning to run after and follow English manners and style of thought. They were giving up all hope of reviving Aryan literature, morals, or manners, adopting as much as they might of Western scientific thought in its most materialistic phase. Some of them, deluded by Huxley, Tyndall, Mill, Bain, and others, began to hold to such negations that they believed there was no such thing as Aryan literature or thought. And one of the learned Hindu founders (behind the

scenes) of the Theosophical Society said "he went down to Calcutta, and there saw some of the descendants of ancient Aryavarta wearing the philosophical and mental garb of Western pessimism and Western materialism, boldly asserting that Patargali was an ancient fool." All the older Hindus deplored this state of things, and vainly longed for a revival of pure Hindu thought and philosophy. The hope seemed indeed vain.

At the same time, here in the West, it was thought by some that Christianity had turned out a failure, leaving the people floundering into agnosticism and all forms of materialism.

At this point, in 1875, the Theosophical Society was formed in New York, with the distinct design in view of benefiting India and the whole of the Western world at the same time. This was its main object, and is expressed in its first declaration, "Universal Brotherhood." The means for accomplishing that were only to be found in India; and, therefore, after it had acquired some corporeal form, its head-quarters were transferred to Bombay.

At first, it was viewed by the government with suspicion; for, as Madame Blavatsky was at its head, and she being a Russian, the ridiculous rumor was spread that she was a spy in the pay of the Russian emperor. After a time, that was given up; and the English officials declared that it was no longer tenable, resulting in a real triumph; for many of those high in authority declared that the society was an instrument of great good for India.

As soon as this spy theory was abandoned, the Hindus, heretofore deterred from affiliating, began to join in large numbers; for they saw that it really was determined to unearth all that is good in the philosophy, in the religions, and in the sciences of ancient India.

Instead of being engaged, as so many self-styled scientists in England so often declared, in exploiting phenomena or in getting up a new kind of Spiritualism, it was really organizing Buddhist schools in Ceylon, Sanskrit schools in Hindustan, encouraging Mohammedans to see what, if anything, was to be found of truth in the philosophy of the Sufis, and in bringing together, on one platform men of the most widely divergent creeds for the purpose of finding out the one truth which must underlie all religion.

WILLIAM Q. JUDGE.

DUALISTIC AND MONISTIC CONCEPTIONS OF NATURE.

II.

Huxley's eulogium on Descartes and his doctrine of Animal Automatism seems to be extravagant. Descartes, it appears, two hundred and fifty years ago, taught that Body and Spirit, or Matter and Mind, were two such heterogeneous substances that they could not interact on each other without the *concursus divinus*. He explained the relation of human and other animals to the world of matter on mechanical principles, and asserted that all animals are machines and have no souls. He ascribed all living phenomena to acts of pressure and impulsion or intermittent force, and that the order and motion in the parts of animals are the sole cause of vegetation and growth, and that they must be pushed to what they do by the concurrence of God; or, as Peter Bayle logically put it, God is the prime mover in all acts of generation.

Huxley announced Descartes' conclusion that all animals are machines, in his address at Belfast, in 1874, "to the great scandal of the general public." Lewes says, in *The Physical Basis of Mind*, 1877, "I suspect that the scandal was not owing to Des-

cartes' conclusion, but to the lashing which Huxley gave 'the drums in the pulpit.'" Huxley is not disposed to accept Descartes' hypothesis, though it cannot be refuted. The conclusion which Huxley deduces from the study of brutes is applicable to man, and the argumentation he applies to brutes holds equally good of men. Like the brutes, we are conscious automata, but none the less "parts of that great series of causes and effects which, in unbroken continuity, compose that which is and has been and shall be,—that is, the sum of existence." Huxley said that he would close his argument if the ecclesiastics would go no further. But they will assert that the logical consequences of such argument are fatalism, materialism, and atheism. Logical consequences are the scarecrows of fools and the beacons of wise men. As to whether animals are machines, the only question is the fact of its being true or false. If the conclusion that animals are machines did really and logically lead to fatalism, materialism, or atheism, Huxley says that he would admit that he was a fatalist, materialist, or an atheist; but he says: "I have not any claim to rank myself among such philosophers. Not among fatalists, for the conception of necessity has a logical and not a physical foundation; not among materialists, for I am utterly incapable of conceiving the existence of matter, if there is no mind in which to picture that existence; not among atheists, for the problem of the ultimate cause of existence is one which seems to be hopelessly out of the reach of my poor powers. Of all the senseless babble I have ever had occasion to read, the demonstrations of those philosophers who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God would be the worst, if it were not surpassed by the still greater absurdities of the philosophers who try to prove that there is no God."

Huxley offered these remarks for the consideration of thoughtful persons, who are anxious to know the true bearing of the physiological questions connected with Descartes' doctrine of Animal Automatism, and also to meet the clamor raised against it by ecclesiastical persons of this or that sect. It would be well, he said, if these persons would reflect that, whatever deep-seated graces may confer, they have not been followed with any visible increase in learning or logic. Whatever may be the intrinsic value of men's opinions, ordination does not augment their title to respect. And, when an ordained man presumes on an authority conferred for other purposes than to sit in judgment upon physiological matters which he is evidently incompetent to discuss, then it is permissible to ignore his sacerdotal pretensions. The performance of the ordinary duties of life is burdensome enough; and a man need not, unless he chooses, occupy himself with the grave problems of fatalism, materialism, and atheism. But if a man elect to become a judge of these problems, and to praise or blame his fellow-men for arriving at different conclusions respecting them, he will commit a sin more grievous than most breaches of the decalogue, unless he avoids a lazy reliance upon information gathered by prejudice and filtered through passion, and goes back to the prime sources of knowledge,—the facts of Nature and the thoughts of those wise men who for generations past have been her best interpreters. The "tattoo of the drum ecclesiastic" justifies Huxley in giving utterance to such galling words. How is it, Huxley asks, that Descartes' competency as a physiologist is now overlooked? Because, he answers, the growth of physical science is now so rapid that those who are engaged in observing the present progress have not time to refer to the past, and because they forget what were the results of

the science in the past. This is detrimental to intellectual growth; for the most effectual method of clearing up the mind on any subject is that of talking it over, so to speak, with men of great power, who have considered the subject from a totally different point of view. It is detrimental, also, to the moral nature. It is well to turn from the fretful stir of the present, and to dwell with gratitude and respect upon the services of those mighty men of old, who have gone down to the grave with their weapons, but, while they lived, won splendid victories over ignorance. Descartes' fame and his authority in philosophy overshadowed all other authority for a century. Now, he is known as a person who had some preposterous notions about vortices and of a vicious method of deductive speculation. But, Huxley says, the chatter of shifting opinion and the forgetfulness of his great merits have not affected the growth of the great ideas of which he was the instrument and mouthpiece.

I do not see what splendid victories Descartes has won over ignorance, nor the great ideas which are to be dwelt on with gratitude and respect. He does not deserve the high eulogium which Huxley bestows upon him, if the following extract from the *Concepts of Modern Physics* is reasonable: "Descartes has been called the father of modern philosophy. With equal propriety, he might also be designated as the father of modern physical science. His title to the honors of paternity in philosophy no less than in physics must find other muniments than the discovery or even exact statement of permanently valuable truths. Few of his philosophical tenets endure, at least in the form in which he held them; and some of the truths which he rejected are now counted among our most indispensable possessions. As a physicist, he broached a number of theories that have proved to be wholly unfounded; and he ignored or misconceived almost all the laws of mechanical action, whose discovery constituted the distinction of his older contemporary, Galileo. . . . In physics, his vagaries obscured the field of investigation to such a degree that the shadows have not wholly vanished to this day. Though professing to emancipate himself from the metaphysical traditions of the period, which was then near its close, he was thoroughly imbued with their spirit. But, precisely for this reason, his writings influenced the thought of the seventeenth century more extensively than the researches of those who resorted to the scientific methods of experiment and observation,—methods that were wholly at variance with the mental habits of the age. He was essentially a metaphysician, an ontologist of the mediæval type; but he discussed nearly all the problems whose solution was the task devolving upon the physicists and mathematicians of the two centuries which have elapsed since his day."

The foregoing extract shows that Huxley's extreme praise of Descartes and his philosophy is injudicious; and it indicates that that philosophy has hindered the spreading of the monistic conception of nature in England, and from having much influence on modern thought. What does the monistic doctrine mean, which Tyndall says is now so rapidly spreading? According to Prof. Haeckel, the monistic conception of nature is the doctrine of Dysteleology, or the doctrine that "purposiveness" no more exists in nature than the much-talked-of "beneficence of nature." These optimistic views have as little foundation as the favorite phrase, the "moral order of the universe." If we contemplate, he says, the common life of plants and animals, including men, we shall find the very opposite of that kindly and peaceful social life which the goodness of the Creator ought to have

prepared for his creatures. Instead, Haeckel finds everywhere a pitiless and most embittered *struggle of all against all*. Everywhere, he finds a struggle and a striving to annihilate neighbors and competitors.

The monism which he maintains is often considered identical with materialism; but two different things are confounded with this "word of many meanings,"—namely, scientific and moral materialism, which have nothing to do with each other. Monism, or scientific materialism, affirms that everything in the world goes on naturally according to causal law, or the necessary connection between cause and effect; and, at the same time, it rejects every conception of miraculous or supernatural powers. But moral materialism is something quite different: it has nothing in common with causal monism. Moral materialism is real materialism: it is based on the delusion that purely material enjoyment can alone give satisfaction to man. But naturalists and philosophers, whose highest happiness is the intellectual enjoyment of Nature and whose highest aim is the knowledge of her laws, find that true happiness does not depend upon external possessions, but only on a virtuous course of life, is unknown to moral materialism. Instead of scientific, Haeckel finds moral materialism in the palaces of ecclesiastical princes, and in those hypocrites who, under the outward mask of a pious worship of God, solely aim at hierarchical tyranny and material spoliation of their fellow-men. But, in future, to avoid the confusion of this objectionable moral materialism with our scientific materialism, he calls the latter Monism. The principle of this Monism is the same as what Kant termed "the principle of mechanism," without which, he said, there "can be no natural science at all." The pious opponents of evolution are fond of branding the monistic philosophy founded upon evolution as materialism, thus confusing philosophical materialism with the different and censurable moral materialism.

Monism, or scientific materialism, might as accurately be called Spiritualism as Materialism. The real materialistic philosophy asserted that all the vital phenomena of motion are the products of matter. The spiritualistic philosophy asserted that matter is the product of motive force, and that all material forms are produced by free forces which exist independent of matter itself. Both views are dualistic and false. From a strictly scientific standpoint, matter cannot be represented without mind. Goethe says, "No matter without spirit, no spirit without matter."

The feelings of those persons who cannot help clinging to the design argument, and who believe that it cannot be refuted, may be wounded by this presentation of the monistic doctrine. But the facts cannot be explained away. Truth, and not likes or dislikes, should be the aim of the rational mind. Prejudices of early education will assert a predominating influence, and foster the belief in the existence of a Creator. There are other persons who are convinced that, in the nature of things, the struggle for life, the preying of every form of life on other forms, and that there are rudimentary and other organs that are mischievous and useless,—that these all show that unnecessary evil exists. Hegel says, "If evil exists, shall God not have done it?" So there may be minds like that of Von Hartmann who, rather than attribute the evils to a Supreme Intelligence, prefer to consider the Supreme Mind to be unconscious; for the existence of evil would be an inexcusable cruelty, and its continuance a useless absurdity.

JOHN CHAPPELLSMITH.

NOTES ON BOOKS.

I.

M. Jules Lemaitre, the rising young critic, has just published a volume* of contemporary biography that is attracting considerable attention in literary circles here. At least two of the chapters of this book come within the scope of *The Index*. I refer to those devoted to Mme. Adam and Renan.

M. Lemaitre considers Mme. Adam the most typical representative of what he calls the "Neo-Hellenism" of modern France, that worship of Greek politics, art, letters, and religion which still characterizes many of the best French minds. "Her greatest originality," says M. Lemaitre, referring to Mme. Adam, "is the ardor of her Pagan faith. . . . She believes that, if a well-endowed nature be allowed to develop in full liberty, it will turn of its own free will to Paganism." If you ask Mme. Adam—I speak from experience—what her religious views are, she invariably replies, "I am a Pagan."

In Ernest Renan, M. Lemaitre finds gaiety to be the predominant characteristic. "M. Renan," says our critic, "is gay, very gay: more than this, he is funny." M. Lemaitre surprises one somewhat by calling attention to the rather slipshod manner in which Renan delivers his lectures at the College of France. But it is only a French ear that is shocked by his careless elocution and inelegant colloquialisms. Imagine a professor in Harvard or Yale or Cornell dropping his "h's" or clipping his final "g's," or constantly employing "you know" or "you see," and the like. And yet these are the English equivalents of the blemishes that M. Lemaitre signals in Renan's spoken French. How different from the polished style of his writings!

Mme. Edgar Quinet has just published the third volume of her husband's letters.† The noble character of this broad-minded philosopher appears in the same clear light as in the former volumes. The close bond of union between husband and wife, the one supporting the other in their long and dreary exile, gives a tenderness to these letters that is seldom seen in similar collections. For example, in making his excuses to a correspondent who complained, probably, that Mme. Quinet's letter was not enough, the husband writes, "We are so united that what one does the other thinks he has done, too." Quinet's religious liberalism is constantly showing itself. Writing to an Italian friend who had prepared an introduction to the translation of Quinet's *Genius of Religions*, he says, "All that you have had to suffer from the sacerdotal spirit has furnished you the experience necessary to acquaint you with its vices and frauds through all time." When M. Charles Boysset, the anti-clerical deputy, published a remarkable book in 1868, Quinet wrote to him about it: "I have received with gratitude and read with deep interest your *Catechism of the Nineteenth Century*. Would that your volume could replace the church catechism!"

It has often been said that the women are superior to the men of Russia. The volume‡ of the writings of the late Barbe Gendre (Mme. Nikitine) that has just appeared here is another proof of the truth of this assertion. Barbe Gendre was one of those wonderful Slaves that have cast a glamour over the history of modern Russia. Abandoning wealth and social position, she threw herself, soul and body, into the revolutionary party, and, in spite of the remonstrances of a loving but

* *Les Contemporains*. Paris: Lecène et Oudin, 17 Rue Bonaparte.

† *Lettres d'Exil*. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 3 Rue Auber.

‡ *Études Sociales*. Paris: La Nouvelle Revue, 23 Boulevard Poissonnière.

conservative father, devoted all of her wonderful talents and sacrificed her delicate constitution to the cause next her heart. Pierre Lavroff, the close friend of Turguénief, and a highly cultivated, scholarly Nihilist, said at the grave of Barbe Gendre, in December, 1884: "She belonged, like her elders, to those generations of women—the glory of Russian history—who stand in the front rank in that struggle which is still going on, and which is every day becoming more arduous and terrible. . . . A free thinker from her youth, she early broke away from worn-out creeds, and went over to scientific materialism."

The essays contained in this volume appeared originally in free-thinking, scientific, and republican reviews and daily newspapers. M. Clemenceau's *Justice* and Mme. Adam's *Nouvelle Revue* often published articles from the pen of Barbe Gendre. She gives us new and valuable information concerning Russian Nihilism, German Socialism, and other European agitations, and strikes off admirable biographical sketches of Turguénief, Garibaldi, Diderot, Pierre Lavroff, and others.

Mr. H. L. Brækstad, a Norwegian writer and republican, living in London, has just brought out in English dress a very striking play by Björnsterne Björnson, entitled *A Gauntlet*.^{*} It is exactly the counterpart of Dumas' recent play, *Demise*. In the Frenchman's drama, a *fiancé* forgives his *fiancée* for a false step in her youth, and marries her, notwithstanding her error. In the Norwegian's piece, it is the latter who at first revolts from the former; but here, too, love conquers everything, and the young woman finally pardons the early sins of the young man of her choice. But, before this happy *dénouement* is reached, Björnson has laid bare the rottenness of our present social system in all that concerns marriage and the relations of the sexes. The great Scandinavian poets—Björnson, Ibsen, Høstrup—have done a great deal to awaken liberal thought on the Woman Question; and *A Gauntlet*, whether read in the closet or seen on the stage, must do a grand work in breaking down old prejudices and building up honest views of home life.

I have said that *A Gauntlet* is a counterpart of *Demise*. But the former was not suggested by the latter, nor probably *vice versa*. Mr. Björnson told me a few days ago—for the sturdy Norse Republican leader and poet is now residing in Paris—that his piece was written before Dumas'.

Another presentation of the Woman Question—this time not a single phase of it, but a general consideration of the whole subject—has been sent me from Switzerland.† In *The Index* of September 24 last, I mentioned, at some length, Prof. Charles Secrétan's able essay, entitled "Woman and Right," which appeared originally in a Paris monthly. M. Secrétan has revised his study, and brought it out in a neat little pamphlet. This radical treatment of this irrepressible problem has not passed unnoticed on this side of the Atlantic. Among others who have replied to it is a Catholic ecclesiastic, Bishop Bourguignon, who of course disagrees with the Protestant professor. Rome cannot afford to let anything go unanswered that would tend to open the eyes and minds of its too faithful women.

I would call attention to still another publication on the Woman Question. In the last number of the *Westminster Review* is a very bold paper, that examines this subject from a socialist point of view.

PARIS, January.

THEODORE STANTON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE Worcester *Spy* says that "Fast Day is, if not a valuable, at least a harmless institution." Hypocrisy and dishonesty are not often considered "harmless"; and, if appointing a solemn fast, knowing it will only be used for ordinary purposes of business or pleasure, is not dishonesty, what is it?—*Boston Herald*.

THE Concord School of Philosophy will hold its sessions next summer from July 14 to July 31. Dante and his Divine Comedy, and Plato's Philosophy, are the topics to be considered. Prof. Thomas Davidson, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Prof. Vincenzo Botta, Rev. C. A. Bartol, Dr. W. T. Harris, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Rev. R. A. Holland, Prof. G. H. Howison, Rev. A. P. Peabody, Mr. S. H. Emery, Mr. John Albee, Rev. W. R. Alger, and Rev. F. H. Hedge are among those who will read essays.

THE Springfield *Republican* has this to say:—

There has been no time, since Christianity conquered the western world and its old religions, when the masses of the people in nominally Christian lands have been so indifferent to the teachings of the churches, so estranged and apart from them, as the present. This is so all over Europe, and it is so in this country. The universal place that religion held in the early years of the settlement of the United States is well known. It has lost that place by the very qualities which gave it character; the free thought, the untrammelled reason, which made Protestantism; the spread of popular intelligence which has resulted from that unshackling of the mind,—these have discovered and exhibited the faults and the weaknesses of sectarian religion; and thousands, sitting in judgment on the churches, no longer accept the estimate these bodies put upon themselves, no longer regard them as possessing claims upon their confidence. The old infidelity that attacked Jesus as a myth is not the enemy that the churches have to fear now. Jesus himself is not disputed, but the bodies that call themselves after his name. The things the churches disagree about, the beliefs and practices which they make so important, are plainly seen to be unimportant, having no essential relation to life, nothing to do with the real good of humanity and the health of communities.

THE wide difference that may exist as to the value of a philosophical essay is shown by two extracts from letters which came to us recently. A Canadian reader of *The Index* writes: "I do not like to see so much matter in *The Index* that I do not understand, and I hope you will give us a synopsis of Dr. Montgomery's views. I would rather not retain my present estimate of his articles, which is that they are the most unmitigated, unmeaning, hair-splitting balderdash that I ever read." The other opinion is by Mr. D. A. Wasson, who writes: "Dr. Montgomery's paper is a very striking one, and the readers of *The Index* owe you thanks for procuring such a distinguished contribution. Some day, if I hold together long enough, I may offer you some comment upon a single point in it, and in that connection make a kind of confession of belief." We hope that Mr. Wasson will "hold together long enough," not only to make this "comment" and "confession," but to favor the thoughtful reading public with many other productions from his pen.

THE committee appointed by the Connecticut Legislature to consider the matter of granting to Prudence Crandall Philleo some tardy award for the injustice and persecution she underwent in that State many years ago concluded, last week, to recommend that she be granted a pension of \$400 per year from the State treasury for the remainder of her life. In connection with this

subject, we would call the attention of our readers to a sermon recently preached by Rev. J. C. Kimball, of Hartford, which has been put into pamphlet form, under the title "Connecticut's Canterbury Tale: Its Heroine Prudence Crandall, and its Moral for To-day," in which is given a graphic account of her philanthropic endeavors and the persecutions she endured for a principle. The pamphlet reproduces the excellent pictures of her in youth and old age which accompanied the *Century* article concerning her. It is for sale at the American Unitarian Association Rooms, 7 Tremont Place, at ten cents a copy, and may be ordered directly from Mr. Kimball by mail.

SAYS the *Christian Register*:—

Are not our Ethical Culture friends a little late in making the ethical idea and a practical philanthropy the emphatic thing in a movement which they are careful to distinguish from Unitarianism? Some fifty years ago, Channing said: "The time is come when religious bodies will be estimated by the good they do, when creeds are to be less and less the test of a Christian, and when they who labor most effectually for their fellow-beings will be acknowledged to give the best proof of having found the truth. . . . May it not be the leading trait of a Unitarian that he is a man who sympathizes with and respects the less favored classes of society, and that he is pledged to use all his powers for their elevation?"

Without doubt, the Unitarians place as much emphasis upon ethics as does any Christian sect, and in practical philanthropy Unitarians are probably behind none; but it is their denominational origin and history and their theological doctrines as a sect, and not their ethics, not their philanthropy, which distinguish them from other Christians and non-Christians. May it not be that people generally, not only Unitarians, but Trinitarians, not only Christians, but non-Christians,—Jews, Buddhists, Theists, Agnostics, Atheists,—will more and more make character, and not belief, the supreme test, and become more and more sympathetic and philanthropic? Why may not any sect or class, ignoring all genetic relationships, all historic connections, and all theological and speculative differences, insist with as much propriety as can Unitarianism upon giving its own particular name to the moral and philanthropic adherents of all religious and philosophical systems? The Ethical movement emphasizes that in which all these systems substantially agree and to which they give greater prominence as they advance, while it teaches none of the theological dogmas by which the sects are distinguished from one another. The supporters of this movement do right, therefore, in distinguishing it from Unitarianism and other forms of Christianity as well as from Judaism. So it seems to us.

FOR *The Index*.

DIVINE PRESIDENCE.

REMEMBERING MRS. ANAGNOS, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE METAPHYSICAL CLUB.

We who seek out the mysteries of mind,
We who believe in wonders of the soul,
Feel that her asking eyes have seen the goal,
While we are following, not far behind.
With what soft solace is Grief's garment lined!
For, at the breaking of life's golden bowl,
Time's baffling fractions are a perfect whole
Seen in clear splendor, where no soul is blind.
Beautiful spirit! that wast wont to Night
That world of hearing, full of darkened eyes:
Our souls, dim-visioned, reaching for the day,
Bid thee preside here in new-risen might.
Ripe is that leader whom the Heavens make wise!
Lead us to light! thou that hast found the way.

CHARLOTTE FISKE BATES.

* London: Samuel French, 89 Strand. New York: Samuel French & Son.
† *Le Droit de la Femme*. Lausanne: B. Benda, 3 Rue Centrale.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 1, 1886.

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

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

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For The Index.

PERSONAL MORALITY.

Lecture before Society for Ethical Culture of Chicago,
Feb. 7, 1886.

BY W. M. SALTER.

The religion of the future will be in no way, I believe, more strongly contrasted with Christianity than in the increased attention it will give to public questions. Operating powerfully on private life, Christianity has done little to introduce ethics into the world's affairs. To the great social questions of to-day, it is strangely indifferent. But a new religion, with a fresh sense of the principles of justice, will demand their recognition and triumph everywhere. Wherever men have dealings with men,—whether it be between peoples or individuals, and whatever the dealings may be,—there morality has application; and its ideals should be held up.

But it would be a sad mistake to ignore questions relating to the private life of men. There is a social ethics and a private ethics. Often has it been said on this platform that self-reform must go hand in hand with efforts to reform society. We can agitate for religious justice in England and for political and social justice in Ireland; but those reforms are to be effected elsewhere, not here,—by Englishmen and Irishmen, not by ourselves. By personal morality, I mean so much of the good as is to be realized by ourselves and in our own private and interior lives.

A special solemnity gathers about this branch of ethics. It is something, indeed, to think justly and to call for justice, while the many are indifferent to it; but it is a graver thing to feel that we must ourselves do what we demand, that we are responsible for the result. In social ethics, we view ourselves as parts of a whole: in private ethics, each one is himself a whole; and the law he conceives no one else but himself can obey. There is no more wonderful or more moving thought than this of personal responsibility. It strikes home to the centre of ourselves, which is

not the mind or the conscience or the heart, but the will. A voice seems to say: To thee, individually, O man, is given a task. Thou art not one of a mass merely: thou countest by thyself. Thou art what no one else in the world is. Thou hast a duty that no one else in the world can do. Sacred art thou in the plan of the world. Revere thyself, then, and fill out thy arc of the great circle of duty. Without thee, that circle must remain forever incomplete.

The first lesson of personal ethics is self-reverence. Morality is sometimes resolved into sympathy and regard for others. It is not so. There is something due ourselves as truly as to father or mother or wife or sister or friend. The same reason that exists for respecting them exists for respecting ourselves. I want no one to show signs of respect to me who does not stand on his or her own ground, and in their bearing and demeanor show that they have an equal sense of what is due themselves. I cannot conceive anything more lamentable than that one should think that obligation first arises when we think of the claims of others, and that, in his personal and private life, he may do this or that, and just as he pleases, because it concerns himself alone. He who questions that there is a duty to himself is liable to question, sooner or later, whether there be any real duty to others; for the others are only human beings like himself. And, if he feels no obligation toward himself, why should he to them? But the truth is, all are sacred,—others and himself. To all is given a task, to each one particularly and individually, as though no one else were in existence; and the task must, to a certain extent, be accomplished by each one, separately and alone.

What are the things for which we are thus personally responsible? What are the things over which we ourselves have control? First, certainly, our private habits. These may be known by no one but ourselves, but we are as responsible for them as if they were known to all the world. We are responsible, not because of their effect upon others, but because we ought to have pure habits, because these alone are worthy of human beings. Every one should have a certain jealousy over himself, an honest pride in himself, in ruling his own impulses, in never indulging himself to excess, in avoiding all temptations that he knows may be too strong for him, in keeping his body as well as his soul—what is unseen and what is seen—sweet and clean. Tell me, if it were possible, what a man's private and most solitary habits are, and I will tell you whether he really respects himself, whether whatever decency and respectability he has are for show or are a part of his very fibre and make-up as a man. I have read of some one who, when alone, sat down to dinner with the same regard for form and ceremony as if he were entertaining a company of friends. His instinct, at least, was right. For whatever measure of form and ceremony is proper on such an occasion is so because human beings sit down to the table, and not because of their number. All our private habits should reveal our sense of what is due to the humanity in us. Therefore, we should not drink to excess or eat to excess; for this is brutish. Therefore, we should control all our appetites; otherwise there is the abdication of the reason, which makes the truly human part of us. Therefore, the body should be treated with reverence, because it is the abode and tabernacle of our humanity. Therefore, neglect of the person and slovenliness are disgusting, because they reveal the lack of a sense of what is becoming to a man. Never let us think that our private habits are of no consequence; that, if they do not

harm others, they do no harm. They harm us. We know of them, and we are lowered in our own esteem by the knowledge of them. By every unchaste act, by every surrender of reason to passion, by all excess and by all meanness in our manner of life, and neglect of the body as well, the fair humanity that is in us and ought to be reflected in our person and behavior is dishonored; and we sink to the animal instead of rising to the stature of the man. Oh that I could awaken a new self-reverence, a new sense of the sanctity of the individual, so that, though we were cast alone on a desert isle, we should feel that we must keep ourselves erect there, and hate all secret vices and abhor all excess; so that, though we were the one human being left on the face of the earth, we should keep his body sound and pure and his soul supreme!

And who else will control these habits of ours but ourselves? I know heredity counts for something, that our associations count for something; but there is a power that can fight heredity, and we can withdraw ourselves from associations that are corrupting. The will of man is free. It can choose what is best, it can put itself on the side of what is pure and good, and aim for it and struggle for it; and the aim and struggle will not be without their effect, though the perfect result may not be reached at once. I believe, for example, it is possible for every one before me to lead a pure, private life. Whatever may have been the fact in the past, whatever may be the habits now, I believe that, with one triumphant act of will, one may break with all sin of this sort and never relapse. I believe one can control his acts when he cannot his thoughts, and can his thoughts more and more, so that, after a while, what he once loved he shall hate, and shall never think of save with pain and contrition. But nothing can take the place of our own energy. In no way can we shirk our own responsibility. However we won these habits, we won them, we consented to them, and are to blame ourselves for them; and, if we will have habits of purity, virtue, and self-control, we must will to have them, we must set our hearts upon them, chastising ourselves if we sin against them, and resolving to give ourselves no peace till they are ours.

Another field wherein we alone have control, and where we are personally responsible, is that of our personal aims in life. An aim is nowise set save by the person whose aim it is. An aim is simply the direction of our own will. A good aim cannot be given to a man save by himself. He may hear of it, but it is not his own till he makes it so. Our outward acts may be constrained, they may not express us; but the will is the centre and citadel of our personality, and no power in heaven nor in earth is master there but ourselves. With this magnificent power, we can choose higher or lower aims, we can direct the channel of our life in this or that direction; or, if we will, we can refuse to aim at anything at all, and simply drift, and become waifs and ignoble wanderers on the earth. Now, any aim is better than none; but the highest aim is alone worthy of a man. What is the highest aim? I will venture to reply that it is to contribute to an ideal order of human life. The other answers commonly given are either ignoble or unreal to us. To save one's soul,—who of us can consider that the noblest aim we can have? To glorify God and enjoy him forever,—how far away and unreal and unpractical does that seem to us! To seek the kingdom of God,—ah, but what is the kingdom of God? To do the will of God,—but who will tell us what the will of God means? For that sanction has, in the course of man's religious history, covered almost

every conceivable aim of man, high and low, devilish and divine. But to contribute to an ideal order of human life seems an aim we can lay hold of, and something noble, too. For we love this human life of ours, and wish to see it lifted to its ideal. We love it most truly,—not for what it is, but for what it ought to be and might be. We are in love with its ideal. And, extravagant as it may seem, I propose this aim, seriously, as the true one for every one of us. I believe it is a legitimate one for the merchant, for the lawyer, for the physician, for the mother, for the child, for the workingman,—yes, and for him who can get no regular work to do. One may accomplish little, yet he can have the aim; and the aim is that for which alone we are responsible, and may give significance to our smallest actions and a priceless value to even our ineffectual strivings. Once in a while, we need to turn back on these busy lives of ours, and ask how far this aim is really regulative of them. Are the actions we are doing, the sort of lives we are leading, tending toward an ideal form of human life? Are they such as, if they were general in the community, would bring that ideal form of life nearer to the earth? Let the merchant ask himself this question: what are the customs, the maxims of his trade? and, if they are not what they should be, is he, by consenting to them, helping to perpetuate them, or is he protesting against them, and struggling to lift them to the form demanded by the ideal? Let the lawyer and the physician ask themselves this question: What is the morality of their professions, is the supreme aim keeping them from aught that is dishonorable, and does it constrain them to seek to elevate the tone and practice of their professions in every possible way? Let the mother ask herself: Am I training my child so that he or she will be a new factor in the world, or simply a perpetuator of old-time prejudices and hatreds and shams? Let the child, too, have its solemn hour, when it shall nurse its growing soul on deeds of heroism and faithfulness, and ask itself whether it, too, could venture for an idea, and be patient under adversity and the world's contempt. Let the workingman ask himself: What is my motive? and would it, if it were general, tend to an ideal form of life? Do I work merely for hire, or with the thought of doing my work well? Do I take pride in a piece of honest, thorough work, or do I only do what I must do to get my pay? In my demand for changes, perhaps revolutions, in the industrial world, am I actuated by revenge or by justice, even though the instinct for revenge rises most naturally in my heart? Yes, the very laborer who can get no steady labor may feel the pressure of that supreme aim upon him, and, in his sorest misfortune, may will to commit no crime, and, though he be insulted, not to insult again, and to bear even to the death rather than do a wrong to others. Everywhere does this supreme aim hold good. Everywhere may it take from the pride of those who are great, and give dignity to those who are humble. How quickly does it recall us from those aims in which it is so easy to settle down! To earn a comfortable living, perhaps to provide for wife and children (though this by no means necessarily in these days),—how many seem to have this practically as their aim in life! But there is nothing peculiarly human about this. Beavers and the whole tribe of animals aim at the same; and they never omit to seek to provide for wife and children, too. Man has intelligence, man has imagination, he has a moral nature, he has dreams of universal justice; yet, sometimes, he forgets all his dignity and glory, turns his back on his dreams, perverts his conscience, loses his imagination, and uses his godlike intelligence

only so far as to provide for himself a comfortable living, perhaps in his selfishness and hardness leaving even wife and children out. O friend, lift up thy thoughts, think of what thou art called to be! Light up thy heart, thy imagination, and thy life with a great aim. Do it, because, with all thy hoarding and saving, thou art wasting thyself, becoming little while thou shouldst be becoming great, growing old while thou shouldst be keeping ever young, turning life into a game of profit and loss while it should be an opportunity for all noble action and the service of all good causes.

The old religion contains a subtle word,—“Thou must be born again.” Strange and unmeaning to us as is the theological dogma that has been based upon it, it hides a vital truth. ‘Tis not the mending of our actions that is first needed, ‘tis not the forming of this or that habit, ‘tis not any outward change. It is the renovation of the fountains of our life; it is the making victorious a new aim in life; it is the changing our thoughts and experiencing the transforming power of a new purpose. This does not alone help us in one particular, but in all: it involves an advance along the whole line of duty. And the difference from the old religion is simply that, while it seems to say that such a purpose must come from God, we say that it must be formed by ourselves. We do not fall on our knees and pray: we arise, and summon our energies, and resolve. And, though the old nature in us may not yield at once, though old faults may persist and old habits be stubborn, yet we can gradually win the victory over them; and our connection with that Supreme Power, which upholds the world and supports the human soul, is simply in the belief that he is behind us and beneath us and above us, and pours his all-mightiness into us, so that we can ourselves do all that in our nature we are summoned to do.

But not only the supreme dominant aim of our lives, but the motives in all our actions, are under our control; and for purifying them we are responsible. It is here that the ethics based on the results of our actions altogether fails. An action may have exactly the same results, yet at one time have moral worth and at another have none. A quarter of a dollar given to a poor man will go just so far, provide so much bread, and so much in the way of a lodging; but it may be given either to rid one's self of an annoyance or out of love for the man. An act of the former sort is not a moral act at all: it may be better to do it, but for the poor man's sake, and not because it adds any moral worth to ourselves. It is wonderful how completely our moral value is hidden from all the world but ourselves, and yet how in importance it transcends all else we can think of. I would not ignore the question of results in the theory of ethics. Our acts must not only be moral: they must be right, they must correspond with an objective standard; and, with the determination of that, the results of our actions have a great deal to do. An action is right which tends to the good of humanity, whose results are actually beneficial to humanity. A moral action is one that *aims* at the good of humanity. It is not enough to be perfectly righteous: we must mean to be righteous; and, in our so meaning, wanting, purposing, our whole moral worth consists. The real life of man is not the seen, but the unseen one. What we see are but effects: the causes are hidden away. The world is satisfied with a certain decorousness, with correctness and propriety of conduct; and we ourselves all too easily incline to take the world's standard. But, in our graver moments, we know what a surface thing it is, and that our unclean thoughts, our jealousies and envies and spites, and all our

littlenesses and uncharitablenesses, though no one else knows of them, are the things that defile us. Oh for a clean heart! who does not sometimes cry? Oh to be holy within! Oh to be as pure in our own eyes as we would be in the eyes of the world without! Oh to banish all selfishness, and to look on others only with love, so that, if we chide or are severe toward them, it shall not be in anger; so that, if they wrong us, we shall not hate them; and, if we are injured, we shall not injure again! The highest care, after all, of each one should be for himself, and for that which is most personal to himself. There, in that inner realm, no one else can help him. Each morning, I conceive, a man might well arise, and say: This day I welcome to my heart all good thoughts, and will that they should prompt and guide all my actions. I banish hate, I banish spite, I banish all low cunning and greed; and I will not let a word escape my lips or an act be done, that truth and honor and love could not sanction. It is easier, I know, to control our actions than our motives. It takes great watchfulness, it may involve a long discipline, and mean many a struggle to be able to banish an unworthy thought as soon as it appears, to check an unholy impulse as soon as it arises. It implies that we have ourselves well in hand, that the will is strong. Ah! but this is our task, this is that to which we are called. There were no honor in easy victories. To contend against odds, to hold to the fight after defeat once and twice,—yes, though the body is weak and the heart is faint, to keep the purpose strong,—there is glory in that; and into the secrets of such a strife the angels might well look with wonder and awe. ‘Twas Hesiod of old who said that before the temple of virtue the immortal gods had placed labor, and the way to it was long and steep. ‘Tis hard to know, indeed, what good thing in life is to be had for the asking. The whole significance of our being is that we are made imperfect and called to be perfect.

“And, oh, if Nature sinks, as oft she may,
‘Neath long-lived pressure of obscure distress,
Still to be strenuous for the bright reward,
Still in the soul to admit of no decay,
Brook no continuance of weak-mindedness,
Great is the glory, for the strife is hard.”

It is wonderful how every great religious movement in the past has been marked by a new sense of the need of personal righteousness. ‘Twas thus when real religion arose among the ancient Hebrews, and a cry arose from the prophetic heart: “Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me.” ‘Twas so when Jesus called for a deeper righteousness than even the most religious of his day practised. ‘Twas so when Luther threw off the bondage of dead works, and wrote and spoke to the conscience, and said that an act in itself good becomes sinful, if its motive is sinful. And, if I ever have a doubt of the possibility of a religion arising out of Liberalism to-day, it is because Liberalism speaks more of the rights of men than of their duties; because it talks more of the reform of society than of the reform of ourselves; because its ideal is philanthropy rather than justice; because it forgets that “society gains nothing,” as Emerson says, “while a man not himself renovated attempts to renovate things about him,” or, as another,* that those “who are in the wrong cannot cure evils.” Let us purify ourselves, let us leave the world's standards behind us, and ask what manner of men we ourselves are; and, if we find ourselves unholy, unchaste, passionate, envious, ready to take advantage, petty in spirit and narrow in sympathy, oh, let us leave the ills of the world, and first cure ourselves!

* Rev. J. C. Learned, of St. Louis.

Then the promise of a brighter day will dawn upon the world.

One further aspect of private life I wish to consider, and I am done to-day. Life is not all in doing. Duty is not all in striving and battling: it is sometimes in waiting, in enduring, in bearing what we cannot remove. Perhaps our sharpest battles are with our impatience and with what seems a cruel fate that assigns us burdens heavier than we can bear. Often, sympathy we cannot have; often, we cannot tell our griefs. The tragedies of our life are in secret, and this is what makes them tragedies.

My friends, the first conviction I have on this subject is that nothing is given us in life greater than we can bear. It may seem as if the adversity which gathers thick and threatening over our heads is beyond our power to endure, but we can endure it. We cannot always control our bodily health, but we can our spirits. We can bear the death of friends; we can bear the ingratitude of friends, their unfaithfulness; we can bear to have our hopes defeated; we can bear to have light and joy vanish out of our skies, bear it without bitterness, bear it with a sense that, in some mysterious way, it is all right. The deep purpose of our being is not in anything that can be taken from us. 'Tis not in our prosperity, and it may be accomplished in spite of adversity. 'Tis not in the relationships of home, in tender companionship with friends, in public honor or regard. Thy worth, O fellow-man or woman, is in thyself, in thy patient soul, in thine incorruptible will, in thy readiness to accept whatever post the universe assigns thee, in thy quiet faithfulness there, whether amid sunshine or the dark, amid joy or sorrow. We know not any more than Socrates what we ought to wish for ourselves. We know not, in truth, what is best for us. We know not what will bring out that which is most truly divine and godlike within us. The lamented President Garfield said we could not know any one perfectly well "while he was in perfect health; and, as the ebb-tide discloses the real lines of the shore and the bed of the sea, so feebleness, sickness, and pain bring out the real character of a man." Matthew Arnold says, beautifully and with rare insight, of a friend:—

"I saw him sensitive in frame,
I knew his spirits low,
And wished him health, success, and fame,—
I do not wish it now.

"For these are all their own reward,
And leave no good behind;
They try us, oftenest make us hard,
Less modest, pure, and kind."

Emerson even says, "Adversity is the prosperity of the great." And, if this seems strained, yet we do not feel it so, when we see some heroic man or woman bearing up under great ills with godlike equanimity and patience. O friend, think not thyself off the track of destiny, because things are awry, and fortune does not smile upon thee, and thou hast not, perhaps, a thing that thou cravest; think not that the World-Spirit has not any path marked out for thee to follow. The path of duty is still the predestined path; and, though it be no longer to do, but to bear, bear that as bravely as thou wouldst do, and never was there better soldier of duty than thou.

Such are some features of the personal morality to which, I conceive, we should give earnest attention. The common bond uniting them is that they all relate to our private and even our hidden life. Duty goes with us everywhere. Obligation exists, not only to the public, but to ourselves. Oh, let us feel the sacredness of ourselves, and have as

sensitive a conscience about our private habits, our secret aims, our hidden motives, and our bearing under adversity when alone, as about that side of our life which is known to all the world!

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHILD MARRIAGES IN INDIA.

Editors of The Index:—

I have never attempted to rub shoulders with my superiors, much less with literary men. They are generally hard of conviction, and apt to stick to their points with more tenacity than reason. But I am forced to write to you against my will. I was shown a paragraph in your issue of March 4, concerning an alleged "intelligent Hindu heiress," who is said to have been sustained in her refusal to go to her husband, to whom she was wedded in childhood. I was amused by it, and I told my friend who had brought it to my notice that no such case could occur in India. I, however, said that there was a case of similar nature decided by Judge Pinkey, of the Bombay High Court; but she was not an heiress. The whole matter was got up by designing people, like the editors of sensational papers, who live on circulating fabricated stories in America. My friend rebuked me for such aspersions against such an eminent paper as you conduct. I still maintained that I was sure that there was no such case in high circles in India, and that *The Index* had copied it from some English rabid news-monger (1). This made him write you a letter, which, I am sorry to say, resulted in still more absurd statements being made, in defiance of truth and facts. I do not believe it to be possible for any nation which has once been engulfed in the abyss of false religion and philosophy to know and tell truths. It is a national defect over which we have no control. It is in vain to suppose that those who are trying to tear to pieces old theology are the fit persons to enlighten the world; for, if they demolish one institution, they accumulate rubbish and make a heap elsewhere (2).

In your issue of the 11th inst., child marriages are put forth as abominations. Why? Because they are simple and innocent. Child marriages are abominations, because of our abhorrence of lottery in love. If people would be satisfied with late or choice marriages, I should not condemn them. But there is a system whereby marriages are made and unmade according to the demands of lust. India abounds in civilized people who adopt this substitute for early and permanent marriage. We do not want that cheap commodity from Europe. Let England and America preserve it as an emblem of independence and liberty. But what has astonished and struck me most is that you give us to understand as gospel truth that "these abominations were prohibited in the British Provinces in 1872." Dear editors, allow me to contradict this statement, as it is entirely inaccurate and incorrect. In every part of India, not to speak of the native States, child marriages are performed and celebrated by hundreds and thousands every year, under the very noses of the men who rule over us (3). I am telling but a fact. The native Marriage Act which you speak of was sought for by so-called reformers, headed by Keshub Chunder Sen, who would not number more than one or two thousands as rank and file throughout the length and breadth of India. There are only two Brahmo churches in Calcutta where the average Sunday attendance does not exceed more than one hundred. There is only one church in Bombay where the same paucity of attendance is observable. The Keshub Chunder Sen Movement shines on paper just as well as the reports of several meetings of charity, prisons, and asylums, where the presidents generally speak to empty benches and chairs. Wherever the child marriage does not prevail, there prostitution is carried on on an extensive scale. The child marriages are, indeed, "abominations," as they are not registered in courts of justice and confirmed by the Supreme Court (4). But the pair, when they come of age, live so peacefully and harmoniously that they are never separated. We have no such divorce system as you have in the United States. What a miserable and wretched people are the Hindus, because of their slow progress in corruption and crimes, be-

cause of their abhorrence of falsehood, because of their simplicity of manners and habits, because of their backwardness in speculation!

In conclusion, I beg you, dear editors, never to say a word against my country. We have no confidence in your careless press, unprincipled missionaries, crafty politicians, and cunning presidents. The Americans have no shining character to boast of to other nations (5). Why do you go to India for "abominations"? Look at your deeds, ignominious as they are. "Save us from such people," is my constant prayer to myself. We don't want your marriage system. We don't want your divorces. We don't want your swindles and frauds. Keep them all to yourselves. We don't envy you. But don't condemn our child marriage system and call us by hard names.

GOPAL VENAYAK JOSHEE.

PHILADELPHIA, March 14.

(1) Perhaps the person whose refusal to go to an immoral and profligate man to whom she was wedded in infancy was sustained by a judicial decision was, as our Brahminic friend says, not an "heiress"; but it is admitted that such a decision was made, and it is certain that the person whose refusal was sustained by the judge, if not an heiress, was, what is more important, a woman. The decision of the court was most sensible and just; and we mentioned it, not to disparage Mr. Joshee's country, but to indicate that there were signs of progress in India as well as in the Western world.

(2) Of "false religion and philosophy" there is, unfortunately, still a large amount in even the most enlightened portions of Christendom,—an inheritance mainly from the past,—from that same remote past from which, with much that is good, has come much that is bad to India as well as to America. The myths and superstitions of India, its priestly mummeries, its slavish reverence for the past, its injurious customs and social evils, no more admit of defence than do the "old theology" and other "rubbish" which the keen eye of our Hindu friend discovers in this country.

(3) The native Marriage Act, which, we believe, fixes the minimum of age for boys eighteen and for girls fourteen, seems to have been introduced very gradually into the tributary provinces. That it is evaded and disregarded, even in the British Empire proper, only shows how far the law is in advance of public sentiment.

(4) The child marriages ought not to be "registered in courts of justice and confirmed by the Supreme Court." It is, doubtless, true that, in many cases, such marriages are happy, but because of mutual suitability, and not because of the unreasonable custom of marriage in infancy. Among the evils of these early marriages, careful observers mention ill health, the birth of sickly children, poverty, and overpopulation, on a large scale. But the chief reason for condemning infant marriage is the fact that young girls whose husbands die between betrothal and marriage are classed among widows, and compelled to live a single, often a joyless, life. To the wrong and evil of enforced or compulsory widowhood, many of Mr. Joshee's countrymen and countrywomen are no longer indifferent; but customs long established are not easily uprooted. The abolition of infant marriage in India is probably only a question of time; and, without it, woman's position must be one of hardship, and great progress impossible. Our divorce laws admit, no doubt, of much improvement; but laws making the marriage tie indissoluble under all circumstances are not to be thought of among progressive nations in this age. Divorce affords a means of escape from that wretchedness which, in many cases, makes marriage, when legally indissoluble, a curse, and not a blessing. Rome had no divorces for five hundred and twenty years; but that period was one in which woman was virtually the slave of her husband, and in which a temple dedicated to a goddess named Viriplaca, whose mission it was to appease husbands, was worshipped by women on the Palatine.

(5) May we not, while honoring the great and good men of India and of other countries, point with just pride to our own Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, Garrison, Sumner, Parker, Phillips, Emerson, among other distinguished American statesmen and philanthropists?—B. F. U.

EXCESSIVE ATHLETICS.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Will you call attention to the evils of excessive "athletics," so called, which are becoming fashionable, and, as such, unreasonable?

The hurdle racing, so recently imported here, has already given ample proofs of its ability to maim and kill young men riders. It is utterly reckless, and a cruel strain on the animals forced into the contests.

Sparring matches between members of colleges, schools, clubs, and so forth, are fast degenerating into fighting, with considerably more than less anger displayed. The wicked blow under the ear, on the neck, is considered "desirable" and "proper": whereas, it should be forever excluded from all trials of skill, unless the avowed intent of such trials is to kill or injure. It is exceedingly dangerous, has killed and seriously injured, is seldom given fully without some symptoms showing interfering with the brain or circulation for a longer or shorter time, according to the force of the blow and the constitution of the assaulted party. It is the blow used by many professional prize fighters of the lowest grade, and is meant to be effective.

The technicalities indulged in by the modern admirers of prize fighting to make such fights "exhibitions," "testimonials," and what not, are not entered into; nor do they affect the facts above given.

Again, lawn tennis is much overdone by our ladies, older and younger. It is a game not at all adapted to the female organization; and case after case of uterine troubles is met with, directly traced to this cause. It calls for great activity, violent exertion, and straining of all the muscles at short notice. Frequent mishaps occur,—as collisions, falls, in attempting to drive the ball toward the adversaries,—all this under the full sunlight, in the heat of summer, in a costume poorly fitted to protect from the sun or violence.

I am a believer in muscular Christianity, when that means the attention to the proper development of the bodily strength in all its parts; but this extreme and injurious over-activity in some one direction, often of doubtful use, is what I would desire combated. It does not lead to the best health or happiness in the majority.

JOHN DIXWELL, M.D.

Boston, March 19, 1886.

The following, which appeared in a Boston paper last week, headed "Inferential Intelligibility," with the name of Joseph Cook attached, reads very much like an extract from one of Mr. Cook's revised lectures, although it may have been intended only as a take-off: "Dorner somewhere says, 'The axiomatic, when reduced to the prosaic, seldom fails to counteract the probationary.' The same thought appears in my Monday Lectures (vol. 1, pp. 89-91, *passim*). This thought will bear expansion. 1. If the axiomatic be looked at historically, what do we see? (a) Chaos. (b) Slight luminosity. (c) Inclusiveness. But, 2. Intrinsically, these are substantially the same; for (a) polarized light strikes both alike, and (b) neither is injured. [Propositions from 2 to 56, both inclusive, are necessarily omitted here.] Again, when I (we, it should be said) was (were, rather) in Rome, we and I investigated this whole matter (see my Dover and Oil City Lectures). It then was found: 57. That the subscription view of denominational perturbation is less copious than the Andover. 58 to 63. Therefore, the axiomatic cannot be the telescopic or the terrific. [Applause.] Beg pardon: we meant to say that this view would make a sensation."

You have a disagreeable duty to do at twelve o'clock. Do not blacken nine and ten and eleven and all between with the color of twelve. Do the work of each, and reap your reward in peace.—George MacDonald.

BOOK NOTICES.

VICTOR HUGO. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. New York: Worthington Co., 747 Broadway. 1886. Price \$1.25.

This work must, we think, remain forever unique as the most extravagantly written homage ever paid by one poet to another. Swinburne evidently wrote it in a state of frenzied admiration of the elder poet, whom he calls, among other things, "the spiritual

sovereign of the nineteenth century," "the greatest poet of the century," "the greatest Frenchman of all time," "this incomparable master," "the greatest prose-writer of his generation," "the most tender-hearted of all great poets," "among the foremost in the front rank of the greatest poets of all time," "the master of modern poets," with many other phrases equally admiring and, indeed, worshipful; while the tone of humble, awe-inspired adoration in which he expresses his opinion of certain of Hugo's works seems to unprejudiced and less enthusiastic readers almost ludicrous,—as, for instance, when he says on page 19, "With all possible reverence, and all possible reluctance, but remembering that without perfect straightforwardness and absolute sincerity I should be even unworthier than I am to speak of Victor Hugo at all, I must say," etc.; and on page 69, "I must pause to dwell for a moment on so famous and so great a poem as *L'Expiation*, but not to pronounce or presume to endeavor to decide which of its several pictures is the most powerful"; on page 83, "And then comes a poem so great that I hardly dare venture to attempt a word in its praise"; on page 143, "No man can know so well or feel so deeply as myself with what imperfection of utterance and inadequacy of insight I have spoken." Such sentences as these, selected at haphazard from the pages before us, sufficiently indicate the whole tenor of what some of the page headings declare to be "A Study of Victor Hugo," but which is, instead, a rhapsodic panegyric and glowing eulogium in which Swinburne has apparently wrought himself up to a state of delirious incense-offering. Of Hugo's youth, he remarks, "There was never a more brilliant boy than Victor Hugo, but there has never been a greater man." And, of his old age, he says, "There was fire as well as music on the lips of the young man, but the ardor of the old man's song seems even deeper and keener than the passion of the past." Mr. Swinburne quotes profusely from Hugo's poems, but his fit of reverence for the author probably prevented him from venturing upon their desecration by translation for the benefit of those who do not understand French; while the French readers of his book will be deprived of a proper understanding of the high measure of passionate praise heaped upon their own poet by his English follower, who, in his closing paragraph, caps the climax of his long-drawn-out encomium by declaring him "the man by whose name our century will be known forever to all ages and nations that keep any record or memory of what was highest and most memorable in the spiritual history of our past."

S. A. U.

THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATION OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH IN LONDON. Some time belonging to the Priory of the same in West Smithfield. Edited from the original manuscript. By Norman Moore, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Assistant Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. 1886.

This curious little volume is the introduction to a history of one of the great hospitals of London, but is complete and interesting in itself. It is a reproduction of an English translation, made about the year 1400, of a Latin history of the early foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church and Hospital. The Latin text was written about 1180. The quaint old English is quite readable, the editor interpreting a few of the more difficult words by reference to the Latin text. The records are entirely of saint-cures. There is no account of any other method of treatment, and the stories of many sicknesses healed by simple faith in the apostle are very simple and circumstantial. We see not why the evidence for these miracles is not as good as that which we have recorded in any religious books. Still, strange to say, the hospital has given up this cheap and easy method of cure; and, instead of one all-sufficient saint, now employs a medical and surgical staff of more than forty physicians and surgeons. Besides this, we have a college, with a vast array of lecturers and apparatus, to teach the science of medicine. Would it not be well to inquire into these facts; and, if we find the city of London in the twelfth century to have been more healthy and disease less fatal than now, might we not learn of our Mormon neighbors to trust in new revelations and miracles instead of old ones, and so save all this expense of medical schools and hospitals? Seriously, this is an interesting presentation of the beliefs and practices of that age; and Dr. Moore has done good service in giving it to us in such a compact and readable form. The cases are not related with sufficient

detail to show how far they may have been genuine cures from mental impressions: they seem to be simply marvellous stories of cures, without much discrimination in regard to the proofs. The book will interest the lover of old traditions, and we hope for matter of still greater scientific interest in the later history of the rise and progress of this great hospital.

E. D. C.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE, 1885. New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers, Franklin Square. PEPPER AND SALT, or Seasoning for Young Folk. Prepared by Howard Pyle. Harper & Brothers. 1885.

Harper's Young People for 1885 maintains the reputation it has acquired in the preceding volumes. Its general features are the same. The separate weekly numbers are not imposing in their appearance, but the fifty-two together make a lordly volume of 832 pages. There are two serial stories, by favorite authors, running through many numbers; and several that are continued through three or four. For natural history there is generous provision. Each number has its Post-office Box well stuffed with correspondence and charades and puzzles of all sorts. The illustrations are so good that an aesthetic eye might do much worse than rest upon their various beauty. It is decidedly advisable that so big a treat as this should be taken in fifty-two instalments, but those who get it all at once will find that it will furnish entertainment and instruction for many quiet evenings and rainy days. Mr. Howard Pyle's "Pepper and Salt" is one of the most attractive features of *Harper's Young People*, being well sprinkled through the volume. But it has also been published in a separate volume, a large quarto, with beautiful type and paper, and in a very unique and tasteful binding. The illustrations, which are very quaint, and prove that Mr. Pyle's invention is as fertile as it has always been delightful, are, in some instances, much enlarged from those in the magazine. The text in prose and verse is an original redaction, for the most part, of familiar themes. The making-over is extremely happy, and well judged for the object it is meant to serve. Occasionally there is a phrase that will not assist the endeavor of the fond parent to discourage a tendency in the child to extravagant and obsequious expression. Young people who have the magazine containing these delightful stories and extravaganzas will hardly need the separate book containing them, but some of the less fortunate may prefer the part *de luxe* to the more bulky whole.

J. W. C.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By George Makepeace Towle. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. pp. 388.

We have here a concise, well-written, unbiassed rehearsal, suited to the needs and capacities of young readers, of the principal events in the history of England from the Roman invasion, more than half a century before the Christian era, up to the present time. This book, with its easily consulted chronicle of dates, events, and reigns, will be of as great service to adults as to those for whose information it is specially designed; for elderly people, as well as impatient youngsters, are often glad to find information in a pleasant, graphic, and easily remembered guise. Over thirty full-page illustrations emphasize some of the more remarkable or romantic events in the history of Great Britain. Mr. Towle brings out as clearly as is possible in such a condensation of history the gradual development of English institutions, explanations of the changes in social conditions, the advance of art and literature, and the growth of political liberty. Each successive step is indicated with due regard to the importance of the period of which it was an outcome. There are twelve pages of chronological annals, and lists of the sovereigns and prime ministers of England, with the dates of their reign or service; also, a very comprehensive index of contents. Altogether, it forms an admirable book of reference as well as a succinct *résumé* of English history.

THE ORDER OF CREATION: The Conflict between Genesis and Geology. A Controversy between the Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Prof. T. H. Huxley, Prof. Max Müller, M. Réville, E. Lynn Linton. New York: The Truth-seeker Company, 33 Clinton Place. pp. 178. Price 75 cts.

These essays, which attracted wide attention and were read with deep interest when they first appeared, collected and reprinted in a neat volume, are now in a form convenient for reference and suitable for the library. They are of great value to all who

would know the latest word contributed by eminent writers to the discussion of the old question whether the order of Genesis and the order of geology are in harmony or in conflict, and other cognate subjects suggested by the controversy between Mr. Gladstone and Prof. Huxley. We do not believe that the defenders of Genesis will care to assist in the circulation of this volume, although the religious press of the country have quoted freely from Mr. Gladstone's article presented in the same volume with the replies and criticisms here reproduced.

They make a work which, so far as read by intelligent minds, must be effective in destroying the faith still surviving in the inspired and authoritative character of the so-called Mosaic account of the creation.

THE GLASSE OF TIME: In the First Age. Divinely Handled by Thomas Peyton of Lincolnes Inne, Gent. New York: John B. Alden. 1886.

This is a reprint of a curious poem first published in 1620, forty years previous to the appearance of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which it is now believed to have suggested, though far inferior in poetic merit. Only one copy of the original work is known to be in existence, a copy elaborately bound in vellum, quaintly printed, ornamented with gold, with coat-of-arms and regal device, which is now kept in the British Museum. The author, as a vignette on the title-page informs us, was only thirty-one when he died; but the poem contained promise of greater things, had he lived. In the introduction, the similarity of theme and treatment of this poem and John Milton's later *Paradise Lost* is very clearly shown.

WITHIN THE SHADOW. By Dorothy Holroyd. Household Library Edition. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., Franklin Street. Price 50 cents.

This is a charmingly romantic yet pure-toned story for girl readers, treating of the friendships, trials, and triumphs of an innocent, independent, virtuous, truthful, and self-reliant girl under very peculiar and uncommon circumstances. We have submitted our copy to the criticisms of girl-readers of the ages described in the book; and they, one and all, declare it to be "splendid," "delightful," and the heroine, Cecil Chester, to be "just too lovely for anything."

THE Art Amateur for March appears to be in rather a caustic humor, as befitting the season. "My Notebook" is severe on the managers of the sale of Mrs. Morgan's art treasures, and not over-complimentary in remarks upon Mrs. Morgan herself. But the writer is impartial at least, since he remarks of the country generally that "ignorance and gullibility go hand in hand." The Metropolitan Museum gets the whip at second-hand from Mr. Theodore Child, and Baron Rothschild and the manager of the Bartholdi Pedestal Fund each receive a keen stroke. Greta treats somewhat flippantly the subject of "Art Education in Boston." Without being an ardent admirer of Mr. Walter Smith or his system of teaching doctrine, we think justice requires us to consider the difficulties of the case. It was better to have any system introduced and carried out for a time, but freely open to criticism, than to have nothing done. And the result is by no means so despicable as Greta represents. Drawing is well established as a regular branch of instruction in all the schools of the Commonwealth; and, if the system first established is not satisfactory, the school committees and teachers are free to improve their plans. As the circular of the Lowell School of Design acknowledges, the result is apparent in the preparation for their work. It is sheer nonsense to talk about "parents finding that the artistic taste and talents sometimes discovered in children of tender years have been killed out completely by the tasks of reproducing geometric forms," etc. Parents are very keen in discovering artistic talents in their children; but, if these will not outlive a course of geometric drawing, their destruction will entail no great loss on the community. Some of the greatest artists have served their apprenticeship in very dry and mechanical work. Greta is not one-sided, however, but casts a fling also at the Hunt School. The object of teaching drawing in the schools is not to make artists, but to train the eye and hand to represent accurately what the mind indicates. The result will be artistic or mechanical, according to the quality of the mind behind eye and hand. Real artistic teaching comes later in life, and more from life than schools. We have not space to

speaking fully of the illustrations, which are varied and interesting as usual, including a portrait of a French artist, Roybet, and a colored print of a "head of a steer," by James M. Hart. Miss Scannell has a sheet of outline drawings. They are pleasing; but why does she not select more interesting subjects, and tell some of the thousand stories of child-life which are constantly presenting themselves to the artist's eye? Mr. Ives has many good thoughts, which, for one, we should prefer to take directly, without the machinery of the dialogue.

E. D. C

THE Atlantic Monthly for April opens with a paper on Gouverneur Morris, by Henry Cabot Lodge, which will be found of much interest. A short story by Sarah Orne Jewett, entitled "The Dulham Ladies," is also a pleasant feature of the number, and, with Mr. James' and Miss Murfree's serials, furnishes its fiction. Two important papers, one on "Responsible Government under the Constitution," by Woodrow Wilson, author of "Congressional Government," the other, "Reformation of Charity," by D. O. Kellogg, will be of interest to thoughtful readers. Julian Hawthorne contributes a paper on the "Problems of the *Scarlet Letter*," and this, with an article on "Children, Past and Present," by Agnes Repplier, and "Shylock vs. Antonio, A Brief for Plaintiff on Appeal," by Charles Henry Phelps, comprises the chief contents of the number. There is a poem by Mr. Whittier, called "Revelation," and some other verses by Andrew Helbrook and A. M. Libby; also, criticisms of recent historical works under the title of "Historical Methods," and of some new French books of illustrations. The usual departments close a most agreeable instalment of this standard magazine. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE Catholic World for March devotes more than usual space to light literature of an entertaining character. There is a long instalment of Christian Reid's story of "The Doctor's Fee." "Answered at Last" is a charming short story, by A. M. Clarke. William D. Kelly has a pleasant poem, "By Summer Seas." R. M. Johnson discourses interestingly on "Celebrated and Common Friendships." "Dick Doyle's Diary," by Helen Atteridge, gives a peep into a popular artist's life. Some of the more thoughtful and earnest papers of this number are C. Gayarre's "Normans on the Banks of the Mississippi," and Rev. John Gmeiner's on "The Emperor Julian the Apostate,—the Great Spiritist of the Fourth Century." Under the sensational title, "English Hobbes! Irish Dogges!" Charles De Kay treats of some Irish surnames. Other papers are entitled "A Plea for the Indians," by H. V. R.; and "The Venerable Mary of Agreda and Philip IV., King of Spain," by Helen Atteridge.

THE Magazine of American History for March has the following articles: "Van Cortlandt Manor House," by the editress, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb; "Shall We have Colonies and a Navy? Our Attempts to Colonize," by Hon. J. W. Johnston; "Champlain's American Experiences in 1613," by Arthur Harvey; "Girty, the White Indian: A Study in Early Western History," by George W. Ranck; "The Trent Affair," by Hon. Horatio King; "Shiloh," by Gen. W. F. Smith; "One Night's Work, April 20, 1862," by George B. Bacon; and a "Memorial Tribute to Chief Justice John Meredith Read," by Charles Reade. The articles by Mrs. Lamb, Mr. Ranck, and Gen. Smith are handsomely illustrated, and a vigorous-looking portrait of Gen. W. T. Sherman is given as the frontispiece. The departments of "Notes," "Queries," "Replies," "Book-notices," and "Societies," each contain a variety of interesting pertinent matter. 30 Lafayette Place, New York City.

The leading article in the *Unitarian Review* for March is by Rev. M. J. Savage, on "The Debt of Religion to Science." Carroll D. Wright writes of "The Pulpit and Social Reform." "The Reaction against Individualism" is by Rev. N. P. Gilman; "The Present Aspect of Religion and Theology in Germany," by Rev. J. T. Bixby. R. Schramm gives an interesting account of "The Jumping Procession at Echter-nach, in the Month of May, 1885." In the "Review of Current Literature," Dr. Abbot's *Scientific Theism* is reviewed at some length. Other reviews are "Parker's Views of Religion," "Grimm's Essays," "Mr. Story's Poems," "Italian Popular Tales," etc.

Mr. WILLIAM GANNETT has written an admirable sermon, "The Blessing of Drudgery," which is, indeed, a treat especially adapted to the times. It is printed in *Unity*; and the Women's Western Unitarian Conference wish to publish it for general circulation, and solicit orders or subscription for this purpose. They may be sent to Miss F. Le Baron, 133 Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

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TWENTY women, Lucy Stone, Lucy Larrow, Miss Alcott, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, Mary L. Booth, and Mrs. Admiral Dahlgren among them, are to discuss in the *Brooklyn Magazine* the question, "When should our Young Women marry?" If an opinion in advance of the discussion, by an outsider, is not out of place, we suggest that the young women should marry when they get a chance, in this State.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

HUXLEY seems to be as much of a Bourbon in English politics as Gladstone is in scientific and religious thought.

JOHN H. OBERLY, a Democratic politician by profession and an office-seeker by instinct, is the last person whom those acquainted with him and who believe in civil service reform would think of recommending as a civil service commissioner.

SAYS the Woonsocket Reporter: "The Knights of Labor are progressive men, not capital wreckers, and purpose to conduct their issues in a manly way, through organization. They want both capital and labor respected, and placed on an equal footing, as nearly as possible. This cannot be brought about when one is organized and the other disorganized. Labor asks only a fair field, and is chivalrous enough to accord the same privilege to capital. Both well balanced and respected, no injustice can be done."

MRS. MARY BAYARD CLARK, whose recent political contributions to these columns will be remembered by our readers, died lately at New Berne, N.C., at the age of fifty-eight. Among the works she wrote and by which she is best known are: *Mosses from a Rolling Stone*; *Wood Notes*, or *Carolina Carols*; *Clytie and Zenobia*, or *the Lily of the Palm*; a biography of George E. Badger and a sketch of Gov. Vance. She wrote reviews, and did other literary work for a number of leading journals. She was radical in her religious views, and we have several letters from her expressing deep interest in *The Index* and the thought it represents.

SAYS the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*: "The *New Dispensation*, one of the Brahmo-Somaj journals in Hindustan, says that porcelain images of the Hindu gods are made largely in England, and sold in India, but are failures as works of art. They lack expression. Mahadeva is represented as carrying the corpse of Sati; but no righteous anger, no solemn fury, marks the face. The figure seems to be that of a hireling coolie carrying on

his shoulders a woman in a fit. Greek art spiritualized mythology. English art renders Hindu mythology simply ridiculous. With the Chinese opium trade largely in English hands, and an added profit from this trade in 'graven images' (which the Bible forbids), Christian England makes money from its pagan traffic. Mogovardal, the eloquent Bramo-Somaj preacher, said in Boston that Christianity needed Christianizing."

In an excellent article on the "Evils of Journalism," the *Public Good* has this to say: "We cannot expect the leading dailies, which devote a large portion of their valuable space to polo games and slugging matches, to be in any respect a teacher of morals or a moulder of the right kind of public opinion. One of the two 'rivals' in Boston lately devoted five and a half columns of its most prominent page to a prize-fight, while the other contented itself in narrowing down its report to about two columns, probably to make way for its advertisements. It seems to be the order of things with them that prize-fights, murders, and scandals should take the place of reforms and morality, because it 'sells the paper.' Catering to the demand for degrading items and information, they weaken the moral forces of society. Should not well-disposed citizens make some effort to have the tone and influence of our daily journals improved?"

A WESTERN subscriber writes: "In a recent discussion with a devout Catholic, I made the assertion that a bill was passed through both Houses, in the State of New York, to appropriate \$50,000 for Catholic school or charitable purposes, and that Gov. Cleveland vetoed the bill, on which account he lost the Irish vote to a certain extent. Will you have the kindness to give your decision, and state the facts of the case?" The facts bearing on the above inquiry, as far as we can state them, are these: In the appropriation bill passed at the session of 1883 was an item of \$20,000 (not \$50,000) for the Catholic Protectory. Gov. Cleveland disapproved it, on the ground that it was for a sectarian purpose, and would be a bad precedent. The fact was used against him in the canvass, and probably caused him the loss of some votes, though some of the friends of the Protectory declared that they exonerated him from any motive of "bigotry" in the matter.

In the *Journal of the National Indian Association* (published in London) for September, 1883, we find the following personal reference to Mr. Joshee, from whom a letter was printed in *The Index* last week, and to his talented and accomplished wife, who, we may add, graduated lately from the Woman's Medical College at Philadelphia, with exceptional credit for her attainments, and is now an M.D.: "One of the visitors to Philadelphia on the occasion of the opening of a Woman's Medical Congress was Mrs. Anandaibai Joshee, a Hindu lady studying medicine in America. Mrs. Joshee is eighteen years of age, the wife of a Brahmin. It was supposed that she would lose caste in crossing the sea; but, in a recent letter, she stated to a friend that she had as yet retained it, arrangements having been made for her so that

she could prepare her own food. She also kept her national dress. She is spoken of as a young woman of remarkably fine intellect, and as determined to devote her life to the interests of her fellow-women in India."

ONE interested in recent philosophical articles in *The Index* writes, "Would it not be a good idea to get the various professors of 'philosophy' in colleges interested in this discussion, so that they will contribute to *The Index*, and you thereby enlarge your constituency?" Contributions from "professors of philosophy" in colleges in this country would not improve the quality of *The Index*. They are mostly theologians, and are evidently chosen for the positions more with reference to their conservatism and Orthodoxy than because of any great philosophical ability. If they were profound, original, radical, independent, and courageous thinkers, they would not, generally speaking, be professors of philosophy in American colleges. It is notorious that, as a rule, such men cannot get professorships here. The positions are for those who can repeat the platitudes of text-books, and can be relied upon to guard the minds of students against philosophical and religious heresies. A few exceptions can be named, and but a few. We may add that "the various professors of philosophy" in American colleges could not be induced to write for a radical, heterodox journal like *The Index*, even if their contributions were especially desired. To do so would be to endanger their positions.

We learn by the *People*, a paper published at Providence in the interests of labor, that Mr. F. A. Hinckley was recently the recipient of a handsome testimonial from Industrial Assembly No. 2085, Knights of Labor, as a mark of appreciation of his "disinterested and manly efforts in the behalf of oppressed humanity at a time when friends were few and far between." Says the *People*: "Mr. Hinckley has done able, conscientious work for the cause of the worker, and has been, for years past, the only man in the pulpit, in this city, who has had the courage, and at the same time the ability, to discuss industrial questions in an ethical manner. This he has done in the course of his duties as preacher of the Free Religious Society in Blackstone Hall." Our readers need not be told that Mr. Hinckley speaks not from a Christian pulpit, but from a free platform,—that of a Free Religious society, a free-thought society, which received recognition from none of the churches of the city, whose pastors ignored the Labor Movement when it was unpopular and in especial need of encouragement, but who are now forced to notice it since it has grown strong. Workingmen of Providence—as we learned personally, during a recent visit to that city, when we addressed the Free Religious Society and conversed with many of its members—respect and honor Mr. Hinckley, because he earnestly espoused their cause in its weakness, and discussed the subject on its own merits before it had received attention from the pulpit or the press of the city.

HUMANITY'S SOCIAL DREAM.

There is pathos in the persistency with which, in spite of repeated disappointments and failures, men and women of noble aspirations return to the experiment of some kind of "community life" for the solution of the social problem. The latest attempt of this sort that has come to our knowledge appears in an organization under the name of "The Fellowship of the New Life." A branch of this organization has, we understand, been formed in New York,—or at least a germ of it has been planted there, and with signs that seem promising to those most interested. Our friend and occasional *Index* contributor, Thomas Davidson, is one who has been specially engaged in promoting the enterprise. The society, we believe, has not yet advanced beyond the stage of framing a constitution and instituting parlor gatherings for lectures and discussions. Nor are we informed whether anywhere the organization has progressed beyond this stage, nor how many branches there are which are at this stage of germination. There is, however, before us a circular which came to us from New York, but which was printed in behalf of a "Branch" in London. This circular presents an interesting statement of the "Principles and Purposes" of the society. The first two paragraphs are as follows:—

The Fellowship of the New Life is a body of men and women who, lamenting the many wrongs and evils from which society is suffering, will strive, in united effort, to establish their lives upon a basis of love, truth, and freedom, and to induce and help others to do the same. It is initiated with the belief that the cause of human progress may be most surely and worthily advanced by the fullest possible realization, among such as desire the renovation of society, of those higher relations which they would see universally prevail.

Although it is generally admitted that the end for which a community should exist is the greatest good of all its members, society is at present by no means organized so as to secure this, but subsists mainly on the sub-human basis of struggle, involving the subjection of the weak and unfortunate by the strong and fortunate, and, as a consequence, widespread misery, suffering, and degradation. We, the members of the Fellowship, believe that it is only by the definite adoption and persistent following of a right social ideal that a lasting and continuous improvement of our condition is possible. It is this conviction that furnishes the starting-point of our movement, and distinguishes it from existing movements for social amelioration.

In a subsequent paragraph, the object of the "Fellowship" is more closely defined as "the cultivation of a perfect character," or the attainment of "man's true vocation." The "ideal of a perfect life, a life lived 'resolutely in the noble, the good, the beautiful,'" is what the members of this society set before themselves, and wish by practice and precept to urge and recommend for acceptance by all." For reaching this end, "social equality" is affirmed as a necessary condition. Care is taken to say that neither equality in faculty nor equality in kind of work is possible, but it is urged that this necessary inequality should not be allowed to result in detriment to any persons in attaining the true life-object. There may be equality in social relations, just as already under democratic forms of government equality in respect to civil rights is recognized. Of course, in "The Fellowship of the New Life," woman's equality with man is affirmed, and in industrial matters the principle of competition yields to that of co-operation. All worthy work is to be invested with dignity and done joyously. One other suggestive paragraph relating to modes of daily living we must quote in full:—

There are many important consequences of the

principle of Social Equality, one of which, the most far-reaching, calls for special notice. As the principle forbids all servitude, it follows that each one's wants must be such as can be met without preventing a like satisfaction of the wants of others. This involves simplicity of living,—simplicity in all the relations of life. For example, as all household needs must be attended to by the members of the household, domestic arrangements and modes of living must be of such simplicity as will allow of this. A greater simplicity should likewise rule in eating and drinking, rendering advisable, it may be, a vegetarian or fruit diet, as being clean and not requiring the complicated, offensive, and shameful processes involved in the preparation of animal food; in dress, striking at the vagaries of fashion; in house-furnishing and decoration, banishing all furniture that cannot be kept clean and orderly without undue care and attention; in social intercourse, demanding thorough sincerity and frankness in speech and behavior. As in these, so in other respects, the implications of the rule of simplicity will become sufficiently obvious.

The religious character of the new society is distinctly asserted. Work is to be regarded in it as having a "religious function." The Fellowship is to be a "religious society or church." "This church will have its basis in the moral sentiment, and will be free from admixture of superstition." At first, it will be mainly "a society for moral culture," aiming at "the edification of its members in the spiritual life and the formation of character." In this respect and in the stress laid upon the moral education of youth, it is to work on the lines of the Ethical Culture Movement. But it looks forward to creating some more special institution in the future. The circular says: "As soon as any of the members are in a position to do so, they will make arrangements to live near one another or together, constituting the beginning of a model settlement that may develop into a self-contained and autonomous community."

Such is a brief abstract of the four closely printed pages of the prospectus of this latest society that has published its social dream. A reader of it who is acquainted with the hopes and views of those who founded the famous Brook Farm Community can easily imagine himself put back forty-five years, and reading the prospectus of that society. The intervening years have in no respect diminished the need of urgent efforts to solve the problem of social regeneration. Indeed, the perturbed industrial condition of this country at this moment, the chronic struggle between capital and labor, the vast increase of crime in the last twenty years, the growing wealth and luxury on one side and the misery of pauperism on the other,—these are facts that can but set thoughtful and earnestly moral people to inquiring whether no remedy can be found. Any experiments in the direction of a juster and more harmonious social order ought to be cordially welcomed. We certainly wish those men and women who may be drawn into "The Fellowship of the New Life" the highest success in the realization of their beautiful vision. But the conditions of success for such an effort seem to us no more favorable than when Brook Farm Community was born and died,—if, indeed, they are so favorable as then. The failures, too, of similar organizations at Florence, Hopedale, New Harmony, and we know not how many others, appear to indicate that the cure of the social trouble lies not that way. Perhaps, generations or centuries hence, when the stage of convalescence is reached, this method may be applicable; but we fear that, for some time yet, more robust remedies will be required.

It is, however, a significant fact that, after so many failures of this kind of social experiment, there are yet earnest hearts that continue to revert to this old ideal of human society as a harmonious

brotherhood. Christianity began in just such a social dream, temporarily aided by a national religious dogma of great vigor. Now, after eighteen centuries, it is precisely the Christian nations of the earth that are the farthest from the realization of that vision. Yet the ideal contains a truth that will not own itself conquered, however violently it may be resisted or however long its triumph may be deferred. Civilized man knows that he ought to live in brotherhood with his fellow-man. How to translate this *ought* into act is the problem. It is especially the problem that is agitating civilized society at this hour.

WM. J. POTTER.

A SUGGESTION IN EDUCATION.

Believing with Herbert Spencer that we cannot get golden conduct out of leaden instincts, I regard agitation and organization among workmen as valuable almost only as means of education. The specific ends had in view by world-cobblers are generally impossible of realization; for, where they are not opposed to the principles of social science, they are quite sure to be practicable only among men of higher average intelligence than are the rank and file of this or any other country. Education, then, first; and, to spread education, the friend of humanity will scarcely withhold his aid from the promulgation of even the most revolutionary ideas.

But this education should be, above all things, of the kind that teaches man to think. To give to men and women grown this fashion of education is almost impossible. In addition to the obstacle offered by the natural conservatism of the race, there are the other obstacles of accepted ideas and self-interest. To change the former, so the vast majority think, is always to imperil the latter. True, by the preaching of radical ideas to the mature, much can be done; but progress in that line of action is slow,—the more slow and the more nearly hopeless, because each new generation coming into practical life from out our educational institutions is imbued with the same ancient conservatism, the same conventional ideas, the same respect for authority, and the same incapacity for independent thought. But cannot these new generations be reached while they are yet occupied in their studies? Are we compelled to suffer schools, academies, colleges, and seminaries to turn out upon the world an unending stream of young men and women whose only thought is imitation, whose only desire is to conform? Cannot this zeal for likeness and dependence be changed, in at least some instances, to a zeal for originality and independence? Now that the time has passed when the spirit of conservatism is of value to the world and the time come when it is a hindrance to its progress, would we not be justified in making every effort to eradicate it?

The field of education is already occupied, and efforts to establish schools of free thought have met and will meet with as little encouragement as do like religious movements. But, if present educational methods cannot be opposed by other methods, at least the whole field of education can be invaded. We can borrow a hint from the religious enthusiasts, and establish a tract society of ideas,—a new propaganda.

Leaflets, extracts from books, small pamphlets, brief arguments directed against the studies in which this or that particular class may be engaged,—these might be distributed judiciously in educational institutions of every kind. My own college was Dartmouth. When there, I had an awakening which was anything but spiritual, in

my friends' view; and I am confident that, had the proper kind of "tracts" been placed in our hands during the course, that awakening would have been more complete with me, and would have extended to many more of my classmates. Take such a hot-bed of conservatism as Oberlin College, and imagine the effect on it of the distribution within a year of four or five sets of judiciously chosen tracts.

Work of this kind would be easy, so far as the distribution is concerned; for, in catalogues, we have at hand lists of students, their addresses, and a statement of the studies and even of the books in which they are engaged.

Were the tracts printed in uniform style, say of the shape of Ph. Reclam's (of Leipzig) little Universal Bibliothek, and sold at a low price to those who wished to buy, the society would in time be made nearly self-sustaining. It would be a help to its becoming so, if the matter of the publications were in some instances sufficiently radical and shocking to encourage the free advertisement of newspaper opposition.

Has the plan any of the virtue of things practical?

JOHN COTTON DANA.

NEO-CHRISTIANITY.

A late issue of *The Week* (Toronto, Ont.) contains a remarkable paper on "The Evolution of American Christianity." The writer, Rev. G. J. Low, author of two brochures, "Eschatology" and "The Corporate Unity of the Church," takes a broad and liberal view of the question from an ecclesiastical and theological stand-point. Indeed, Mr. Low, in the works noted above as well as in the paper about to be considered, not only manifests an unusual catholicity and breadth in treating these burning questions, but shows an intimate acquaintance with the foremost relevant thought of the times, and a spirit of fairness toward the heresies and heretics of the age, which is as rare as it is laudable.

As this forecast of Christianity from the theological side has thus been made (and made by a worthy representative of modern liberal Christian thought), a forecast from the agnostic side may, perchance, be not quite intolerable, though possibly open to the suspicion of prejudice. The agnostic will, however, endeavor to treat an outgrown creed and those who still cling to it with the same fairness and justice he discerns with so much pleasure in a friendly and just opponent.

Mr. Low frankly admits that Christianity is now in a state of "transition," and shows how "unsatisfactory and shifting" its condition is to-day, how it is divided up into a thousand and one sects, how it is "neither coherent nor homogeneous," but rather "a sort of conglomerate." This is all quite true, and admitted by all, both in the Church and out, who are competent to judge, and denied only by those whose zeal and affection for a time-honored creed far outrun their knowledge of the progress of modern science and modern thought.

The serious question of course is how this evolutionary movement, which has now so vigorously taken hold of the religions of the world, and especially Christianity, is to issue. What will be the end of this tremendous trend? Whither is religion drifting, or rather whither are the creeds called religious drifting? That the agnostic's answer to these questions should be wide—very wide—from that of the theist, especially the Christian theist, is, of course, to be expected. That he ought to give any answer at all many will deny. Nevertheless, his mere appellation debars him not from this right; for, although the agnostic does

acknowledge his ignorance as to a personal God and personal immortality,—these metaphysical speculations being without the purview of history or science,—he at the same time claims to examine and decide as to the truth or falsity of all creeds, all religions, these coming fairly within the province of historical research and scientific investigation.

"Is Christianity emerging from chaos to order, or is it undergoing the process of decomposition and decay?" The answer which Mr. Low and Prof. Shields, of Princeton, whom the former quotes, give to this grave question, is what we would naturally expect from all earnest and devout Christian theists, though most of those who are now attempting to cast this horoscope of their future faith (and Mr. Low must be counted in here) betray sad misgivings as to the ultimate issue. And a remarkable fact to be noted here—though not a surprising one—is that, as a rule, the more cultured the apologist, the better acquainted with modern science and modern thought, the more misgiving he betrays and the less confidence in his heroic prognosis, the sincere wish being father to the dubious though honest thought.

But Christianity is not going irremediably to pieces. It is rather evolving toward "Order, Strength, and Beauty, and not toward further decay." So hopes and so says Mr. Low. But how is this "Order, Strength, and Beauty" to be born of the conglomerate Disorder, Weakness, and positive Ugliness of sectarian strife now prostrate in the throes of abortive travail? We shall see. The remedial palladium is "Organic Unity." Prof. Shields and Mr. Low see in Organic Unity the ultimate salvation of Christianity from its present perilous position, and the "unifying tendencies" are already apparent. On the three grand bases, "Doctrine, Polity, and Worship," there is to be an assimilation of all the sects except the Roman Catholics, who "must be left out of the question," and the Unitarian Protestants.

As to Doctrine, Prof. Shields has little hope that unity is near; and Mr. Low suggests that the *Nicene Creed* would perhaps be more acceptable as a basis of doctrinal unity than any other creedal formula.

As to Polity, the assimilation is now said to be progressing favorably. The desideratum of unity of Worship is to be achieved by the general adoption of the Church of England Prayer Book in its entirety.

Such is the scheme for "Organic Unity" of the Churches of Christendom (or rather the Christian Churches of America), with the exception of the Church of Rome and the Protestant Unitarians. And organic union, bear in mind, is "absolutely necessary" for the preservation of Christianity from total collapse and decay! In reckoning up the probabilities of a consummation of this organic union, so devoutly to be wished, the less sanguine Christian prognosticator will, it is to be feared, exclaim, "*Forlorn hope!*" While the agnostic, who has studied history, human nature, and the drift of modern thought to some purpose, will exclaim, "*Absolutely impossible!*" The rationalist's prognosis must be about like this: Every vestige of the supernatural part of Christianity *must go*, and that comparatively soon; while the natural or moral part—that is, Christianity in its rational aspects—will remain. In view of the recent rapid progress of Naturalism (for which Science is but another name) and the correspondingly rapid decline of Supernaturalism (for which Dogmatic Creed is but another name), no unification of conflicting creeds or assimilation of diverse sects will be possible on any basis which retains one vestige of the supernatural part of Christianity. True,

an esoteric belief in God and immortality and even the divinity of Christ might be retained in the individual, but it could never be successfully made obligatory or enjoined authoritatively. Mr. Low, if he lives long, will see that there must be a much wider doctrinal basis than the *Nicene Creed*, to carry with it any prospect of even the partial exoteric assimilation which he hopes for.

But let us for a moment look at the idea of a scheme of unity and affiliation for the different sects of a great system of religion like Christianity, professing to be a divine system and essentially monistic, which necessarily excludes one great sect of that religion and another lesser sect! The great Church of Rome,—the oldest Christian Church,—forming so large an integrant part of Christendom, must imperatively "be left out of the question" of Christian affiliation and confraternity, as there can be "no compromise with her, no parleying!" What a spectacle is this for the heathen and the agnostic (which, by the way, in the opinion of some excellent people, mean about the same thing)! Here is, at least, *prima facie* evidence against the moral integrity of the whole system, including all of its sects. But this internecine lance-sting, turning upon its own body, penetrates deeper than the surface and probes the festering vitals. On the broadest principles of reason as well as the highest moral sense of a purely secular humanity, this incongruity of members and mutual deadly antagonism of parts must vitiate the parent body. Yet, in this proposed confraternity of Christian sects, compassed to preserve Christianity from destruction, the Romish Christians must be left out, and the Unitarian Christians must be left out!

Now, if Prof. John Fiske, the author of the *Cosmic Philosophy* and the foremost exponent of evolution and the philosophy of Herbert Spencer in America, can be properly classed as a Unitarian (and Mr. Low so classes him), then we certainly cannot wonder that Unitarians are to be ruled out of the coming family compact; for 'I should say Mr. Fiske stands distinctly and unequivocally outside of doctrinal Christianity. But then "there are Unitarians and Unitarians." Mr. Low recognizes the gulf between Channing Unitarianism and Parker Unitarianism. But it is hoped in certain quarters that Mr. Fiske is growing more conservative; and Prof. F. L. Patten, in the *Christian at Work*, claims that there is a positive difference in Mr. Fiske's theistic attitude as manifested in his two works, his *Cosmic Philosophy* and his *Idea of God*. In the latter, it must be confessed, the great evolutionist appears to defend a belief in God on teleological grounds, but at the same time reaffirms what he has said in the *Cosmic Philosophy* against teleology as "a means of investigation." Prof. Patten thinks Fiske inconsistent in throwing the design argument completely overboard, while at the same time admitting that there is "a dramatic tendency" in the universe, and that this dramatic tendency "is the objective aspect of that which, when regarded from its subjective side, we call Purpose." We have yet, however, to hear from Prof. Fiske, when the alleged inconsistency may be quite resolved. The author of the *Cosmic Philosophy* may be a Unitarian in a broad, theistic sense; but he is certainly not a Christian Unitarian in any doctrinal sense whatever.

"No doubt, if this multiplication of sects were to go on much longer, the end would be that Rome and Agnosticism would divide the prey between them." Very likely, Mr. Low has here given us a correct predicate, so far as it goes, for it will soon be between Rome and Reason, between Authority and Science; and the end will

be that Reason will disintegrate Rome, and Science triumph over Authority. And this present "transition" and disintegration which Mr. Low speaks of are the beginning of that end. That the Anglican Catholic Church will, however, be the last of the Protestant sects to succumb to the inevitable is more than likely, since no other Christian sect is so broad and liberal, and "meddles so little with politics and religion"; no other shows a spirit at once so accommodating and conciliatory toward the heretical developments of recent science. There is really no logical "halting place" at all in Protestantism on the whole road leading from Rome to Rationalism and Atheism. Once admit the right of private judgment and liberty of conscience in religion (and this is the first principle of Protestantism), and no Christian sect this side of Rome can consistently call "halt" to the heretical member or the free thinker. The rationalist or atheist is as truly and consistently a Protestant as the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Quaker. He has only taken a step or two further than they,—a step which they also, as adherents to the Protestantism of Martin Luther, have a perfect right to take.

It is, therefore, clear that no "organic union" of Protestant sects with the *Nicene* or any other dogmatic creed, arbitrarily enjoined as a doctrinal basis, could possibly hold together long enough hardly to complete the preliminaries of organization. Those who can rest content with mere machinery and authority will seek and find anchorage in Rome. Those who refuse to be comforted in such a straight pocket (and they will presently be the overwhelming majority) will still continue to go off from the sects in heretical tangents to all points of the religious compass. Thus will end all Protestantism. How long after that will Rome stand intact? Could the Romish Church get control of the education of the young, for which she is insidiously striving in every civilized country, and could the progress of science be stayed by a papal encyclical or by a *Bull* from the Vatican, Roman Christianity might linger in life for considerable time to come. But secular and moral education, with the rapid progress of science, will, in the end,—not very distant,—speedily reduce the last stronghold of superstition.

"The evolution of Christianity!" This unfortunate admission looks very much like a fatal blow at the divinity of the whole system. What is evolution but progress,—gradual change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the crude and imperfect toward the mature and perfect? Was Christianity, then, crude and imperfect, that it must come under the law of evolution for proper development? A divine and perfect system subject to the same law of change and progress as the crude and imperfect institutions of man! It would, I should think, be just as reasonable to bring mathematics or exact science under the law of progress as so to bring theology or what claims to be a divine revelation. One would naturally think that a divine and hence perfect system could no more be improved or affected in any way by evolution than the multiplication table. That the whole of anything is equal to all of its parts, or that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, may not have been grasped by primitive man for ages and ages; yet, when he did discover or comprehend for the first time these simple truisms, they were as mature, as perfect, as they are to-day, being forever truths and incapable of change or improvement. It would seem to stand to reason that, had an omnipotent and omniscient Being given a religion to man for his acceptance and guidance, it would necessarily have been perfect, and hence no more

subject to the law of evolution than the axioms of Euclid. Therefore, when the Christian admits that Christianity is subject to improvement and development, he places his religion in the same category with all the other religions of the world and all other human systems and institutions.

In reply to this, it may be said that, under the action of the law of progress, Christianity is simply getting rid of foreign accretions and exotic excrescences, for the acquisition of which the religion itself is in no wise responsible, and that its essential doctrines remain *intact* and unchanged. But this plea will not do. The fact is that the very fundamental doctrines of Christianity are in that state of "transition" frankly conceded by Mr. Low. Even some of the practical precepts ascribed to Christ in the New Testament have been a dead letter for centuries,—such, for instance, as the treatment of the sick, the community of goods, the non-resentment of insult, etc. Christians might as well be candid with themselves and with the facts. When the so-called "accretions" and "excrescences" of Christianity are all gone,—and they are rapidly going,—there will be nothing left but the moral and rational part; and that is all that has been, is, or will be, useful to mankind.

The question, What will be the moral and social outcome of so great a revolution of religious thought and doctrine? is a very perplexing and disturbing one to many devout and philanthropic minds; and they are led to take an extremely pessimistic view of the future. As a consequence of the approaching wreck of creeds, they see morality a wreck, the whole social fabric a wreck. This dismal prognosis is, however, just what we might expect from the devout *doctrinaire*, who religiously believes that man by nature is "utterly depraved," with a heart "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked"; who steadfastly believes that belief and morality are one and the same thing, or, at least, inseparably bound up together, and that it takes the "fear o' hell," which is "a hangman's whip," to "haud" human wretches in order. His sombre forecast is a perfectly logical conclusion from his premises. But these being utterly erroneous,—each and every one of them,—the "blackness of darkness" looming up before his vision in the future may well disappear. There is some good in human nature, after all, independent of all religious beliefs. There is a genuine altruism of humanity, which will survive the merely incidental wreck of tentative creeds, confessions, and faiths. The good has been evolved, along with the bad, by the ever-upward-acting law of progress; and we may confidently predicate its continued upward progress, in spite of the timely—possibly, premature—decay of time-worn beliefs, which themselves, no doubt, play a necessary part in the evolution of humanity from a lower to a higher plane. The altruist and philanthropist, no less than the scientist, the iconoclast, and the reformer, may look to the future with confidence and without misgiving.

ALLEN PRINGLE.

DOGS' LANGUAGE.

A sad story of the sea has circulated for years among the sailors and "those that go down to the sea in ships" about a great Newfoundland dog. There never seems to be a name attached to the dog or to the story, but it is as simple as touching.

A captain used to call every day at the office of his brother, in a large seaport town; and his dog would stop at the office, too, making it headquarters. If the dog was missed during the day, he was sure to turn up at the office, sooner or later.

But the captain sailed away, taking his dog with him; and no word ever came back concerning his fate. The vessel was one day posted as "missing," and the insurance was paid. The crew were mourned as dead; and all hope had departed, save from the hearts of the hopeful few who ever cherish the faith that some day the missing ones will come again.

More than a year had passed away, when the Newfoundland dog presented itself at the office door. Not the sleek, well-kept animal it once was, but a poor, ragged, half-starved dog, with hungry eyes and a wistful look. Where the dog came from or how it came, nobody ever knew; for the poor dog could not tell his story. Nobody knew his language; and so the dread mystery of the vessel's fate has never been unravelled, and no word of relief has ever come to the sad hearts who mourn for the loved ones lost.

Everybody who has learned to love a dog—and who has not?—must have felt that the dogs have a language of their own. The amount of emotion a dog can express by the wag of his tail is quite wonderful. Some dogs seem able to express their views in the most decided manner, with the help of voice, eyes, and tail; and their masters can often tell what they mean just as well as if they spoke in the most grammatical English. The wild dogs of many lands are voiceless; while others, like the coyote of Lower California, make night hideous with a yelp that has no more music in it than a cat's wail. The dogs of civilization have acquired a very definite mode of expression in their bark; but there is as much variety in their language as in the human language, for dogs are born to different lives, as well as men,—

"Some wake to the world's wine, honey, and corn;
While others, like Colchester natives, are born
To its vinegar only, and pepper."

The dogs of Constantinople are famous for their plenitude and their general meanness. They are of a reddish tawny color, of no particular breed, with a marked tendency to lie in the roadway and make strangers feel uncomfortable. This dog, mean and despicable as he is, has got a language of his own, and a very strict code of laws. The city is divided into wards and districts by these curs, and the limits of each district are more carefully marked than any ever marked by a heelless Turk. In each district there is a large number of dogs which belong to nobody. They are public property, public scavengers, public pests. The views of the Moslem on the dog question are of the most peculiar character. He despises a dog,—all Eastern people do; but he believes it will go to heaven. The strongest term of reproach he can use to a human being is to call him a "Jew's dog." Yet to feed the homeless dogs of his city is a religious duty. The only animals to go to heaven are three,—the camel on which Mohammed rode, Balaam's ass, and Kitmer, the dog of the Seven Sleepers. Yet a more badly used animal than the dog it is almost impossible to find, unless it be a poor Turk himself. These outcast yet revered dogs have organized themselves into communities; and woe be unto the dog which leaves its own ward and wanders in another! As soon as he is observed, there rises a dog's call, which cannot be mistaken. It says, "Here's a stranger: kill him"; and the sleeping curs wake up to activity, and fly at the rover. If caught, his shrill is short,—the cowardly dogs worry him to death. But, if he is too fleet of foot, and runs the gauntlet in safety, he finds the inhabitants of the next ward ready to receive him; for the dog language is a loud and distinct one, and the wandering canine falls a victim to the curs of the next ward.

On Friday, which is the Moslem Sunday, some

old hadjis—a "hadji" is a Moslem who has performed his pilgrimage to Mecca—may be seen feeding the dogs. Every Moslem who has visited the tomb of the Prophet at Mecca is entitled to wear a green turban; and that denotes a certain amount of religious fervor, like the S.S. on the red collars of the Salvation Army. The green-turbaned old hadji takes a bag of bread with him on Friday, and walks solemnly through the narrow streets, distributing bread and kicks with unerring alternation; and the dogs watch for both with hunger-sharpened eyes. As the hadji reaches the end of the district, a new set is waiting for him; for the dogs of the adjoining ward have heard the cry of "Bread," and they are waiting at the boundary line for their turn. They, in turn, raise the cry of "Bread" before they reach the next district; and so the old Moslem has a continuous following of dogs. And it is a strange sight to watch them halt at the invisible boundary line drawn by canine law.

How distinct and intelligible is the dog language among these homeless curs may be gathered from the fact that a few days' residence in an Eastern city will enable a stranger to tell what is going on among the dogs from their tones. Sitting at dinner sometimes, in a quiet hotel, there can be heard the sudden barking of a dog in the street, and several people will ejaculate, "There's a stranger"; and, sure enough, the sight of the dogs of the ward flying wildly after an interloper will be visible from the window. So with many another movement among the dogs: their language is clear and distinct. An inarticulate, if noisy, manner of communicating ideas they surely have; and it is a pity that some man or woman who loves dogs does not try to write a grammar of dog-talk, and reduce the language to a system, just as the missionaries do with the heathen. Of course, the dogs would hardly be able to buy calico or drink rum, even if we knew their language, but it is worth while trying it; and it is very gratifying to learn that students, like Sir John Lubbock, are trying to teach animals our language, which is a step in the direction of learning the dogs' language. For, in the mutual interchange of ideas which would ensue, it might prove that the dog had many things to teach us; and, as in the case of the captain's great Newfoundland dog, it might be that dogs would be able to tell strange stories.

How much dogs think, we know not; but, when a dog howls in the still hour of the night, it strikes terror to many a heart, for all nations have agreed in attributing supernatural powers to the dog. The Arabs say that, when the death angel, Azrael, hovers round a house, the dog can see him, and so raises his melancholy howl to tell it to the sons of men. This belief still lingers with many a one in our own land, and that is almost the only phrase they understand in dog language.

B. McMILLAN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

In a recent lecture in Providence, R.I., on "Memory," Mr. John Fretwell said: "Many instances of so-called death-bed conversions were, no doubt, the result of an unconscious act of the memory, which, under the weakness of approaching dissolution, fails to call up the impressions or convictions of mature life, while those of childhood and youth unconsciously influence the weakened mind; and not only does the reprobate Sir John Falstaff, in his dying hours, 'babble of green fields,' but also the philosophic poet, Goethe, writ-

ing at the close of his great work, *Faust*, can say, alluding to his childhood's faith,—

'What I possess, I see far distant lying;
And what I lost grows real and undying.'

We should all train our memories so as to retain what is worth remembering and forget what might be a burden to the memory, lest we be like the Bourbons, who learned nothing and forgot nothing."

"If a man pretends to raise spirits from the dead," says *London Truth*, "or to read the thoughts of the living, he cannot only do so with impunity, but he may mix in the best society, and make money out of those he victimizes. On the other hand, should a poor woman, when importuned by a lot of foolish members of her own sex, shuffle a pack of cards and pretend to tell them their fortunes, the law comes down upon her with a sentence of three months' imprisonment with hard labor."

MR. JOSEPH COOK never heard of Mr. Schindler, although all the Boston newspapers have printed lots of the rabbi's sermons. Mr. Cook knows so little about what is so that it is not surprising that doubts are occasionally thrown upon the accuracy of his information upon the many things which ain't so, and with which he is admittedly familiar.—*Boston Evening Transcript*.

MR. ALLEN PRINGLE writes from Selby, Ont.: "When I read your 'open letter' to Col. Ingersoll, I was certainly somewhat startled; but I cannot say that I was much surprised. I looked for the President's response; but it came not,—at any rate, publicly. Sometimes, I think you are a little too inflexible and severe in your attitude toward them; but, again, when I reflect that your positions are justly taken and your impeachment unanswerable, you are, perhaps, quite right in your course. No doubt, Ingersoll felt the moral force of your arraignment, but thought best to make no public defence. Besides, the altruistic emotional element is so strong in the Colonel as to disqualify him, morally and intellectually, from seeing the points in the controversy just as you see them." "The altruistic, emotional element" did not prevent Col. Ingersoll's seeing the "points." The statements we made were strictly true and called for, and they accomplished the purpose for which they were written.

"SUBSCRIBER" inquires, "Is there any truth in the statement, made by Joseph Cook, in one of his recent lectures, that Strauss abandoned his theory concerning the mythical origin of the gospel story?" Strauss never abandoned his mythical theory, but adhered to it to the end of his life, although, on some points, his views underwent slight modification after the first edition of his *Life of Jesus* was published. Strauss' theory, it should be remembered, never, as is so commonly represented, involved the denial of a man and teacher named Jesus.

THE Chicago *Inter-Ocean* says that the pastor of one of the fashionable boulevard churches of that city in a recent sermon applied, "in an expectorant way," the word "fool" to men who hold agnostic views; and that journal is moved to remark that "coarse and insolent treatment of the nescience of those who candidly admit their inability to fathom the mystery of first cause is so common as to deserve rebuke." To those who excuse the discourtesy by referring to words of the Psalmist, the *Inter-Ocean* says:—

The word translated "fool" is nabal, which was in the vernacular of that royal writer both a proper name and a class distinction. It may be recalled that this same king, while he was a hunted outlaw,

had an experience with a nabal which was not at all to his credit, to say the least. Whether that episode in his life had any connection with the remark quoted or not is a question in exegesis which it is not worth while to discuss here. Be that as it may, the temptation to stigmatize anybody as a fool on account of his intellectual convictions on this or any other subject ought to be resisted, especially in the pulpit; for, besides being bad form, it is in express violation of a precept taught by a greater than David, who said, "Whosoever shall say thou fool shall be in danger of hell,"—not the hades or sheol of the new version, but the Gehenna of fire. It is true that the term fool is found no less than one hundred and ten times in the King James Bible, the translators having used that term in rendering at least a dozen different words or phrases of the Hebrew and Greek of the original text; but no inferential sanction can break the force of the prohibition placed upon the epithet by him "who spake as never man spake."

IN his recent memorial discourse on Dr. Mulford, Prof. Allen spoke as follows: "I sometimes fancied that the tone of his thought was changing in his last years. Not that he had abandoned the convictions which had inspired his earlier teaching: he had nothing to take back of what he had written. But I think he felt the necessity of setting forth more strongly the nature and the claims of that humanity to whose perfection the divine institutions of life, the family, the Church, and the State, were appointed to minister. Society and humanity,—these were uppermost in his last thoughts. He realized that the danger to institutions springs from an exaggerated sense of their importance, making them to be ends in themselves instead of means to a larger end, as if man existed for the institution instead of the institution for man. Only by keeping in view the goal of history could this belittling tendency be overcome. Hence, he welcomed every movement which promised to enlarge the institution or better adapt it to its purpose. And so his thoughts rested more and more upon humanity, upon society, as the redeemed form of man. He was beginning to accumulate the books that bore upon sociology and political economy. He was studying socialistic theories. He was projecting in his mind the same large treatment of the subject which his other works display."

A FRIEND writes: "I wish to inquire as to Herbert Spencer's attitude on the question of the correlation of extra-organic and intra-organic phenomena. Dr. Montgomery says, 'This new and sweeping generalization [law of correlation] induced Mr. Spencer to bridge the chasm between motion and sensation by boldly declaring that the sundry motions reaching the brain become actually converted into their corresponding sensations.' Now, I do not so understand Spencer. On the contrary, I understand him to say that here the law of correlation, in the sense of conversion, does not hold; and that the law is only one of concomitance; and that Fiske elaborates this law of concomitance at length. What say you? I understand Spencer and Fiske to affirm an underlying unity of the Unknowable only, a transphenomenal unity." Our friend is correct in his criticism. Mr. Spencer, far from holding that motion is converted into feeling, declares that the metamorphosis of one into the other is neither provable nor conceivable; that the relation between nerve-motion and feeling we know only as a relation of concomitance; that neither is convertible into the other, as motion, for instance, is convertible into heat or heat into light; and that it is idle therefore to look for the cause or explanation of mental phenomena in physical processes to which they stand parallel. Nerve-motion and feeling are regarded rather as the objective and subjective manifestations of the

same reality. Dr. Montgomery's mistake was due, probably, to a slip of the pen or to some inadvertence.

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, in his paper, the *Present Day*, relates the following incident: "At that time, Major B.—Bicknell, I think, was the name—asked me if I would object to be prayed for by the Catholic Church. I said I had no objection, if he thought any good would come of it. He said that, if £15 pounds were paid in my name, ten thousand masses would be said on my behalf. I thought they must be very short masses, considering the number and the price; but, for all I knew, there might be a reduction in the charge on account of the quantity. I was told that it was necessary I should give my consent, and that some of my Catholic friends would send the money to Rome for that purpose. My answer was that, in my opinion, the money might be put to a better use; but, if they thought good would come of it, I did not object. I was in want of some good, as not much had fallen to my share up to that time. Of the result of the prayers, which, for all I know, may not yet be ended, I have no direct evidence. Since, however, that period, I have acquired many new friends, quite beyond any expectations of mine. As a reading-room and large gallery have since been open in my native town, Birmingham, on Sundays; as the Affirmation Act was passed nine years later, enabling me to give evidence in courts of laws; and as two million additional voters have been enfranchised, fulfilling in that respect the claims of the Chartist Executive, of which I was a member,—all may have been owing to aforesaid prayers; and I am not prepared to make oath that they have not so come to pass in consequence."

A. L. LEUBUSCHER writes from Water Mills, N.Y.: "Will you please put among your editorial notes the following inquiry to Mr. Gill, which I think would tend to elucidate the matter? *Brown*: (1) What is the definition of and distinction between 'lexical correspondence' and 'identity'? (2) If the sensic moon is 'all in my eye,' how do I get to the scientific moon that is 'not at all in my eye'? (3) How do I rise from experience which is 'me' to existence which is 'not me'? (4) Do I understand Mr. Gill to imply that he 'eats himself'?"

REFERRED to Mr. Gill, these questions elicited the following response: "To *Brown's* question, I answer as follows: (1) The difference between lexical correspondence and identity is the difference between likeness and sameness. *Brown's* sensation is like mine, but it is not mine; and the objects of sight are to *Brown* and *Smith* like to each other, but not the same; and they follow the same laws,—that is, they occur and recur and vary relative to both organisms in the same ways. (2) There is no 'moon' which is not a visual phenomenon. That is what the word 'moon' means, a particular object of sight, which is only a visual sensation; and this is 'the scientific moon' as well as the moon of the common people. What is the supersensible cause of this sensation or visible moon remains to be determined. (3) We never know directly the 'not me.' It is not an object of sense, is not a phenomenon at all. How we are to justify our assumption of its existence is yet an obscure and difficult question in psychology and metaphysics. (4) Yes, *Brown* and *Smith* both 'eat themselves,' especially when in these days they ask such questions. Eating, like every other act or experience, is a subjective process. It is a correlated transmutation of certain phenomena into other phenomena,—the lower into the higher. Man is his own universe and self-subsistent."

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

BY GEORGE ILES.

I.

George Jacob Holyoake was born in Birmingham in 1817. His father was for forty years a foreman whitesmith; and, as early as six years of age, George worked at making horn buttons, a business conducted by his mother. Afterward, when still very young, the little fellow busied himself when school hours were over in making lanterns. From twelve to twenty-two, he worked at the Eagle Foundry in Birmingham, where he won repute as a good workman. To this day, Mr. Holyoake prides himself on his handicraft skill, and says that he can go back to the bench at any time and earn his livelihood. While an artisan, he invented several ingenious machines, and had the prospect of becoming a civil engineer, being for a time on George Stephenson's staff. His workshop had to be his college; and there, at meal hours, he learned the tasks prescribed for him at the Mechanics' Institution, then conducted by a teacher whose ambition was to teach his pupils to think as well as learn.

Mr. Holyoake's mother, a woman of remarkable piety, sent him to Sunday-school for several years, under the pastorate of Rev. Angell James, a Congregationalist clergyman of note in his day. From being scholar, Mr. Holyoake at length became teacher, and taught Sunday-school first in Birmingham and then in Harborne, a village near by. Afterward, he taught what he knew of mathematics and rhetoric in the Unitarian schools in Birmingham, in times when it was not held unlawful to provide working-class youths with secular instruction on Sundays. At the experimental Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, held in Birmingham in 1839, out of which grew the first great International Exhibition of 1851 and all its successors, Mr. Holyoake was chosen from the Mechanics' Institution to select and superintend the assistants there. On the death of the teacher of the Institution, Mr. Holyoake was appointed

to succeed him. Ever since his twentieth year, when he heard Robert Owen lecture, he felt convinced of the importance and value of co-operation; and, in 1840, he was appointed Social Missionary, as the lecturers on co-operation were then called.

It is clear from all this that young Holyoake was no ordinary artisan. He was stirred by worthy ambition to improve himself, and that ambition proceeded on the sure basis of strong natural ability. His education had been scant, and he felt oppressed by his burden of ignorance. Such of his friends as he made in the days of his boyhood and youth, who are still in the land of the living, speak of his ardent use of every opportunity to hear lectures or witness scientific experiments.

All this while, he had been a Christian of more than common zeal; but a change gradually came over his religious convictions. The Christianity of to-day in England is a very different thing from the Christianity of Mr. Holyoake's youth. The progress of criticism, the resistless tide of science, both as achievement and method, and the advance of democratic practice and sentiment have all combined to change a Church which, fifty years ago, was as uncompromising as Rome itself in dogma and tax-gathering. Mr. Holyoake's withdrawal from Christianity was quite as much a matter of shocked moral sense as of offended reason. His revulsion from doctrines of miracles, verbal revelations, and atonement, went parallel with a recoil from the harsh tyrannies of the Established Church.

In his boyhood, his parents had been suddenly reduced by a commercial panic to a state of unusual privation; and, at this crisis, his little sister fell ill. While she was so, the Rev. Mr. Mosely, rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, sent an order for his Easter due of fourpence. Poverty prevented it being paid; but, the next week, a summons came for it, and for an additional half-crown, because of the non-payment of the fourpence. The payment could no longer be evaded; for, in a few days, a warrant of distraint would have rudely dispersed the scanty household furniture, as had recently been the case with a neighbor. Dreading this, the family gathered together all the money they could by sale of some clothing, and the mother reluctantly left home to pay the "due." She was kept waiting at the court from five to six hours; and, when she returned, all was over,—her child was dead. "Will you wonder," says Mr. Holyoake, "if, after all this, I began to doubt the utility of church establishments?"

In 1840, after he began lecturing as a socialist missionary, he soon took up his residence in Worcester, where he steadily addressed a socialist society for a year. From Worcester, he went to Sheffield, where he taught a day school and lectured on Sundays. While living there, an event occurred which decided his career. In November, 1841, Mr. Charles Southwell was imprisoned and fined for publishing in his journal, the *Oracle of Reason*, an attack on the Bible. The article was coarse and crude; yet, fully recognizing this, Mr. Holyoake held Southwell's sentence to be unjust, and one which wrongfully tended to repress free utterance. He at once came forward to conduct the *Oracle* during his friend's imprisonment. Henceforth, journalism was to claim him as one of its most forcible and able sons. Toilers for the press perhaps underrate their influence, because it can be so little traced out and proved; yet that influence is none the less real for being unseen. Bakers are quite as useful in the world as stone-cutters. While editor of the *Oracle*, Mr. Holyoake's views underwent rapid change. More than its bad logic did the inhumanity of theology

repel him. Speaking of Southwell's case, he said: "I was born pious, and nursed in Orthodoxy. Until a few weeks ago, I was a believer in the humanizing tendency of Christianity; but the persecution of my friend has been the cradle of my doubts and the grave of my religion."

As with all the better sort of sceptics, he swore the popular gods, not from absence, but from excess, of reverence for the really godlike. His sympathies and sentiments were insulted by the worship paid an unworthy ideal inherited from a barbarous past. He became an iconoclast only that he might afterward put on the pedestal of human respect simple manhood, true, kind, and wise. The chief use of religion in his eyes was its aid to morals. That aid, as far as it went, seemed to him derived from considerations of human happiness carried through the indirect and distorting medium of theistic thought. The original derivation was that of a crude people in remote eras. The medium was distorted by fancies weak and wicked, by interests and fears. He would make ethics depend on a direct modern conception of happiness and the obligations necessary for it, all intermediate machinery to his mind merely absorbing power and deflecting its direction. Without the calm and the breadth of information which better fortunes might have given him, he soon passed into the violence of revolt against the established religion. In the course of a lecture delivered in Cheltenham, May 24, 1842, he made a remark held to be blasphemy, for which he was tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. His punishment was imbibed by the loss of his eldest child, who sickened and died in consequence of the poverty caused by his absence from home. The effect of this imprisonment was to consolidate and intensify his disbeliefs into a more distinct form than they had previously held in his mind. While in jail, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled "Paley refuted in his Own Words," which presented the main arguments afterward elaborated in his book, *The Trial of Theism accused of obstructing Secular Progress*. From that work, I will read a few extracts, in illustration of free thought nearly fifty years ago:—

"Theocracy must place an excessive power in the hands of the clergy. It appeals so instantly and so tremendously to men's hopes and fears that it must make the priest omnipotent over the people, as it always has done where it has been established. It has a great tendency to check human exertion and to prevent the employment of those secondary means of effecting an object which are at our disposal." "Science is the available Providence of Man. A general Providence is neutral in human affairs. Special Providence, if it ever acted, now sleeps. Science is the only Providence we find alive and active. As there are two Christs in the New Testament,—Christ the Gentle and Christ the Austere,—so there are two Providences in theology. One acts by general laws, and one interposes in special cases. General Providence is the discovery of philosophy. Special Providence is the ancient conception of superstition. This Special Providence, which has been by far the greatest power in popular religion, is rapidly retreating before the march of Science."

"To resolve religion into dependence is canonizing human weakness: whereas, man rather needs that which shall develop his strength. Life should be self-reliant. The light of Nature and the experience of man are anterior to clerical dogmas, and are the sources whence guidance and duty independently spring. The Priest breaks in upon the integrity of life, and diverts its course. His assumption is that he makes an addition to our

knowledge. But does he? He professes to show us the hidden things of the future: we fail to see them. He simply encumbers us, and we pray him to stand aside. The responsibility of our course is our own, and not his; and we have a right to be left free when we demand exemption from his mistaken interference. Rejecting (as in self-defence we are bound to do) the irrelevant advices of the Priest, he proclaims that we reject truth, honor, justice, love: whereas, the fact is we merely reject him. His denunciation of us is his error or the retaliation of his disappointment. We appeal, therefore, to the informed, the impartial, and the candid to judge between us. We respect theology, inasmuch as it professes to explain man's destiny, and regret that it bears no fruit for us. But this is not our fault, and we therefore attempt to solve the problem of the present and the future for ourselves."

"If Nature be God's mode of manifestation, the God whom we seek is the Nature which we know. If some Independent Being controls and animates Nature, such a Being must be self-existent and supreme, distinct from the universe, and more powerful than it,—a second self-existence governing the first and vastly more difficult to account for! This is not a doctrine that clears up difficulties."

"The orthodox Theist despises Nature, and the pure Theist ignores it. Instead of putting themselves in patient and studious relations to it, they subordinate Nature and escape from humanity, seeking to propitiate by creeds and words the God they invent instead of serving by life and works the Nature they find."

He contributes this to the discussion of the old problem of evil:—

"Some, unable to account for the presence of evil in the world, persuade themselves there is a use for it. To such, the reply is brief. Do you tell us that evil is necessary discipline, and is the condition of good? Then we ask, Why do you not take steps to increase evil, that discipline may abound and good be universal? If this doctrine be true, the hospital is an heretical institution and medicine is a blasphemous profession. The gout is a stimulus to heaven, and the toothache an unappreciated blessing. It does not matter what a theorist says. We know what he secretly feels by his practice. Do we not all combat evil? Do we not count it the triumph of humanity when we conquer misery? Does not the Idealist dream of perfection? Does not the Philanthropist toil for it? Does not the Poet paint the golden age? Does not the heart of the world yearn for the Millennium? We believe, then, the absence of evil to be possible, and know it to be desirable. Since, then, we believe universal Happiness to be possible, how dare Theism say God could not make good without evil? And, since we feel the abolition of misery to be the passion of all good men, how dare Theism say that a good God has designed the suffering which makes the breast to sigh and the earth to seem sad? There is far more reason in free thought, which confesses 'all this is not to be understood'; and far more reverence in free thought, which refuses to ascribe suffering to God; and far more modesty in the conviction which prefers to maintain silence where speech is a contradiction of itself or an imputation upon Deity."

"We no longer live in a state of society where the strong man knocks with impunity the weak man on the head. But we live in a State where Capital can be despotic, and Knowledge a monopoly. In every English town, thousands hold their lives at the caprices of commerce or are liable to be thrown out of employment by the accident of a new invention. Homes are broken up, house-

hold goods are sold off, and penniless and despairing families march away to struggle for precarious bread at the diggings of Australia or to perish in cultivating the swamps of the Mississippi. Wisdom is the perquisite of the rich. Education makes the few giants, and ignorance keeps the many dwarfs. The instructed talk in tongues the people cannot communicate in; they live in realms of thought the people can never enter; they create and control influences the people can never counteract. Wealth and Intellect will indeed bring blessings to all in due time; but who will save those who perish while the blessing is coming? No man's heart can tell him so clearly that God exists as every man's heart tells him that all human misery should be averted. We appeal to all who have felt the sharp pang of inevitable anguish and fruitless hate. What is the lot of the poor but to suffer and be impotent, and die, like quarry slaves, in the heart of civilization? Living, men give up in despair, and accept the coward's consolation of Theism. They may accept it who can. We prefer to strive. Let whoever believes in God believe that misery exists in spite of him, and continue to fight against wrong and suffering, believing that, if God exists, he stands on his side in doing so. Suffering should not teach men dependence: it should teach men to combat. There are many precepts; but there is but one virtue, and that is to work. There are many Finger-posts; but there is only one Path, the path to truth. There are many Theologies; but there is but one philosophy, and its name is Fortitude."

Mr. Holyoake, in these early years of his life, was called an atheist; and his doctrine, atheism. Now, we would call him an agnostic; that is, a thinker who holds that human reason is impotent to solve the ultimate questions of the origin, government, and destiny of the universe. Very soon, in the circuit of his thought came a reaction from extremeness and violence. His long and faithful Christian training reasserted all its best elements in him. Whatever a man has been, that he continues to be; and not in vain had this sincere spirit come of a race learning its right conduct from Christian pastor and teacher, through generations believing in a wise, divine Father, whose children, whether wicked or just, were a family of brethren. To quote from a critic of his:—

"Most of the original minds who commence active life on the side of Negation come to alter their formal creed after some years' conflict with the realities of life. Many fail for want of personal or intellectual self-reliance, and turn to the Affirmations of Orthodoxy for moral support. Others, of less impressible temperament, grow fanatic and impracticable from the inability to perceive any truths beyond those which are peculiarly constitutional to themselves. But the healthiest and happiest of the band, escaping both the Scylla of submission and the Charybdis of isolation, emerged safely into the Affirmations which were the true complements of his original Negations, and which, though long unanalyzed and but half-perceived, were really the central fountains from which that negative preaching derived all its generous life-blood."

As an evidence of the essentially right spirit of Mr. Holyoake,—a spirit not merely Christian, but simply human,—let me quote from an article written by him in 1840:—

"What I am anxious to guard against is the impression that we acknowledge, as of our party, that numerous class of persons in this country who are simply ignorant or indifferent to religion; who will cavil at a prophecy or sneer at a humble believer, but who are susceptible of no

generous inspiration of moral truth nor make any sacrifices to enlighten those whom they affect to regard as superstitious. . . . These we do not count, nor even another class, who are simply neutral and negative. We only include those whose free thought is active and fruitful; those who are free thinkers, not from reaction, but from examination and conviction, and whose rejection of Christian tenets is translatable into a clearer moral life and into systematic and patient endeavor for the benefit of others."

"Let any one look below the mere surface of pulpit declamation, and ask himself two questions: What has free thought, on the whole, meant? And what has it, on the whole, sought, even as to its negative and least favorable side? It has, in modern times, disbelieved all accounts of the origin of nature by an act of creation, and of the government of nature by a Supreme Being distinct from nature. It has felt these accounts to be unintelligible and misleading, and has suggested that human dependence and morals, in their widest sense, should be founded on a basis independent of Scriptural authority. And it has done this under the conviction, expressed or unexpressed, that greater simplicity, unanimity, and earnestness of moral effort would be the result. This is what it has meant, and this is what it has sought."

"Our particular inability to attain to the desired solution and our attempt to walk by an independent light, you describe by the term 'Atheism,'—a name which associates guilt with dissent. It is quite true that till very lately we used this priest-made term. But, when we clearly found that we were spending our time in re-educating the public in the right meaning of a negative term when we might be educating them in positive principles, we declined any longer to employ a name which, as understood by Christians, distorted and falsified our objects wherever it was heard. We therefore resolved to choose a new name,—Secularism,—which should express the practical and moral element always concealed in the term 'free thought.'"

I shall here give Mr. Holyoake's mature definition of Secularism, published in March and April, 1884, in his journal, *The Present Day*. The first suggestion of such a definition was made to him in the course of his experience as a co-operative lecturer. He could not help observing and condemning the confusion which arose in the early social movements, from theology being mixed up with them. He therefore devised a system of secular principles, equally removed from those of atheism and theism, maintaining that, wherever a moral end was sought, there was a secular as well as a religious part to it:—

"Secularism means belief in this world. It studies the laws of this world and the uses of this world, and regards the duties of this world as consisting in seeking happiness through morality; and it measures morality by its conduciveness to promote the welfare of others as well as the welfare of the individual. Secularism seeks this welfare by the employment of material means, because these means are most certain, and everybody can employ them. It does not believe in believing: it believes in working. The most ignorant and idle and unscrupulous can excel in believing, but only the intelligent and honest can or will work for the welfare of themselves and for others. But the best intentioned persons will not work with zeal unless they are certain of results, and certainty of result can only be attained by wisely chosen material effort. The distinction of a secular society is that it seeks the improvement of this world by material means,

always understanding that the means employed shall be moral. It regards Science as the available Providence of man. What other Providence there may be belongs to Theology to determine. In this world, it is clear that the regulation of human affairs, human welfare and progress, is conducted by Science. Condorcet has remarked that it took two thousand years after Archimedes and Apollonius to perfect the science of navigation by mathematics and astronomy, so as to save the sailor from shipwreck. When navigation was thus perfected, it totally superseded the efforts of the human mind to induce, through prayers and sacrifices, the Providence of the Churches to control the winds and waves with a view to the safety of ships. The Providence of Science does that, and gives Heaven no trouble. It appears to Secularism that this world is made to be self-acting, and that there are means of self-help and self-direction for those who use common sense. Secularism is the creed of self-help. There is no doubt that morality ought to be the aim of every person. There is no doubt that material means are the most certain means of increasing human welfare. There is no doubt that reason and free speech (which means fair, considerate, and relevant speech) are the surest means by which truth can be discovered and advanced. These things, about which there is no doubt, are those which a Secular Society makes the bond of agreement among its members. There are two things which have always been doubtful,—conclusive knowledge of the existence of God, and a future state. There are many people who believe they know all about these things, and have no doubt about them; while others, less wise or less confident or more modest, are less sure concerning these things. There always have been and still are great differences of opinion upon these subjects. The Secularists, therefore, leave these unprovable things to the private judgment of members, and ask for no agreement thereupon, because the proof of the existence of Deity is beyond our faculties. The proof of a Future State lies beyond the grave. The Secularist, therefore, says, "If God made this world, and I improve this world as far as my power goes, I shall be fulfilling the will of God, whether I have personal knowledge of him or not. If I promote human welfare in this life, as far as I have opportunity or discernment of it, I shall deserve another life, if there is one, and shall have fitted myself for it in the best way and the only way open to me. . . . There are persons who seem to have no faculty for anything but Atheism. They pay but little attention to the improvement of the world, they are so interested in finding out its origin. Yet the origin of the world is a very small question compared with its uses. The wise use of this world depends in no way upon the knowledge of the cause of it. A man may judge of the house he desires to live in. He can tell whether it is well situated, has a wholesome neighborhood around it, whether it is well drained, well ventilated, has light and space, and will be a pleasant, healthy habitation, although he may never know who is the architect of it. The Secularist regards this world as a habitation whose builder is unknown, and seeks to put that habitation to the wisest uses instead of devoting his whole time in trying to discover the builder, who does not choose to be found, and whose address no one seems to have."

"Other persons seem to have no faculty except for Theological discussion. They profess to consider theology a waste of time, and yet they waste their own time upon it. Instead of trying to improve men by advising the study of morality and

science, these persons enable the priests to call them 'Infidels,' which sets people against the secular truths they might teach, and sometimes try to teach. The term 'infidel' means one who disbelieves or denies what he knows to be the truth. This term cannot be applied in science or morality, because such truth can be proved in this world, while the theological truth of the Bible can only be proved in another world. So much of the Bible as is moral, and accords with the experiences of this life, the Secularist accepts. The Secularist, as such, is not under any obligation to prove the Bible is not true. His business is to prove his own principles true, which are independent of theology. There was a time when the Bible was thought to be the source of all truth. Now, Science is known to be the one fount of truth. Therefore, Secularism advocates the study of Science, and teaches that morality is the true piety. The priest preaches the usefulness of piety: Secularism preaches the piety of usefulness. Theology preaches piety to God: Secularism preaches piety to Man, which must include piety to God, and is the only way in which men can show it.

"Secularism is not a new name for an old thing, but a new name for a new thing. Secularism is that which teaches self-help by the use of Science and Morality, founded, not upon creeds, but upon experience, which shows that honesty, truth, and kindness are best for this world, and not bad things for another, if it comes to that. Therefore, the Secularist is under obligations to use fairness of speech, to avoid offence of imputations,—which set people against new truth,—to explain, and not to denounce; to speak with reason and consideration, since dogmatism and outrage are traits which betray new truths to their enemies. Some people think that they may shock people into the truth, but they make shocking converts by this method. If Secularism does not make fair speaking, pleasant-minded men, it is no better than Theology, of which honest men have grown tired because of its disagreeable fruits of bigotry, imputation, and unpleasantness of speech."

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEGISLATIVE ACTS IN 1885.

Editors of The Index:—

As there are now pending before our Massachusetts Legislature four important questions affecting the rights and privileges of women, all of which will probably be decided before many weeks, it may be well to glance back for a year, at the past action of 1885, in order to prepare ourselves for the coming action of 1886.

Quite a number of measures directly concerning women were considered by the General Court of a year ago, but only three favorable ones were actually passed; while seven or eight were rejected or decided to be inexpedient for legislation. One of these three favors granted to the "protected" class was a bill authorizing the appointment of women as assistant registers of deeds. This was the result, I believe, of a petition, the design of which was to secure that right to one woman, whose father wished to have her for his assistant. So this little loophole was made. The second matter is more important, since it provides for the punishment of husbands who do not support their families, saying that "whoever unreasonably neglects to provide for the support of his wife or minor child may be punished by fine not exceeding twenty dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding six months." By emphasis on the words "unreasonably" and "may," and by considering carefully the amount of the fine and the efficacy of imprisonment as a remedy for that particular offence, the full magnitude of this law as a protection to women may be grasped. If he unreasonably neglects his wife or child, he may be sent to prison! Yet this is better than nothing, and we should be duly grate-

ful. The third measure is very important. It gives to a widow and her children, or to the widow herself, if childless, the "possession, care, and control" of the family burial-lot. How could our law-makers dare to grant us so great a favor? The widow is also allowed to erect a monument, and to make other improvements; and, when it is remembered that a law of 1883 gave her the right to be buried in her husband's lot, this further legislation stating that, when once safely interred, she shall not be removed "without the consent of her heirs," is cause for great satisfaction and additional peace of mind.

These three mild and guarded acts are offset by a bill taking from a woman the right—granted several years ago—of depriving her husband by will of a life interest in half her real estate. By this legislation, the husband, after the death of the wife (if she has not borne him a living child) is entitled to half her real estate for life absolutely; while the wife, on the death of the husband (whether she has borne him a child or not), has a life interest in only one-third of his real estate. There are two sides to the question whether a woman should have the right of depriving her husband of his interest, and all true believers in equal rights would wish the wife to have no advantage over the husband. But there is only one side to the injustice of allowing a husband a *whole* or a *half* interest, and a wife only a *third* interest. And, while our legislators were removing an injustice to men, they should have also removed this injustice to women. The House also rejected a bill which provided that women and minors engaged in mercantile establishments should not work more than ten hours a day,—a measure which is again before the legislature this year.

The bill giving women the right to vote in municipal affairs was rejected by a vote of 61 to 130 (with seven pairs), and the petitioners for an amendment to the Constitution giving the ballot to women were given leave to withdraw.

Several minor matters were defeated. One of these was a petition for an amendment to the school-committee suffrage law; another for legislation to define and establish the legal capacity of women to hold office; a third on authorizing or requiring the election of one or more women on boards of overseers of the poor; and a fourth on amending the law relating to the registration of women, whereby it would have been less difficult and embarrassing to secure the proper qualifications for voting. It may well be observed just here that, under the present hypothesis, woman is and ought to be *protected* by man, and not trusted to exercise self-protection. These last four measures, as well as the ones relating to mercantile establishments and to the widow's right in her husband's real estate, are very illogical and unjust, since they in no sense protect the weaker sex; also, that a legislature which passes such laws has no right to refuse to grant municipal or full suffrage to women on the plea that their interests are protected already.

Still, another rejected measure was an order relative to establishing separate boxes for women's ballots, not a matter of very great importance or perhaps of expediency; and, finally, an order relative to taking the opinion of women, as to whether they wish to vote, by means of yea and nay ballots deposited in boxes provided for the purpose. The legislature probably discovered the absurdity and danger of this order, which would virtually have granted woman suffrage; and, since its provisions demanded that the question should be decided by counting the women who actually voted "yes" as affirmative and all those who voted "no," together with those who *did not vote at all* as negative, the defeat of this measure can hardly be deemed a misfortune, and perhaps should be counted among our gains. How would the men voters like it, if the license question (which each town and city decides for itself by "yes" and "no" ballots deposited in separate boxes) were decided by counting all those against license who did not vote at all? Yet the assumption in that case would be no more unfounded than in this measure which thus proposed to decide an important question, not by the votes of the voters, but by the votes of the voters *plus* the non-voters, the latter all counted on one side, whether their absence were due to opposition or merely to ignorance and indifference.

In reviewing this action of 1885, the truth is borne in upon one that our legislators are willing to grant us a very little bit of a favor, here and there and once

in a while, very carefully, step by step,—by dribblets as it were; but to give us that power which shall assure to us our rights in good, round, generous measure,—that power which, by making us man's equal before the law, shall put us in a position to protect our rights ourselves, without waiting to have them protected for us,—this idea it does not seem that our law-makers have yet quite comprehended. Let us hope that the action this year—on the hours of labor for women in mercantile establishments, on the bill making women eligible as overseers of the poor, on municipal suffrage, and on that mediæval law relating to the "age of consent"—will reveal some enlightenment as to the idea that women are no longer slaves or chattels or children, but that they are reasonable and reasoning beings, equal to man in every requirement that goes to qualify the citizen.

HARRIETTE R. SHATTUCK.

INTUITION AND RELIGION.

Editors of The Index:—

It is only with deep interest that I have followed the discourses and essays in the later editions of your paper. The writers seem to gain still more merit, if we look, not so much to what they say as to what makes them say it. The old question (as old as mankind) about the connection between mind and matter seems more agitated than ever. To me, that question represents itself in a rather unphilosophical way sometimes. I only wish to hint at the fact that we do have experiences that can be known by possession only, never by description. In such moments, our intuition makes it clear that the questioner and the question and its answer are one. I do not doubt that you have heard this before, and that you know what I mean. This intuition relieves from anxiety and curiosity, and gives a permanent security. At the same time, it shows that it would be vain to attempt gaining this result by understanding and will alone. Nobody would ever, after even the shortest light of that kind, desire to give form to the relation between soul and matter; and still less would he attempt "to build any religion upon a scientific basis." Take away the religious feeling born with man, and try so to "build up" a religion. We know there is a basis, an ultimate one. If some one say it is science, let him listen, if his heart acknowledge it.

But I have done; hope not to have delayed you. If you should publish these reflections, only let me say that I shall be utterly unable to defend them against any criticism. The words are uttered. What becomes of them can certainly be no care of mine. The meaning will take care of itself.

Sun lights the day,
And moon resplendent maketh the night;
If thou to wisdom seek the way,
Rays of thine own alone can give thee light.

L. WESTERLUND.

PROF. J. B. TURNER, in a speech at the Business Educator's Association of America, held at Jacksonville, Ill., said: "I say, ally yourselves to these common schools in the manner that I have indicated, not simply for their good, but for your own. You want to grow: attach yourselves to the common schools, and you will grow. Let the common schools know what you are about and what you are doing, and they will rally around you. But don't organize by tying to them. We have got crazy here in the United States in a great many interests about organizing. Now, since I have been out of the schools altogether, I have lost my admiration for cart-ropes organization, for binding unlike things together, and have taken matters of fact just as they are. In all our agricultural fairs, fortunately or unfortunately, they frequently have horse-races; but I never knew them to organize the racers by binding them fast to the plough-horses. The racer goes freely ahead: he don't 'organize' with anything. When you have hitched your racer to your donkey, what is he better than the donkey? Go ahead: let the donkey come along when he has a mind to. If he don't come, let him stay back till he gets ready to come. You can't afford to drag him or wait for him. I mean no reflection upon our most excellent and devoted common-school teachers. They are bound by necessity, law, and duty to patiently wait to try to bring up the slowest laggards in the republic. But why should you voluntarily take upon your necks a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear?"

In a late number of the *Revue de Belgique*, a Russian novelist is represented as relating a story which may be abridged thus: A hundred heretics had been burned at the stake the day before, when there appeared in the streets of Seville the well-known form of Jesus. Multitudes followed him, and kissed the imprint of his feet with tears. Children scattered flowers before him and sang Hosannah. A man who had been born blind received his sight. At the door of the cathedral, he met a dead girl carried in an open coffin. He spoke, and she arose. Then came the grand inquisitor, surrounded by his guards. Jesus was led to prison, while the people bowed their heads. That night, the dungeon cell was entered by the inquisitor, who stood there, still erect under his ninety years, and said: "Art thou he? Wherefore art thou come to trouble us? Art thou he, or only his image? To-morrow, I shall burn thee as the father of heretics; and the people who worshipped thee to-day will rush to heap up the coals of fire around thee. Thou hast given the apostles and their successors all power on earth. Thou didst found the Church, and she has chosen the pope to rule her children. Wherefore come to disturb her peace? She has made herself almighty on earth by the very means laid before thee when thou wert wandering alone in the wilderness. Hadst thou chosen then to let angels bear thee through the air in triumph, to turn stones into bread, to accept the kingdoms of earth and their glory, thou couldst have made thyself almighty. Thou choicest to die upon the cross, and leave men free. Their freedom has proved vanity and vexation of spirit. We, who have come after thee, have exalted ourselves above them; and they have delighted to honor us. We have given them bread in the wilderness, and their hunger is fed. We have accepted the kingdoms of earth, and it is happy under our rule. The millions labor as we direct, and delight in those childish sports which we ordain. When they sin, we promise them forgiveness. When they doubt, we teach them faith. It is their happiness to kneel at our feet. Few and wretched are they who seek freedom like thee in the wilderness. I was once among them; but I left the proud, and returned to the poor in spirit whom thou didst bless. Thus I became one of those who have corrected thy work. Thus our kingdom has established itself, and to-morrow thou shalt see its strength. Thou hast come to trouble us, and I shall burn thee at the stake. I have spoken." Then there was a long silence, which finally became terrible. At last, the prisoner advanced and kissed the pale lips of the inquisitor. The old man threw open the door, and cried, "Go hence, and return no more, never never!"

For The Index.

THE LEGEND OF TITHONOS AND THE DAWN.*

When the ship had left the current of the ocean-river, it entered the waves of the sea with its broad thoroughfares, sailing to the island Alaië, where is the abode of Dawn and also of Sunrise.—*Odyssey.*

Hour of the still unrisen Sun,
Of dewy-cool, auroral light,
Before thy star, young Phosphor, flit the shadows dun
And dreams of star-sown night.
Not yet with din of wains and tramp of feet
Innumerable the populous city roars,
But lies each long, deserted street
Silent as inland vale or lake with wood-fringed shores.

O Dawn, wou'd thou wert even now
As in the long-gone, mythic time,
When wore thy maiden brow
A chaplet sweet of rose and violet and thyme
Silvered with drops of dew or frosty rime!
In mystic isle afar of spiced, uncertain clime,
With comradeship of downy, sandalled Hours,
You dwelt, o'er-roofed by dewy, orient bowers;
While, reddening in your punctual beam,
A near your palace rolled the ocean-stream,
Which laved with current large
The earth's remotest marge.

*This fable, says Bacon, in his *Wisdom of the Ancients*, seems to contain an ingenious description of pleasure, which at first, as it were in the morning of the day, is so welcome that men pray to have it everlasting, but forget that satiety and weariness of it will, like old age, overtake them, though they think not of it; so that at length, when their appetite for pleasurable action is gone, their desires and affections often continue; whence we commonly find that aged persons delight themselves with the discourse and remembrance of the things agreeable to them in their better days. This is very remarkable in men of a loose and men of a military life, the former of whom are always talking over their amours and the latter the exploits of their youth. Like grasshoppers, they show their vigor only by their chirping.

There, as she sate upon her golden throne,
One cause of sad disquiet Eös knew alone.
The childish trouble of her age-bowed paramour
Came querulous forevermore
Through shining valve and breezy corridor.

While strength and beauty crowned her sweetheart bright,
In solitary bliss they lay
In bower of Eös, until orient day
Aroused her to her ministry of light.
How eagerly, when that was o'er,
And rippled in the Sun the ocean-floor,
Back to her chamber flew her footsteps bright!

But loathed Old Age at length
Tithonos reft of all his strength.
"Once," moaned he, "I was jealous of the hour
Which took from mine thy honeyed lips,
And left me lonely in thy bower
Here at the limits of the world,
When stars were waning in eclipse
And vapors upward from the low earth curled.
With burning tears and heavy heart,
I saw thy mist-dividing wheels depart,
While, wreathed with roses, round thee ran
The jocund Hours, and Phosphor lit the van
With torch of silver flame,
As up from vale, mead, hearthfire, came
The morning's cheerful steam,
To welcome incense-like thy roseate team.

But now thy deathless beauty mocks me with a use
Of frigid age and joyless impotence.
My fleeting mortal youth I gave to thee,
No match for thine eternal pedigree.
My flower of strength, limb, lips, and heart, was thine,
While love in strictest embrace us did join.
The wooer thou: I passive was to thee
Upon that long-past, unforgotten day
When on swift wheels you ravished me away,
And far aloof in chambers of the Morn
Me thrilled with bliss for which I was not born.
The Hours, which waste me, night by night renew
Thy bloom with rejuvenescent dew;
While I, thy paramour of mortal race,
Grow gray and shrivelled in your bright embrace.
Jove's spell reverse, that I may find the rest
Earth's children gave upon their mother's breast."

She in her inmost chamber him immured,
With bolts and bars the shining valves secured.
The tremulous graybeard had for food
Ambrosia in his odorous solitude.
Pervaded hall and breezy corridor
His piping accents evermore;
While up to Eös on her throne of gold.
From vales, seas, mountains, strains Memnonian rolled.

At length, transformed and shrunken, gradual grew
Her lover old to a gra-shopper drinking dew,
Whose bloodless limbs in summer suns rejoice;
Who from the treetops pours a shrill, incessant voice;
Whose song immortal as himself was dear
To husband new and poets old;
The advent of the cheerful spring foretold;
Whose tuneful impulse accents clear,
The loving Muses gave;
Who passionless, defiant of the grave,
At last to semblance of the gods came near.

B. W. BALL.

BOOK NOTICES.

LIGHT ON THE HIDDEN WAY. With an Introduction by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886. Price \$1.00.

A dainty, inviting-looking little book this, with its prettily designed covers of crimson and gold, its clear print and wide margins. The writer's style, too, is refined and poetic in tone; but the substance of the book is not satisfactory, since it fails to throw "light on the hidden way" or to adduce arguments which will be of much if any benefit to clear thinkers or unprejudiced investigators of the connecting links between this world wherein we find ourselves and some other possible state of existence. Rev. James Freeman Clarke says, in his short "introduction," that the work is written by a lady whose personal experience it relates, and who is "herself firmly persuaded of its reality," while she is regarded by those who know her "as sincere, truthful, and conscientious." The writer claims to know nothing whatever of Spiritualism, as such, from her own experience, "never having seen a public medium or read any spiritualistic literature," as the little she has heard of it through friends was "distasteful" to her. But her visions or experiences are so identical with many of those related by and believed in by Spiritualists that we feel sure those of that faith will not hesitate to claim her as one of themselves on reading her

book. She owns, however, that she was at one time a reader of *The Index*, of Herbert Spencer, and of scientific works, in her search for the truth, which she claims has come to her from direct communication, through sight, touch, and hearing, with those considered dead. That she believes that all the strange, grotesque, and sometimes ludicrous experiences which she relates really occurred, we have no right to doubt; but we glean from the relation that she is one who has suffered the frequent loss of dear friends, her parents, her child, etc., that she has been in failing health and often depressed in spirit, that she has dwelt long and earnestly on the problems existence offers without solution to the thinking mind. And we know that under such circumstances others have undergone similar experiences for which medical science, whether right or wrong in its conclusions, offers apparently reasonable explanatory theories. But her book is worth reading by those curious in such matters. S. A. U.

THE PRELATE: A Novel. By Isaac Henderson. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886. pp. 350. Price \$1.50.

To those interested in the history of the schism made in the Catholic ranks by the pope's promulgation, in 1870, of the decree of papal infallibility, this "Novel" will be welcome because of its discussion, in the guise of an entertaining story, of the causes which led to and the consequences of that schism. If it were not that the writer's name, as given on the title-page, is that of a man, we should have judged this to be the work of a woman's pen, since the principal character is a woman, albeit a somewhat strong-minded one, and most of the events of the story, even the historical portions, are portrayed from that woman's point of view, while a tone of decided femininity pervades the writer's style throughout, though it must not be inferred that such tone necessarily implies weakness, only womanliness, which is a far different thing. There is an interesting, if not exciting, plot in the story, the scene of which is laid in Rome, within the present decade. While the author is not remarkably forceful or passionate in style, several of the more dramatic episodes are graphically drawn, particularly that of a collision in mid ocean of two steamships, with the consequent wreck of one of them. The writer is evidently no friend to Catholicism, since he draws in darker colors than seem needful or truthful at this date in the history of that faith such terrible pictures of Jesuitical intrigue, deception, and criminal exercise of power as exhibited in the treatment of all who actively oppose the authority of the Church of Rome. S. A. U.

THE Popular Science Monthly for April is an exceedingly valuable one, containing among many other bright and readable contributions to the thought and knowledge of the day the first part of an article by Herbert Spencer, entitled "The Factors of Organic Evolution," which treats of the limits and interpretations of the doctrine of natural selection, and the position of Darwin in regard to the theory of evolution; also, "Mr. Gladstone and Genesis," Mr. Huxley's second reply to Mr. Gladstone. "The Dawn of Creation and Worship," which is Mr. Gladstone's first paper in this discussion, is inserted in a supplement. Prof. Robert Hartmann has an illustrated article on the "External Form of the Man-like Apes." George H. Clarke discusses "The French Problem in Canada." A striking portrait of Christian Huygens, the famous Dutch astronomer and physicist of the seventeenth century, is accompanied by a short biographical sketch.

THE New England Magazine (formerly the *Bay State Monthly*) for March opens with an illustrated article entitled "Along the Kennebec," by Henry S. Bicknell; and, among its many pertinent articles, we note the following: "Life and Character of Daniel Webster," by Hon. Edward S. Tobey; "Maple Sugar Making in Vermont," by J. M. French; "Boston University School of Law," by Benjamin R. Curtis; and "A Trip around Cape Ann," by Elizabeth Porter Gould. The frontispiece is a steel plate portrait of Judge E. H. Bennett, of whom a short biographical sketch is given. The serial story, "Elizabeth, A Romance of Colonial Times," is finished in this number.

The best literary and artistic talent of the day continues to be drawn upon by the publishers of *St.*

Nicholas for the entertainment and instruction of their young readers. The April number contains articles from E. E. Hale, Mrs. Frances H. Burnett, H. C. Bunner, "H. H.," Frank R. Stockton, E. S. Brooks, H. E. Scudder, Charles Barnard, and many others, with illustrations by Léon Moran, R. B. Birch, Alfred Brennan, Laura C. Hills, etc.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MR. B. W. BALL is contributing a series of interesting articles, entitled "Reminiscences," to the *Boston Saturday Traveller*.

REFERRING to Gladstone's rising in his place in the House of Commons, and denouncing the unwise and coercive policy of a century, the *Springfield Republican* observes: "A more revolutionary spectacle has not been presented in Great Britain since Charles I. lost his head; and the nobility, the peerage, and all the artificial fabric of past privilege must look on with amazement and with alarm. It is their doom."

In an instructive address before the Parker Memorial Science Class, last Sunday, on Francis Bacon, Mr. F. M. Holland showed the splendid results of the inductive method, from Aristotle to Darwin and Spencer, and contrasted the experiential philosophy with transcendentalism, which he thought at this time reactionary, especially as taught in the Concord School, whose leading representatives are more or less conservative and orthodox in religious thought. Next Sunday, the lecture will be by Miss Isabel L. Johnson, and will relate to some crustacean forms of life.

THE *Christian Statesman* says: "We want the nation to recognize God's law for the same reason that you would recognize God's law of gravitation, if you were on the roof of a high building,—not to flatter God, but to save your own neck." The law of gravitation is a *real* law, and neither its operation nor the adjustment of our movement to its inexorable demands requires any public formal recognition of it in the legislation of the country. But what the *Statesman* calls "God's law" is simply certain beliefs in regard to the Bible, the character of Jesus, the duty of observing Sunday as a sacred day, etc., which beliefs have no foundation in reason, and are steadily growing weaker and giving way to more rational

views throughout enlightened Christendom. And yet the *Statesman* would have these decaying beliefs recognized in our national Constitution as "God's law" and as the supreme law of the land. Even if, in an hour of religious fanaticism, or by some strategy, such as the "reform" party are ever ready to employ, such a recognition should be secured, the decay of these beliefs would not be thereby arrested, although the lifeless forms and ceremonies accompanying them might be longer preserved. Let these beliefs have simply a fair chance in the conflict between truth and error; and, if they cannot, as knowledge is increased and diffused, be maintained "in a free and open encounter," it is folly to attempt to rescue them from their natural fate by incorporating them into the Constitution of the United States.

FUNDAMENTAL in our government and our social system is the principle of the right of the individual. Every man has the right to work on such terms as he may accept, and he has the right to employ others on such conditions as can be mutually agreed upon. Men have the right to combine for the promotion of their common interests. Organizations have the right to require any conditions they please for the work of their members. But an organization has no right to go beyond the boundaries of its membership, and dictate to or interfere with those who have not voluntarily submitted to its rules. It has no right to use force or threats, to prevent the filling of vacancies its action has created, nor to interfere with the property of those whose employment its members have given up. The principle here stated it is all important to keep in mind during the present labor agitations. Voluntary combination and co-operation are legitimate methods for attaining ends that individual efforts merely cannot attain; but, if they disregard and overrule the rights of those outside of them, they become despotic, and in the end will injure the cause in the supposed interests of which they are employed. Combinations of labor and combinations of capital, either of which lead to the other, are becoming general; and it looks as though some carefully considered and wisely planned system of arbitration would be absolutely necessary to settle the difficulties between these two great interests, which should not be in antagonism to each other.

WE have great admiration for Prof. Huxley's scientific genius and attainments, and for that splendid courage which he has shown the past quarter of a century in defending unpopular scientific truths, when they have been opposed by powerful representatives of conservatism; but we are not impressed with the wisdom of his recent manifesto about the Irish question, published in the *New York Tribune*. He does not bring to its consideration either the thorough knowledge or the unprejudiced spirit which are marked characteristics of his scientific papers. Why, at this time, should he take pains to express contempt for "government by average opinion," when the Irish question is one in the settlement of which "average opinion" must be kept constantly in

view, since it is one of the great facts of the problem, and of course to be taken into account in its solution? "Average opinion," on a question of geology or comparative anatomy, counts, among those acquainted with these sciences, for nothing; but "public opinion" in the United Kingdom, as to the legislation needed to put an end to discontent and crime in one of its great divisions, is of the utmost importance to Mr. Gladstone and his associates, who are elected by and derive their authority from the people who have intrusted them with the responsibilities of government. While occasional utterances, like those of Prof. Huxley, by eminent scientific men, during a time of political excitement, have but little weight among thinkers, since they relate to matters outside of the province of thought to which these men of science have given their intellectual energies, they tend somewhat to discredit their views and lessen their influence with the mass of people in regard to those subjects on which the people are wholly uninformed and on which men of science only are competent to speak.

MR. GLADSTONE's scheme to give Home Rule to Ireland is in harmony with the progressive spirit and tendency of the age. The people have a right to govern themselves; and, the more local and the less imperial or general government there is, the more will the people's will be carried out and their interests promoted. This is as true of Ireland as it is of Massachusetts or Canada. If it be objected that government by the people, "government by average opinion, is merely a circuitous method of going to the devil," our reply is that it can be no worse than the only other possible method,—government by the few, by emperors and kings, by a hereditary "nobility"—the government that has during centuries crushed the people, kept them in ignorance and poverty, devoured their substance, sacrificed their lives by millions in bloody wars for the settlement of personal disputes, taken immense tracts of land which should be made to yield bountiful harvests and reserved them for private savage sport, the destruction of life for mere pleasure, imposed heavy burdens upon the people that kings and queens, princes and princesses, and a whole army of aristocratic cormorants might live in idleness and luxury, with no interest in popular affairs except to oppose every reform designed to enlarge the privileges and influence of the people. "Government by average opinion" can do no worse. Indeed, where it has partially prevailed, it has done much better. The swiftest way to improve public opinion is to intrust the people with power and responsibility. With the power to vote, a man has an inducement to fit himself for the intelligent exercise of the right; and, moreover, his enlightenment becomes a matter of interest to all. A government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," is the only hope of the world. As Mr. Gladstone said in his great speech last Thursday, "The best and surest foundation we can find to build on is the foundation afforded by the affections and convictions and will of men."

TWO FACTS THAT ARE SOCIAL CORNER-STONES.

In commenting last week on the association which has just been organized in New York, called "The Fellowship of the New Life," we referred to the persistency with which mankind, after repeated failures of attempts at practical experiment, return to the dream of the organization of society on terms of equal brotherhood. This social dream of people living harmoniously and prosperously together on the communistic plan certainly has its significance: it implies, at least, that the present condition of human society, with its struggles, jealousies, and conflicts, does not satisfy the highest sense of justice, order, fraternity, or happiness. But there are two facts which have been so very important in the history of civilization, and occupied so fundamental a place in the progressive evolution of society hitherto, that social reformers, if they would be practical, cannot leave them out of account. We therefore return to the subject for the purpose of making a few supplementary remarks on these points.

The first of the facts here referred to is the integrity of family life. Monogamic marriage, allied with the separate domesticity of the resulting family, has been historically proved, it may be affirmed, to be a primal condition of the highest form of civilization and of social progress. By no other system of living is the mutual love which originates and vitalizes the marriage institution so well protected and fostered. None other is so well adapted to establish and maintain woman's equality with man. (And this we say, notwithstanding the glaring inequality, and despotism even, to which woman has been subjected in a monogamic home; for all this may be reformed.) No other system is so favorable to the just rights and the proper education of children; none so conducive to the general happiness and peace of society. We speak, of course, of the home as it should be, of family life as it might be and often is. It need not be said, alas! how often this ideal of the home is violated and its possible blessings turned into detriment. Yet, with all their imperfections, the homes of a country are the nurseries of social order and of public virtue. In contemplating measures of social reform, there can be no better selection of remedial instrumentalities than the purification and uplifting of home life. Social regeneration, we believe, must, in the main, begin there. The dream of the ideal home must be put into reality. No new institution is to be founded; but a very old institution is to be amended, and transformed to its proper capabilities of social service. Nor do we believe that any attempt at social reform which infringes upon the integrity of separate family life can ever make much headway in the world. Such an attempt comes into conflict with a sentiment which, after long ages of experience, has become one of the strong, self-preservative instincts of society. Not to eradicate this instinct, but to direct it to its noble ends, is the social reformer's task.

The other fact which has hitherto played a most important part in the progress of civilization and the amelioration of social life is that of an adequate stimulus to educe individual effort and systematic industry. Nature has not encouraged the idea that her creatures will be cared for, if they do not care for themselves. Faculty has been educated under the stern discipline of a necessary struggle for self-subsistence. This necessity in the lower orders of existence has produced a condition of pitiable and often cruel competition. The same kind of competition has appeared in the human race; and, though in many of its forms it

has been antagonized by reason and conscience and human sympathies, it has been one of the most powerful factors in the history of mankind. Dire evils have resulted from this excessive and gross competition. But cannot these evils be remedied by the gradual education of man's higher faculties, without removing the necessary stimulus to individual effort? What is wanted is to preserve this root of individual endeavor and acquisition, and, while severely pruning down its wild growths, to culture it to its legitimate fruits. But no system of communistic life seems capable of meeting this demand. It is all right that the strong and intelligent by their superabundance of power should help onward the ignorant and weak,—help them especially by imparting to them knowledge and strength. But where would be the justice or the benefit to either party for the industrious to support the lazy? When the millennium comes, and with it every one shall have a natural impulse to do his full share of the world's work, communism may succeed. Until that time, the spur of necessity to maintain one's self creditably at life's tasks seems to be needed, in order to educate individual faculty and character. To keep this stimulus, and so to balance it by considerations of reason, justice, and humanity that it shall not degenerate into a brutal competition for mastery, is also the social reformer's mission.

Here are two facts, then,—the integrity and separate domesticity of the family, and the necessary stimulus to educe useful individual effort and industry,—which may well be called corner-stones of whatever better social structure future generations may happily see.

WM. J. POTTER.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

In literature, the successful work of women in the department of *belles lettres* is no new thing. Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë and Marian Evans, Mrs. Stowe and Mrs. Browning, owe no part of their distinction and success to that enlargement of "the sphere of woman" which has been characteristic of our later history. But it is a sign of this enlargement, second to no other, that we have had now for some years a multitude of books and articles written by women upon the most engrossing topics of the time,—industrial, economical, social, moral, and religious,—which easily take their rank with the best things that men have done in these directions. It is a sign of this enlargement that Miss Lucy M. Salmon's monograph on *The Appointing Power of the President* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons) is a more careful and intelligent and exhaustive presentation of this subject than any man has ever given us, worth ten over all that our senators at Washington, Republican and Democratic, have spouted, fumed, and drivelled in their recent acrimonious and partisan debate.

After nearly twenty years of agitation, the civil service of the nation is still far enough from the ideal of business management: the tools to those who can handle them, and as long as they handle them well. The operation of the present law extends to only fourteen thousand of the one hundred and twenty thousand offices upon the civil list. Of this law, as I understand it, there has been no infringement whatsoever on the part of the present administration. Partisan editors and politicians are very careful to frame their editorials and speeches in such a way as to give the impression that there has been infringement of the law, and they have succeeded wonderfully well with those who wish to have it so and with others who do

not. But we have had the promise of the administration, not only that it would maintain the law inviolate, but that it would apply its spirit to the multitude of offices that are not included in its operation. It is within the limits of this voluntary sphere that there have been abundant disappointment and regret. If "offensive partisans" have been suspended, it has not always been that less offensive partisans might take their places. The prospect would be more encouraging if the opposition had manifested any genuine interest in the success of the reform. If it would abandon itself to it without reserve, and nominate in 1888 a candidate conspicuously fit to be its personal embodiment, there would be little question of the grand old party's rehabilitation. "But what does victory amount to, if there are to be no spoils?" is the implicit logic that deters the leaders from declaring openly for complete reform. Evidently, the friends and enemies of the reform do not divide as Republicans and Democrats or *vice versa*. There is good reason to believe, I am convinced, that in the rank and file of the great parties the reform has many more Republican than Democratic friends. But there is no corresponding proportion in the Senate and the House of Representatives. The reform has but few friends, and many enemies in either party and in either House. The violent opposition of the Democratic Vance, of North Carolina, has been outdone by the violent opposition of the Republican Ingalls, of Kansas, in a speech that drove the ladies from the galleries by its indecency, but which, nevertheless, his partisan associates applauded till the echoes rang again. The Republican majority in the Senate has spent all its energy in the endeavor to convict the President of failure to make good his promises. It has not had a particle left for the rejection of nominations evidently not fit to be made. The Chase and Pillsbury nominations cannot be cited as exceptions to this rule. They were rejected, not because they were unfit, but because "the courtesy of the Senate" happened to be unfavorable to them. The same courtesy of the Senate (which means that, if the senators from any State favor a particular rascal, he shall not be rejected), this same intolerable principle secured the confirmation of Rasin of Maryland (one of the worst of Gorman's tools), and of another equally bad in deference to Mr. Logan's gratitude for services he had personally received from the nominee in a great political emergency.

Such being the condition of affairs, is there any ground on which to build a reasonable hope that the civil service of the United States will ever be reformed? If there is not, then there is no ground on which to build a reasonable hope that the government of the United States will justify the hopes of those who founded it, that it can be saved from going down and down until it is a by-word and a hissing among men. Our present system (one part reform to six parts victors' spoils) does not need for its efficiency of evil to be supplemented by a system of revenue which involves the spoliation of the many (agreed upon in the lobbies of the Capitol) for the enrichment of the few: it is sufficient of itself to drag our laurels in the mire.

Over against the system, already bettered not a little, still so debasing and malign, the patriot, Republican and Democratic, sees the alluring possibility of a time "when the chief Executive can boast, like the great Premier of England, that his sole patronage is the appointment of his private secretary; when every legislator can say, with a leading member of the House of Commons, that he is without power to influence in the smallest degree the appointment of a custom-house officer

or an exciseman; when both Executive and Congress, freed from their duties of dispensing office, can turn their attention to more important questions of state; when our civil service will be, in reality, and not in the idle jest of a politician, the best in the world."* In order that this possibility may be achieved, it is necessary that the Four Years' Limitation Law, passed in 1820 to subvert a reckless politician's private ends, shall be repealed; it is necessary that the system of appointment and promotion by examination shall be indefinitely extended; it is necessary that all papers relating to appointments in the hands of the Executive should be considered public documents; it is necessary that all nominations should be considered by the Senate, and all appointments of the President confirmed, in open session; so that "the courtesy of the Senate" may no longer be the euphonious synonyme for a system of mere truck and barter, whereby the worst appointments go unchallenged, if they please well enough the senators from the State for which they are made. The necessity for attending to these things is all the more imperative because the tendency is manifest to enlarge the functions of the government. Shall we have national education, and postal savings-banks, and national telegraph service, and national railroads? In the name of all that is just and holy, in the name of common sense and common honesty, not till we have made our civil service superior to the vicissitudes of partisan politics! It is bad enough, with a hundred thousand officers trembling and shivering with inevitable apprehension at every fluctuation of the political balances this way or that. How would it be with five hundred thousand or a million in this pitiable condition? Well might we ask, in the language of a Federalist describing the triumph of Democracy in the days of Jefferson, "Can anything more dreadful be imagined this side of hell?"

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

LONGFELLOW'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

A serene, placid, and gentle life is that embalmed in the two Longfellow volumes recently issued by the Ticknor Company of Boston,—a life of scholarly ease from the start. The poet was patrician by birth, feeling his oats *ab initio*, refusing scornfully a tutorship in his Alma Mater, demanding and getting a full professorship to begin with, fortunate in money all his life (close-fisted, too, as is well known, leaving not a cent to any cause or person outside of his family), fortunate in his Harvard call and career, fortunate in his friends,—Freiligrath, Dickens, Thackeray, Sumner, Irving, Whitman,—and winning by the mere ebullition of his sweet soul the pick and cream of the world's society and its unlimited benisons and praise. Such was the man whose face we are glad to see in the four careful portraits of him published with the volumes of his life. There is something almost eerie in the shy glance of the drooping head of 1840; in that of 1852, the glad and buoyant strength of manhood fully ripe, the look of the loving husband and tender-hearted father and successful author in the heyday of his fame; in 1862, already signs of world-weariness and boredom; and, in 1876, the silver hair, sad, slightly pinched look, and wrinkles between the eyes, marking the advent of the age that remembers and no more longs or strives.

All through the letters and journals, I note, as most salient and characteristic, the evidences of his quiet, low-toned, sensitive nature. There is a family tradition of his boyhood to the effect that, on a certain Fourth of July, he begged the

*Lucy M. Salmon, *The Appointing Power of the President*.

maid to put cotton in his ears to deaden the sound of the cannon. He disliked everything violent. The abolitionists were disagreeable to him on account of their polemical ways. "Partisan warfare becomes too violent, too vindictive, for my taste; and I should be found but a weak and unworthy champion in debate." No violent passion in his make-up. Never wrote but one love poem, and that to his wife (i., 23, note). Sensitive of other people's feelings. "In the evening read Legaré's *Diary* at Brussels, published by his sister since his death. Inconceivable imprudence!—all the names in full." "Summer made a Free Soil speech in Cambridge; . . . but the shouts and the hisses and the vulgar interruptions grated on my ears. I was glad to get away." "I am glad that I am not a politician, nor filled with the rancor that politics engenders." "Read George Sand's little tale, *La Mare au Diable*, a very charming village story; only, here and there, her hot nature scorches the page a little too plainly." "Every evening, we read ourselves into despair in that tragic book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It is too melancholy, and makes one's blood boil too hotly." "While away the morning with Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, a clever, cutting, amusing, disagreeable book, showing too-much of the coarse lining of London life." All this is excellent commentary for us, who know the poetry and the charm of its quiet simplicity. His sunny, gentle nature drew him to children. His diary omits, time and again, the record of world-stirring events, and reveals the uppermost joy of his heart on this day and on that to have been in the happiness of his children,—playing with them in the tall grass, "riding" them in a wheelbarrow, making kites for them, casting lead flat-irons for toys, etc.

He had the Greek and the mediæval love of symmetry, extreme neatness, and order,—shown in his neat dress (how precisely his overcoat was folded over his arm, when you met him in the streets of Cambridge in his very last years!) and also in his gardening. "He laid out a small flower garden," says his biographer, "in the form of a lyre, and over the entrance set the carved pediment of a doorway rescued from an old house. He afterward designed the present larger garden, in an elaborate Gothic pattern, with borders of box." And here is an entry in his diary: "Painters at work in the house, gas-pipe layers in front of it, and gardeners behind, setting a privet hedge! To all of which I have a great aversion. I would rather see things done than doing."

He had as great a horror of the wild, intangible, formless, and savage in nature as Dante, Petrarch, and their contemporaries. Hence, his conformity to English models and inability to conceive of a national literature (since splendidly specimened by Whitman, Cable, Joaquin Miller, Bret Harte, and others). In 1844, he wrote to some one, "A national literature is the expression of national character and thought; and, as our character and modes of thought do not differ essentially from those of England, our literature cannot." How little the man who could write this knew of the infinite wealth of the South and the North and the West, with their vast range of picturesque character! and how incapable he was of deriving poetic aliment from Nature at first hand, in her grander phases! He seems to know little of the West or South by experience or travel. In vol. ii., p. 83, he is set down as noting in his diary with surprise the use of the phrase "sun-up" in North Carolina, remarking its occurrence in the Ode on the Battle of Brumaburgh in the *Saxon Chronicle*. But the word is as common in the mouths of Western farmers as the word "sun" itself. He drew his poetical inspirations from books, from solitary imaginings.

Says in his journal: "Felt more than ever to-day the difference between my ideal home-world of Poetry and the outer, actual, tangible Prose world. When I go out of the precincts of my study, down the village street to college, how the scaffoldings about the Palace of Song come rattling down!" Imagine Whitman or Joaquin Miller saying this, whose every poem is born in the open air!

When spring comes to the Cambridge man of books, it stirs his blood not with the longing for wood and meadow explorations, does not fire his heart with desire for home travel, there is in him no touch of a Thoreau or a Burroughs or a Maurice Thompson; no, but his thoughts turn, like a magnet, with deep longing to Italy, to Spain, to France, the Tyrol. 1848, June 16, "I slaked my thirst for foreign travel by driving to town in the omnibus and walking twice through the market," which reminded him of France. "On my way out, I stood awhile on the bridge, looking at the water and saying to myself that this was a portion of the same sea that washes the shores of England and of Italy. I then got into the omnibus, and found there some Spanish people,—men and girls,—and heard that sweet tongue again, and saw the well-known Spanish beauty of face and form, and imagined myself in Andalusia."

All through his journal is seen his nervousness about the charges of plagiarism that were made. And well he might be; for there is no poet so saturated with apparent imitations, nor any whose verse so constantly reminds you of some other poet's work. It is curious to note that, of the very first poem he ever wrote (as a boy), it was said by his father's friend, Judge Mellen, that it was "all borrowed, every word of it" (i., p. 23). In his youth, he once owned up to involuntary imitation of Bryant (i., p. 43).

Emerson was a constant visitor at Craigie House in his younger days. Longfellow was at first rather puzzled, though charmed, by the new sweet god. In 1841, Emerson's *Essays*, vol. i., seemed to him "full of sublime prose poetry, magnificent absurdities, and simple truths," with "no connection in the ideas." So Dr. Hedge's Phi Beta Kappa oration was to him, "in the main, good," "though rather deep and oracular!" Of Emerson's poems, he says: "Throughout the volume, through the golden mist and sublimation of fancy, gleam bright veins of purest poetry, like rivers running through meadows." And do but see the immortal picture he has drawn of Emerson, the seer:—

"Emerson is like a beautiful portico, in a lovely scene of nature. We stand expectant, waiting for the High Priest to come forth; and, lo! there comes a gentle wind from the portal, swelling and subsiding, and the blossoms and the vine leaves shake, and, far away down the green fields, the grasses bend and wave; and we ask, 'When will the High Priest come forth and reveal to us the truth?' and the disciples say, 'He has already gone forth, and is yonder in the meadows.' 'And the truth he was to reveal?' 'It is Nature; nothing more.'"

A friend no less dear than the dearest was Freiligrath, the German poet of freedom, and friend and admirer of our own chief poet of freedom, Walt Whitman. Many of the tenderest letters of comradeship in these volumes are to Freiligrath.

We are given many other pleasant glimpses of Longfellow's friends and celebrated contemporaries. One day, he meets Lexicographer Worcester jogging along on his black horse. "He says, with a jolt after every word, 'Why—don't—you—get a—horse and—ride as—I do?'" Of Irving, whom he met in Spain, he notes, "He says very pleasant things in a husky, weak, peculiar voice." William Ellery Channing, in 1841, appears wearing "a blue cam-

let wrapper, silver-bowed spectacles, a shawl round his neck, and an enormous hat, coming down over his eyes." When in London, in 1835, the American poet called, with his first wife, upon the Carlyles, and took tea with them. Mrs. Longfellow records that Carlyle had very unpolished manners! In 1842, Dickens writes to Longfellow in America, closing his epistle with a pretty incident, showing Longfellow's power to inspire affection:—

"After you left us, Charley invented and rehearsed, with his sisters, a dramatic scene in your honor, which is still occasionally enacted. It commences with expressive pantomime, and begins immediately after the ceremony of drinking healths. They look at each other very hard; then Charley cries, 'Mr. Longfellow! Hoo-ra-a-h!' The whole concludes with a violent rapping of the table, and a hideous barking from the little dog, who wakes up for the purpose." At a supper given to Thackeray in this country there were some gay stories and puns:—

"Will you take some Port?" said Lowell to Thackeray. 'I dare drink anything that becomes a man.' 'It will be a long while before that becomes a man.' 'Oh, no,' cried Felton, 'it is *fast turning into one*.'"

One cannot help wishing that Mr. Longfellow's friends had not *all* manifested their affection for him by personal visitation. Of all the bearded men, except it be E. E. Hale, he figures as the chief. Beggars, poetlings (male and female), foreign counts wanting positions in Harvard College, wild men of the West,—in they came in never-ending swarms, and seem never to have been rudely received by the patient, long-suffering, and kind-hearted poet. One specimen will serve for all:

"June 14, 1850.—This afternoon, a youth came into my study, and, throwing down with vehemence a red printed paper, exclaimed, 'There! that's what I want to do!' and then, without pause, dashing a pocket-book upon it continued, 'And that's why I can't do it, that empty purse!'" Young fellow wanted to give a reading; got nothing from H. W. L. but his supper.

There are a good many humorous bits gleaming out of the journals:—

"Sept. 20, 1836 [Switzerland].—At the *table d'hôte* to-day, we had a frog pie. Little J. asked if they were really frogs, and if 'they only pulled the stems off and put them right in whole.'"

Longfellow dining with Mr. Ticknor once in 1843, "Mrs. Ticknor recommended one of the dishes as a successful attempt of the cook,—'quite a *coup*.' Mr. —, who was eating thereof, assented, and said, 'Yes, it is what the French call a "*copper monkey*.'" All looked very wise, and no one comprehended. . . . By dint of hard study, I have made it out to be a "*coup pas manqué*!" (stroke not missed; that is, a great hit).

Besides a few sonnets and bits of poetry sprinkled here and there, and not before printed, one finds some capital *mots*,—as where he describes a west wind as "so sharp that it seems as if all the Indians beyond the Mississippi were throwing their tomahawks this way." Again: "Somebody has written a pamphlet to refute Sumner. If it be —, I fear he will be like a fly bumping his head against a window, through which the bright light streams, and exhibits the darkness and littleness of the fly." "Oct. 15, 1846. Went to Leopold de Meyer's concert. A wonderful performer, pouncing on the keys like a lion on the reeds of a jungle, and shaking the notes from his paws like drops of water."

I ought not to close without quoting the fresh word-picture of the poet's study in Brunswick, written when he had just set up housekeeping:—

"I can almost fancy myself in Spain, the morn-

ing is so soft and beautiful. The tessellated shadow of the honeysuckle lies motionless upon my study floor, as if it were a figure in the carpet; and through the open window comes the fragrance of the wild brier and the mock-orange. The birds are carolling in the trees, and their shadows flit across the window as they dart to and fro in the sunshine; while the murmur of the bee, the cooing of doves from the eaves, and the whirring of a little humming-bird that has its nest in the honeysuckle send up a shout of joy to meet the rising sun."

W. S. KENNEDY.

WEALTH.

Wealth is not riches. Primarily, it seems to be *weal*, connected with *well*, and is used so in old English, as in I. Cor. x., 24, where the revised version substitutes *good*. Whatever a man owns above immediate need is wealth, but riches is possession in excess of others' possessions. Wealth is surplus in comparison with a man's immediate consumption: riches is surplus in comparison with a man's neighbor's surplus. Wealth is an opposite of sufficiency, which is neither more nor less than present need: riches is the opposite of poverty, which is deficiency. So a man have never so little over his need, he has some wealth; but he has not riches, unless he has comparative excess of wealth.

But wealth and riches agree in this: that both are capital; for wealth, if never so little, is capital, because, not being needed for the present moment, it may be employed to provide the more abundantly for the future; and riches, which is a superabundance of wealth, of course can be no less capital than wealth is.

Now, some of those who love and reverence labor (and, of such, none, I think, more than I) complain that this operating wealth which is called capital has the power of earning perpetually, by night as well as by day, never ceasing, and that, too, without being diminished or worn out or only very slowly (which is, of course, true of money at interest or invested in buildings or in durable machinery), but that labor has no capacity corresponding, that its earning ceases with its exertion, that perforce it is idle by night, earning only by day, and hence that it is perpetually at disadvantage with capital, being unable to compete with it in power to store up, and therefore that this power of capital is not just and natural, but artificial and inequitable.

Now, what is capital concentrated in money or in durable and defective forms that wear but very slowly and earn perpetually? Capital is stored value; and, as the earth gives but little value without labor (a few berries, esculent roots, water, and salt being about its sum of such debilitating generosity), so capital is in effect stored labor. Now, since labor has not only earning power, but is especially the earning power, the sole producer of values, would it not be strange if, by being stored, labor lost operative power, capacity to earn, and all value, except as a dead matter laid up for future consumption, when by that future other matter will be provided? Now, it seems to me the truth runs this way: If, after consuming the fruits of labor up to present needs, a man possesses stored fruits over his needs, he wishes to put them into shape permanent and operative, because they are perishable; and, as he cannot consume them, having had enough, they are not wealth to him, unless he can change their perishableness to a permanency. Wherefore, he finds a fellow-man who, having some non-perishable material, and desiring the perishable for his own consuming, gladly exchanges the non-perishable for the perishable.

Now, this permanent form of value, for which the owner of the perishable excess has exchanged the same, must have three qualities, in order to preserve its character as wealth for him,—which, surely, it was, being useful material above his immediate need. These three qualities are: first, that it must be valuable in itself, which indeed is but justice, since it was exchanged for matter valuable in itself, and a necessity besides, since otherwise there could be no certainty that the owner could exchange it again at need for his own consuming; secondly, it must not be too bulky, as, for example, it might be, if it were in stone or in heavy metal like iron, which no man could transfer or exchange easily; thirdly, it must not be liable to fluctuations in value, or not to much fluctuation, since then there could be no reasonable confidence that the exchange, however fair at the moment, would be found fair and advantageous when the imperishable material should be used by and by to buy back some perishable for consuming.

Now, when we have these three qualities,—namely, value *per se*, convenience in shape, size, and weight, and as much steadiness of value as possible,—we have a good medium of exchange,—that is, good money, which means equitable money.

Now, because in money stored labor has taken a non-perishable shape, and secured also a continuous operativeness, it may be loaned and used because operative, and returned undiminished because non-perishable. And, since it is valuable in itself, it has righteously an earning power, because it may exact two sorts of payment: first, indemnity for risk of loss; and, second, a consideration for the value of its use, which being a value should not be expected gratis any more than labor or any other value. Now, this twofold payment, for risk and for use, constitutes interest, which, therefore, I think not only just and righteous, but an absolutely necessary quality and capacity of capital, if capital be stored labor and if labor have earning power. Indeed, this seems to me one of the glorious things about labor, and a blessed thing indeed for the world (for on what other terms progress could be I cannot conceive) namely, that it is not condemned to a hand-to-mouth exercise, but is transmuted, as if by the magic of a beneficent genie,—or, more reverently and happily, by the benevolent laws of nature,—into a permanent, operative, and earning power, in proportion as it surpasses the need for consumption at the moment.

But, now, is there no other form of stored labor than only money which ought to bear interest,—that is to say, which ought to be held perpetually operative by night and by day? or, to put it better, which stands operative out of all relation to days and hours, or any measures of time? It seems to me there is. Money and permanent valuable forms of material are not (and so, I know, are not held by enlightened economists) the only forms of wealth. Books, art works, the scholar's learning, the musician's skill, the teacher's knowledge and experience, the orator's power, the poet's song, the composer's creation,—these are all forms of wealth,—indeed, its most costly forms; for since, as Carey has said, the material values of a community at any instant are never worth the cost of the same,—that is, all that has been outlaid for them from the beginning,—I know not what to call the vast deficiency but the cost of the greatest; that is, the immaterial forms of wealth. In like manner, why is not the artisan's skill a form of wealth strictly analogous to capital, and having what I may call interest-bearing power as much as money, and as naturally as a house pays rent or machinery produces value? The analogy seems to me very strict. The artisan's

skill is stored experience and labor as much as money or as any material is. It operates over and over again without decrease, even with goodly gain in power, just as non-perishable forms of wealth, like money, do. Why not, then, capital? And why not, then, interest-bearing? Why not a duty of society generously to contrive how to pay the proper interest on skill?

If it be said this interest is part of the wages, I can say only it seems to me not so. The day's pay is for the day's labor; that is to say, not for the skill, but for the exertion and exercise of the skill during a certain time. So, if a man have capital, not in the shape of skill, but in the shape of money, and loans it to some company or corporation, he receives his interest for the stored value,—that is, for the stored labor; but now, if he be employed by the company in some capacity,—that is to say, in helping to use his own money,—he receives besides his interest a share of the profits after his interest is deducted. So, with strict analogy, I think the perpetual imperishable skill which is used day by day, and lies wonderfully in the artisan's hand, the same while he sleeps as when he wakes, is a form of wealth which somehow ought to be paid for in a way analogous to interest, and the exercise of the skill should have in justice a time or piece payment of its own. If this be true, it is plain enough that we are far yet from doing justice to the artisan's claim on the productive power of wealth in the world.

Now, if you ask me how to set this right,—by what expedient, device, mercantile contrivance, or other means,—I have to say simply I know not. This is only to confess that, as I might gain insight, by much and wide contact with the arts, to point a chemist to a direction for research, and yet be truly and utterly at a loss how to begin and carry on the same, so in this matter I speak but from wide truths, and must leave to those who are expert in business methods the agitation of the way. But this I am persuaded of, that the only thing lacking is the generous, just, and devoted soul. It is my experience that, when good men reason together with a pure desire for truth or justice, it is not often they differ much as to where the truth lies or the way to it. This whole subject (of which I have touched but one little part), which now so presses on us, and will press harder still until it be settled only as anything is settled,—that is, rightly,—is, I think, more a matter of heart than of intelligence; and, when that fire is lighted, the cold elements of the social machinery will begin to move harmoniously.

J. V. BLAKE.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"A STUDY of Primitive Christianity," by Lewis G. Jones, has just been published by The Index Association, in a handsome volume, and is for sale at this office. Price \$1.50 per copy.

ONE of our daily papers, after remarking that the Deerfield disaster, accounts of which have shocked all readers, was not due to any defect in the road-bed nor to carelessness, says, "It is what might be termed a dispensation of Providence in sending such a heavy rain." The less the world is dependent upon such a "Providence" and the greater precautions it takes to defend itself from such "dispensation," the better will it be for humanity.

MR. W. L. SHELDON is to give two lectures at South Place Chapel, London (formerly Mr. Conway's society), the last Sunday in April and the first in May, on "The Message of Prophecy to

Rationalism" and "The New Basis." He will return to this country soon after, and, by invitation of a committee of gentlemen interested in the Ethical Movement, will give a course of lectures in St. Louis in the latter part of May.

THE following burlesque was intercepted and confiscated by a teacher while it was being passed round one of our Boston school-rooms:—

DAYS OF LABOR.

Striking for four school hours a day. Home lessons not exceeding five examples. No staying after school for misconduct.

Please sign your name.

*Not (K) nights.

MR. S. B. WESTON writes from Philadelphia: "A very excellent paper on 'Commercial Ethics' was read before our Business Men's Section to-day; and Miss Helen De C. S. Abbott, who has recently been honored by being elected honorary member of a scientific society in Berlin, on account of original experimental work in chemistry, read an admirable paper before the Home Section on 'Household Management.' Miss Abbott is a member of our society. Our section meetings for the study of ethics, of business, and of home, have been very successful so far. We set apart the first Sunday in the month for these meetings."

THE "custom of having the sessions of the Houses of Congress opened with prayer by a 'chaplain,'" says the *Nation*, "needs either a serious reform or total abolition. Many of the prayers now offered are silly, and some blasphemous. One offered lately in the House was really a foolish stump speech on the strikes, which it was disgraceful to try to disguise as a petition to Almighty God. There ought to be a stop put to this sort of thing. If prayer be desirable, it had better be silent prayer, offered by the members, each for himself, and not for his neighbors. There are very few men, indeed, competent to pray for their neighbors."

ONE of the decrees enacted by the plenary council held in Baltimore, in November, 1884, and approved by the papal authorities at Rome, is in regard to marriage. It declares that, "since marriage was raised in the new law to the dignity of a sacrament, it belongs solely to the Church to whom the administration of the sacrament was intrusted to pass judgment on the validity, rights, and obligations of marriage. This being the case, and the marriage tie being indissoluble, it is obvious that there is no power on earth which can dissolve Christian marriage. Against such as infringe these laws, severe penalties are to be enforced. No legal divorce has the slightest power before God to loose the bond of marriage and make a subsequent one valid. Even adultery, though it may justify 'separation from bed and board,' cannot loose the marriage ties so that either of the parties may marry again during the life of the other; nor is the legal separation to be obtained without first conferring with the ecclesiastical authorities. Though the Church sometimes permits the marriage of a Catholic with a non-Catholic, she never does so without the deepest regret, and with the explicit understanding that the children of those parties must be brought up in the Catholic faith."

THE editor of a paper called *Problems of Nature* has some strange notions. Thus, in an article on the "Origin of the Mosquito," he says: "An origin of a mosquito is a seed of a herd's-grass (sometimes called timothy) and the husk on it. . . . A scientist is actually defeated in obtaining a knowledge of the generation of life from plants by its being performed in the dark. As certain as we are penning this article, all that has prevented a scientist from witnessing a creation of an animal

from a plant soul was the darkness in which it was done." An article on the "Origin of the Skunk" begins as follows: "This disgusting creature of every country is a production from a weed in every country called wormwood. It is shaped as a bunch of this weed is, and it is only copying the odor of the plant." In another article, this writer says: "On a plain of the Amazon, where a grass is as great as a beast of good size can get through, a most egregious insect is crawling; and it is a spear of the grass converted into a worm. It is as long as a joint of a corn stalk, and as large. The worm is only a grass stock given consciousness. A deep and warm soil under the grass is a good contrivance for creating a diamond." One more sentence must suffice: "Oxygen is a slight consolidation of the electricity of space about a world."

THE *Modern Crematist* very sensibly observes: "Public funerals, with their show of funereal paraphernalia; with their gathering in of curious, long-visaged, solemn people; with their wordy clergymen; with their doleful singers; with their crape-decked pall-bearers; with their public procession from the chamber of mourning to the carriages in waiting; with their solemn journey to the church; with more heart-rending words from the minister and more dole-begetting music; with more parading up and down the aisles of the church; with the slow journey to the burial ground; with another parade of the mourners about the open grave; with more saddening words from the men whose office is to comfort and not to torture the soul; with that barbarous, dreadful, blood-curdling, outrageous rattle of gravel upon the coffin lid, to the atrocious accompaniment of 'Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,' that is an almost invariable portion of the horrid ceremonial at the grave; with the conventional standing of the mourners about the pit while the diggers shovel back the earth over the form of the one just laid away,—with all this empty, useless, cruel, and damnable ceremonial, public funerals are simply schemes of human torture; and the sooner the whole system is abolished, the better."

FACTS furnished by the Audubon Society give some idea of the extent of the slaughter of birds for the milliner: "From one small district on Long Island, about seventy thousand birds were brought to New York in four months' time. In New York, one firm had on hand Feb. 1, 1886, two hundred thousand skins. The supply is not limited by domestic consumption. American bird skins are sent abroad. One New York firm had a contract to supply forty thousand skins of American birds to one Paris firm." It is said that a year's demand of birds for head gear, for home use alone, amounts to five millions, more than ten times as many as can be found in all the scientific collections of the country, which are the slow accretion of more than half a century. Besides, immense numbers are killed annually for exportation. On Cape Cod alone, forty thousand terns were killed and sent abroad in one season. Such a massacre of the innocents for their plumage, to gratify human pride and vanity, is as foolish as it is cruel; and women themselves, when they come to realize what the bright feathers in their bonnets really mean, must abstain from adornment which requires such a frightful slaughter of our gay-colored and sweet-singing birds. Indeed, already the Women's Educational Industrial Union, 74 Boylston Street, Boston, have issued a circular protesting against the destruction of birds for decorative purposes.

WITH the advance of rationalism in the religious teaching of the day, the once central and predominant thought which gave force and signifi-

cance to the observance of Easter, that of the resurrection of the body as typified by the Christian legend concerning the resurrection of Jesus, is gradually becoming less prominent in the art as well as the literature of the season. And, while the Easter holiday is perhaps now more generally observed than ever before, yet its symbols hint more and more at the mere hope of immortality which nearly all cherish than to any expression of religious faith or creedal dogma. We are reminded of this by the new Easter cards which those indefatigable caterers to the artistic tastes of this generation, Messrs. Louis Prang & Co., have just put upon the market. The swelling buds and opening flowers of early spring, the smiling faces of happy children glad in the sunshine of life's spring-time, the ecstatic attitudes of carolling birds, the brilliant coloring of the symbolic butterfly, fluffy chicks just emerged from their imprisoning shell, dainty landscapes rich in all the varying tints and suggestive of all the sounds of the season of promise,—these are gradually eliminating from the Easter tokens the more sombre and unrealistic symbols of the cross, the crown, the open tomb, or impossible looking winged angel; and rationalists can now, without any feeling of offending truth, join with the most devotional in their admiration of the beauty and their sympathetic appreciation of the meaning expressed in these works of art. As usual with the Prang Company, the best artists, both among old favorites and the newer claimants, have been employed to furnish fresh and taking designs for this year's cards, which appear in almost every conceivable form, fringed and plain, square and oblong, double and single, large and small, so that the needs of every taste and purse can be accommodated in selecting reminders of the season for one's friends.

For The Index.

SONG OF CONTENT.

Ask not for wealth, for earthly wealth takes wings:
In the possession of material things

There is no rest.

There is no peace in laurel-crowns of fame,
Nor in the glamour of a mighty name:
These are not best.

To wring thy peace out of the hands of fate,
Content to be thyself, in humble state,
A trusted friend

Whom neither fame nor fortune's bauble sways
To share the gifts of good and evil days,
Were better end.

Nor let the passions' rude control survive,
To mar the quiet of thy inner life:

Strong, steady, still,

Of all thy moods be thou supremest lord.
Let love nor anger flash in sudden words,
Ruled by thy will.

Allow no dark-cowled thought to lift its head
Out of the gloomy cloisters of regret,
With monkish griefs.

But welcome in the rose-encircled train,
Full of good deeds and sun and sound of rain
And rustling leaves.

Live in the present. Give no slavish heed
To whispering doubts of thy to-morrow's need:
It will provide

For all its wants in sure, unfailing way,
If thou providest for thy guest, To-day,
While at thy side.

So fortune still may pass thy humble door,
And leave thee poor and unknown as before;
Yet thou shalt know

How to extract from very depth of grief
Such joys as to each closing day shall give
A ruddy glow.

HERMAN RAVE.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 15, 1886.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

BY GEORGE ILES.

II.

(Concluded.)

Soon after his liberation from prison, where he had served his term as a blasphemer, Mr. Holyoake removed to London, where he engaged in teaching. Excellent manuals of reading, of logic and geometry, were written by him at this period of his life. Journalism, however, had paramount attractions for him; and he established the *Reasoner*, a weekly issued for thirty years. His editorial labors were varied by a long series of debates and discussions which made him known and respected throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. He introduced courtesy into controversy, and such of his hearers as were not convinced by his arguments were constrained to admire his fairness and sincerity. From his little book on *Public Speaking and Debate*, I will give a few extracts, setting forth his principles and methods on the platform:—

"All investigation should commence without prepossession and end without dogmatism. Each disputant should be more anxious to explain than to defend his opinion."

"As an established truth is that which is generally received after it has been generally examined in a fair field of inquiry, it is evident that, though truth may be discovered by research, it can only be established by debate. It is a mistake to suppose that it can be taught absolutely by itself. We learn truth by contrast. It is only when opposed to error that we witness truth's capabilities, and feel its full power."

"It is said that people come away from debates much as they go into them, that the same partisans shout or hiss on the same side all through. This is not always true; and what if it were? The work of conviction is often done, though the audience may not show it. They may break your head, and afterward own you were right. Human pride forbids the confession, but change is effected in spite of pride. And, if an audience remain the

same at night, they will not be the same the next morning. I rather like to contemplate that conviction which is begun in discussion, not ended there. He who hastily changes is to be suspected of weakness or carelessness. The steady and deliberate thinker, who takes time to consider, is the safest convert."

"If you invite opposition, do it with circumspection. Never debate for the sake of debating. It lowers the character of debate. The value of free speech is too great to be trifled with. Seek conflict only with sincere men. Concede to your opponent the first word and the last. Let him appoint the chairman. Let him speak double time, if he desires it. Debate is objected to, as an exhibition in which disputants try to surprise, outwit, take advantage of, and discomfit each other. To obviate this objection, explain to your opponent the outline of the course you intend to pursue, acquaint him with the books you shall quote, the authorities you shall cite, the propositions you shall endeavor to prove, and the concessions you shall demand. And do this without expecting the same at his hands. He will not now be taken by surprise. He will be pre-warned and pre-armed. He will have time to prepare; and, if the truth is in him, it ought to come out."

"If you feel that you cannot give all these advantages to your opponent, suspect yourself and suspect your side of the question. Every conscientious and decided man believes his views to be true; and, if consistent, he believes them to be impregnable. Neither in minutes, months, nor years are they to be refuted. Then a man so persuaded may despise petty advantages, and enable his opponent to arm himself beforehand."

"The victory in a debate lies, not in lowering an opponent, but in raising the subject in public estimation. Controversial wisdom lies not in destroying an opponent, but in destroying his error,—not in making him ridiculous so much as making the audience wise."

"Master as completely as you can your opponent's theories, and state his case with the greatest fairness, and, if possible, state it with more force against yourself than your opponent can. The observance of this rule will teach you two things,—your opponent's strength or weakness and your own also. If you cannot state your opponent's case, you do not know it; and, if you do not know it, you are not in a fit state to argue against it. If you dare not state your opponent's case in its greatest force, you feel it to be stronger than your own; and, in that case, you ought not to argue against it."

Very interesting is it to watch the unfolding of this able, earnest, and kindly intellect. Cramped throughout his life Mr. Holyoake has undoubtedly been, for lack of early opportunities of discipline and instruction; yet perhaps not a little of his power and influence is due to his unconventional treatment of great questions,—a treatment which formal culture might have rendered tame or mediocre. One of the compensations for an education coming late in life is that many important pieces of information come to a mind not blunted by any early and useless familiarity with them. Our great philosophers who occupy the pinnacles of thought are too remote in place and too abstract in intellect for direct popular influence. Mr. Holyoake stands forth in the front rank of those who have in this century served to convey to the masses the ideas brought to birth in the skyey eminences of philosophic criticism and reflection. This usefulness in his case is largely to be credited to his bringing a mind matured in the school of practical life and conflict to the consideration of wide human problems. In 1849,

he wrote in preface to his volume on public speaking:—

"The highest truths will one day reach the populace. Not only the standard of intellect, but that of morality, will be raised. The brief series of the Hampdens, the Cromwells, and Marvells, will be multiplied. It was once said all could not learn to read, write, and account. Now, they do learn these and other things. They will one day learn all things. Intellect will conquer all obstacles. But it will be accomplished piecemeal. Progression is a series of stages: individuals first, then groups, then classes, then nations, are raised. You can no more introduce at once the multitude to the highest results of philosophy than you can take a man to the summit of a monument without ascending the steps one by one, or reach a distant land without travelling the journey. This book is designed for the class of young thinkers to whom knowledge has given some intellectual aspiration, and fate denied the means of its satisfaction. . . . They want no new philosophy. There are more old ones which are good than they can study. There is more wisdom extant than they can master, more precepts than they can apply. Weapons innumerable surround them, of which they have to be taught the use. Their watchword is work. The scaling-ladders of the wise which they, having mounted the citadel of wisdom, have thrown down, are yet of service to those who are below. I have picked one of these ladders up, and reared it in these pages for the use of those who have yet to rise. Nations never become civilized and learned till subsistence is secure and leisure abundant. So of individuals. The populace are still engaged in the lowest battle of animal wants, and even the middle classes are in the warfare of intellectual wants. In the ancient state of society, war was the only trade, force the only teacher, and the battle-axe the only argument. A transition has indeed taken place. The time and means and ends are changed, but not the relative position of men. No longer do we struggle for the victory of conquest, but we struggle for wages and more intelligence. . . . Knowledge has reached the mass, so as to make them sensible of their ignorance without diminishing their privations; and they are now engaged in a double battle against Want and Error. The struggle, therefore, is resolute. The training wanted is practical, the weapons serviceable and ready for use. Provided the sword of education will cut, few will quarrel about the polish. If the blade has good temper, he who needs it will put up with a plain hilt. . . . When I contemplate the appliances which learning and science present to the scholar, and see how multiplied are his means of knowing the truth upon all subjects, I cannot conceive that he can be struggling, like the untaught thinker, between right and wrong. To the scholar, truth and falsehood must be apparent; and, since the learned do not penetrate to the intellect of the populace and establish intelligence among them, it must be that the learned want courage or condescension, or that common sense among them is petrified in formulas."

Mr. Holyoake gradually forsook the arena of theological discussion, he wearied of battling against beliefs held upon any grounds but those of logic, and at last concluded that there was little use in trying to reason opinions out of people that had never been reasoned into them. His purpose had from the first been to do good to his kind, and he saw that that aim could be best served in the cause of practical reforms. His work has been of incalculable value by virtue of his thorough sympathy both with the artisan class from which he came

and the class of men of leisured thought who have recognized his ability and sincerity, and given him their friendship. He has the rare genius, too, which, as Rousseau says, is able to observe and rightly value what is very near. He can make a neglected truism vivid by a flash of wit or a pointed epigram. No popular writer of our time has rescued from neglect more familiar thought to be given its due weight by impressive presentation. His epigrammatic style makes the dedications of his books particularly fine, and the sting of death would be in part soothed and softened, were he to write one's epitaph. It is not generally known that he gave the Jingoese, the ultra Tories of Britain, their name; but such is the fact.

As a leader, the very limits of his acquirements have given efficiency to his native power. He has had a large following, because he has always been plainly in sight. Some great thinkers are so far ahead of everybody as to be hidden by the curvature of the earth. Immanuel Kant expressly stated that he did not write for the general reader; and Herbert Spencer, in his *Social Statics*, refused to adapt his ideal morals to any practical improvement of this wicked world as it is. The uncounted thousands of secularists among British workmen largely owe their clearness of conviction to his clearness and simplicity of statement, and wonderful power of gaining access to men's minds by gifts of expression, tact, and patience, matured not in the closet, but in the work-a-day world.

Mr. Holyoake has been no theorizing spectator of human turmoil: he has done his duty in trying to leave the world a little better than he found it. His fellow-workers in reform have often been uncouth, sometimes unsavory, and nearly always impolite; yet he has never shrunk from giving the ear of progress a hearty push, regardless of his company in the task. Unlike Brother Rabbit in Uncle Remus' story, he doesn't do the grunting while others do the shoving. He early was active in the Chartist and Corn Law agitations. He saw, as a youth, the necessity artisans were under to organize in defence of their interests; and he has accurately defined the reasonable aims of trades-unions. Prof. Goldwin Smith once said that, if England had escaped from the friction and violence which had attended the industrial movement in other countries, it was in large measure due to workmen having much better leaders in England than elsewhere,—leaders such as Mr. Holyoake, who were not self-seekers, who were not demagogues who had nothing at heart but the real interest of the working class, and who when conflicts arose between employers and employes, were not for interminable war, to their profit, but for peace with justice. He is a free-trader, of course; and, in his efforts to abolish a petty restriction on trade, he is to-day president of the society which aims at repealing the absurd tax on British railway travel. Reforms as diverse as the ballot and the execution in private of criminals condemned to death have engaged his trusty aid.

For several years, Mr. Holyoake conducted a publishing house in Fleet Street, from which issued every kind of publication of reform,—intent, dispassionately written. In this house, the committee met which opposed the Conspiracy Bill of Lord Palmerston, and led to the overthrow of that minister. He was afterward acting secretary of the British Legion sent out to Garibaldi. In those days, Mazzini and Prof. F. W. Newman contributed to the *Reasoner*, which he edited, in testimony of the unimputative fearlessness which marked his advocacy. When, in the movement for the repeal of the Stamp Act, no one else could

be found to publish the special unstamped newspapers, Mr. Holyoake undertook to do so. His publications issued during the Crimean War involved him in fines amounting to £600,000, so he besought Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to take the money in weekly instalments, as he could not conveniently pay all in at once. The last warrant issued before the repeal of the Stamp Act was against Mr. Holyoake, who throughout the agitation acted upon his invariable rule,—never to put himself forward to do an aggressive work, unless it was a righteous work, and no one else would do it.

Once, his admirers endeavored to obtain him parliamentary honors; and, in 1854, he was nominated for the borough of the Tower Hamlets, his friend, Mr. John Stuart Mill, giving generously toward his election fund. Various causes, chiefly the unpopularity of his theological convictions decided him to retire in favor of Mr. Ayrton. His breadth and fairness of mind eminently fit him to serve his country in the House of Commons, and he may yet become a member of a body in which agnostics and secularists abound. His statesmanlike qualities led him to see in a series of little-read blue-books a principle capable of most valuable expansion. For many years, the British government had published reports on the state of commerce and manufacture abroad, for the use of merchants and manufacturers. Mr. Holyoake, after persistent effort, succeeded in inducing the Foreign Office, in the days of Lord Clarendon, to issue similar reports for the use of workmen from every country abroad where Her Majesty had secretaries of embassy and legation. The plan of these reports was devised and furnished Mr. Holyoake. They state what the purchasing power of money is in foreign countries compared with England, so that a workman may know, if he earns £2 a week at home or £4 a week abroad, whether he will be better or worse off; for emigrating; what the state of the labor market is in foreign countries; how workmen are hired and housed there; what kind of habitations they occupy; what difficulty a family has to exist in health; what provision as to clothing they must make; the character of workmen in countries abroad,—whether good craftsmen take pride in their work and put their character into it. Such questions were never before put and never before answered, and no books are more curious and valuable to workmen than these publications of the Foreign Office. Lord Clarendon always said in the handsomest manner, in his despatches, that these reports were issued on the suggestion of Mr. Holyoake. After endeavors extending over twenty years, he did another noteworthy public service: to him is chiefly due the passing of the Secular Affirmation Act, by which co-operative property was largely secured, many of the most influential managers objecting, like Mr. Holyoake, to take the ordinary oath, not being able to do so in the sense required by the courts. Perhaps, however, the co-operative movement is the one above all others which will chiefly embalm his memory during the years of coming time. Living, as he did in early life, in a great manufacturing town, he saw and keenly felt the hardships of artisans and factory operatives. These hardships, he became convinced, could be mitigated, not in the continental fashion of State aid or socialism, but by self-help acting on co-operative principles. These principles he now sees governing in Great Britain alone an annual retail business of over \$100,000,000, conducted at a gross expense of but five per cent. Incalculable benefit has followed from the thrift induced by the cash system of co-operation, and from the honest value in goods

obtainable when buyer and seller have not opposed but identical interests. His *History of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers*, written in 1857, has been the means of founding hundreds of co-operative societies throughout the world. In 1879, Mr. Holyoake published the *History of Co-operation*, in two volumes. In this history, we find how steady has been the progress of co-operation as applied to buying and selling, and how very different the failure which has attended co-operative manufacturing. Yet let us hope that the art of working together in concord will in time pass from the counter to the work-bench and the factory. Good faith, good-will, the hearty recognition of leadership and superior powers when they appear, must abound more than they now do, before Capital and Labor can be true friends, and before Labor can cordially submit to the invaluable direction of the kings of business.

In 1879, Mr. Holyoake paid his first visit to America, with the intent of gathering official, trustworthy information for the guidance of emigrants seeking homes on this continent. He journeyed to Washington, to the capitals of many States, and to that of Canada, in furtherance of his mission, which was a notable step toward reducing emigration to a science, and an extension of the usefulness of the reports of workingmen compiled for years by the British Government, at his suggestion. On his return to England I had the good fortune to hear him deliver two addresses in Birmingham, on what he had seen in America. He was none the less shrewd and sensible for his brilliant eloquence, and advised such of his hearers as were being pinched out by the keen competitions in British trade that their policy should not be battle, but escape,—escape to the broad, free lands and new opportunities of the United States and Canada. In the fall of 1882, he revisited America on the same errand which had occupied him in 1879.

Such, imperfectly sketched, has been the work of one of the best and worthiest of living men. He is not one of them who put so much into what they say and write that they have nothing left for their lives. He is enjoying the Indian summer of his life with the respect and confidence of a circle of friends in England only inferior in variety of conviction and social standing to those who gather about the very foremost public men. I have never known a man more lovable than he, with more consideration, sympathy, and lightness of heart. He fairly owns his friends. I have known a railroad chieftain put aside his pressing and weighty business for weeks together that, on Mr. Holyoake's first visit to America, he might help out his imperfect vision, and tenderly guide him across streets and lift him in and out of cars and carriages. More than one Secular Hall of grace and commodiousness has been erected in his honor. Everywhere he goes, in France, Germany, or America, just as in his native kingdom, cordial hospitality sets an open door before him. Christians claim him as an excellent Christian, essentially; and he has, through all his varied growths of conviction, had no warmer friend than the superintendent of the Sunday-school he attended as a boy. But the kindness of the man was not all given to him at once. The original capital of it, of course, nature bestowed; but he has diligently improved it by assiduous self-control. In the fine art of character-making, he was long a patient student and workman before his notable success came to him. When a young man, he aspired to be a teacher, and felt it incumbent upon him to fit himself for the moral dignity of that office. As his task was to be the endeavor to reform others, he began

by reforming himself. He writes: "My original patrimony was a haughty temper, a proud spirit, and an inflexible will. During thirteen years, I stood twelve hours of every working day by the side of a man without ever forgetting or forgiving that he had insulted me; and I could boast as many trophies of ill-temper and malignant retorts as any man could be proud of. But what was my surprise when first I found that the great, whom I had so long revered in their remoteness from me, were themselves the victims of those errors which belonged to my youth, ignorance, and others' evil example. When I came in contact with those whom I had known only as models of emulation, and whose genius I worshipped as some men do the creations of theology, and found their brilliant reputation tarnished by the mildews, not, indeed, of vulgar, but of refined animosity, I resolved that, though I had no reputation to tarnish, I would not tarnish myself."

And so, through each passing year, Mr. Holyoake has grown in refinement, in delicacy of sentiment, in clearness of perception. While his attitude as a secularist has kept him pleading at the bar, he has the temperament which fits advocacy for promotion to the bench. When, in 1870, blindness overtook him for a time, he met the calamity with unwavering fortitude, and, like a lesser Milton, continued to dictate pages which he could not see. His friends, among them Darwin, Lewes, and his wife, George Eliot, Spencer, and Tyndall, contributed for an annuity, in recognition of his effective and disinterested public services. Many subscribed who differed widely from him politically, theologically, and in his social views; but all united to express their admiration of his character, and to recognize the active and useful public spirit he had displayed. In 1884, his wife was borne to the grave. His manly and tender tribute to her memory, in his journal, *The Present Day*, does the pair great credit. In all the trial which her husband's course entailed upon her, Mrs. Holyoake was a support and true friend to him.

Mr. Holyoake is now engaged writing his autobiography, in which, I have reason to believe, there will be singular records of his equanimity and of his patience with the very modest fortunes of his life. Like all other radical reformers, he has known many mean opponents and received much shabby usage. American reprinters have added insult to piracy by publishing his books without mention of his name. A reviewer in a ponderous British quarterly had to include a work of his on co-operation in the list with which he began an article. To avoid mentioning Mr. Holyoake's name, he mentioned none of the authors' names whose books he reviewed,—a solitary and significant case of anonymity. But, if some, to use an Irish phrase, have done their dirty best to belittle Mr. Holyoake, many of the great have done him honor; and wide indeed is the social gamut of his friendship, one morning breakfasting with Tennyson or Gladstone, and before the week ends the honored guest at a ninepenny Secular tea-party,—always self-respecting, kindly, and gracious, whether learner of the intellectual giants of our time or breaking up the bread of their philosophy and culture to the multitude.

We have seen him the struggling artisan, with the strong, painful consciousness of ignorance upon him. The first trammels he severed were those which he held to be the most grievous,—those of an unworthy theology. Turning his attention from heaven to earth, he has done what he could to make earth a little more heavenly than he found it. His teachableness, his faithfulness, his rare powers of expression and persuasion,

have made him the creditor of uncounted men and women. At the epoch of transition from the old metaphysical free thought to our modern free thought of science and evidence, he will stand in coming time among Englishmen as a notable link between Hobbes and Bolingbroke and such thinkers as Spencer and Stephen. As the founder of Secularism, he gave among British artisans practical aims to people of a stamp such as in higher social level float about in an agnosticism which has levelled old creeds and left their ruins desolate. As the historian of co-operation, he has stated what appear to be the only principles which can avert the threatened collision, the war between those who have and those who want, one which may be worse than conflict between Saxon and Cossack. And he has shown us the spirit of comprehension, of generous and yet self-respecting compromise, on which alone co-operation of any kind can proceed. Many heroes of loftier stature have stridden across the stage of the world,—Cromwells, Miltons, and Washingtons: it has been this man's mission chiefly to exemplify the kindly moralities which yield the daily and hourly gladness of our lives. Many a score of sermons have we heard against unbelief, but never one against common meanness, self-will, or self-indulgence. Yet these things stalk abroad, and leave wide swaths of blight and disheartenment behind them, in their grand total more dreadful than the conspicuous crimes and vices against which nations legislate and prisons rise.

As thinker, speaker, writer, reformer, our hero merits our respect and wins our admiration; more still as a man, for

"Man is his own star, and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man
Commands all light, all influence, all fate.
Nothing to him falls early or too late.
Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS.

Editors of The Index:—

In the various reviews of Mr. Abbot's book which have appeared in *The Index*, some of the most interesting, vital, and important questions which can engage human attention have been raised. In one of these,—the question whether the universe is an organism or a machine,—the writer argues that it is neither. Probably, much difference of opinion on problems so profound results from the peculiar and various meanings given to philosophic terms by different minds. In the larger sense of the term, all organisms are machines, because all movements in space and time are necessarily mechanical: no other kind is conceivable. Chemical movements, the action of the imponderable forces, and physiological processes are too subtle for our senses to grasp the mechanism of their operations; but this fact does not make them any the less mechanical. The same reviewer quotes from some philosophic writer an argument to show that the universe cannot be an organism, because "an organism exists and lives through interaction with its medium. The cosmos has no medium. Ergo, it is no organism, and is not alive." The validity of this argument depends upon the assumption that the organic universe of material forms is absolutely infinite, and constitutes the whole. But this it cannot be; for all structures are necessarily bounded by definite outlines, and must be finite, and beyond them must extend the Germinal Essence of Being, from which all organisms were evolved by its tendencies.

The most conspicuous fact in modern scientific inquiry is that the tendency of the essential forces of the universe is toward the evolution of organisms, and in this consists the gist of the prevailing theories of evolution. If the spontaneous tendency of things is toward organization, does it not seem highly probable that the totality should possess the same ten-

dency, and that the material universe is an organism continually nourished and supported by the Germinal Essence which constitutes its environment? And, inasmuch as all structural movements must occur in space and time, the universe is both an organism and a mechanism.

Another article in the same paper criticises Mr. Abbot's argument for the objectivity of knowledge. The writer says, "The one 'modern science' which has a right to speak, and which has spoken as a science proper, is very clear and quite unanimous in asserting that the objects of sense are subjective states or modes of the *ego*." But do those who hold that all knowledge is subjective realize its implications, and would they be willing to carry their doctrine out into all its legitimate logical conclusions? It implies that all the subject-matter of our senses has no existence apart from consciousness. Not only sounds, colors, and odors have their existence solely in consciousness, but forces, forms, and motions, all structures, organisms, and all the phenomena of nature. The outstretched landscape, and all its variety of scenery, of forms, colors, and distances, are simply subjective states of my *ego*, and have no existence that we can ever know outside of it.

Another writer quoted in *The Index* says: "If there were no eyes like ours, there would be no redness in the rose, no whiteness in the lily, and no greenness in the grass, and no beautiful blue in the sky. The proof of this is color blindness. Nor is it to the eye alone, but to all the senses that the same argument applies." Let us transfer this argument to a different subject-matter, and see how it sounds. In the landscape before me, I see a huge mountain lifting its gigantic form against the sky. But this, being simply a subjective state in my conscious *ego*, has no such existence apart from it. The proof is that a blind man could not see it.

But the subjectivists further aver that, outside consciousness, sounds and colors, or the causes of them, are only waves (motion) in air or ether. But what right have they to say that our sensations are "produced by the action of waves of ether" or of anything else, when these waves are, according to their own showing, as subjective as the colors and sounds sensed? They know not, nor can know, if all knowledge is subjective, any such things as waves in external air or ether. Subjectivists are enacting a glaring contradiction, when they undertake to explain what are the external causes of any of our sense-impressions.

FRANKLIN SMITH.

FROM a letter by a Western lawyer to a friend who had sent him a copy of *The Index* containing Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's article on "Religion for Women and Children," we are permitted to print the following extract: "I am so grateful to you for *The Index* you had the kindness to send me that I want to express it. Aside from the fact that it renews the evidence that I am remembered, it brings to me the consolations of an intelligent and sensible religion. I wish to say now, and I do say, that the article by Mrs. Stanton is, in my estimation, the best one I ever read on that subject. Plain, simple, palpable, courageous, it walks on and over those monstrous theories which, through the ages, have pursued and tormented all the children of men, and 'made cowards of us all.' It adds greater interest to her paper that, for a year, she was a classmate of mine in the Johnstown Academy, and that I then thought, as I do now, that she was the brightest girl I ever knew. I attended that Scotch church to which she alludes. I was required to. It was a part of the discipline. From that high-up octagonal pulpit were thundered into our souls the anathemas of an indignant and terrible God, and we were sent away to writhe in the grasp of an offended and vindictive law. The preacher's name was Mayer, a burly Scotchman; and, dear me! with what power and seeming gratification he would iterate and reiterate the denunciations of heaven against the perishing souls of a helpless race,—'the damnation of hell'! I want to say by way of parenthesis, although hardly pertinent, that in one of his sermons he stole and appropriated entire that beautiful apostrophe of Bulwer in his *Ambitious Student*, commencing, 'Virtue, it is God's own empire; and from his throne of thrones he will defend it.' He changed the first word to 'Religion.' He was exposed by the conductor of the village paper, Phil Reynolds, and left the town soon after. Now, I beg you to understand

me. What I denounce and resent is the above underscored sentiment. It is not true. I consent that I would like to die as my good father died. But if, to do it, it is necessary to subscribe to theories which my whole soul resents, my last end cannot be like his. I feel that I must soon go into another state of existence or into a state of non-existence, I don't know which; but I suppose I shall fulfil the purposes of my existence, be they what they may. With this, I am content."

THE INDIAN MARRIAGE LAW.—Some months ago, I sent to the *Times* summaries of two striking letters on infant marriage and enforced widowhood, published under the *nom de plume* of "A Hindu Lady" in the *Times of India*. The writer of those letters has again come prominently before the public, as herself affording an example of her own pathetic description of the unhappy lot of her sex in India. Rukmibai,—for that is her name,—when eleven years old, was given in marriage to a lad of nineteen. She remained in her father's house, was well educated, and is now described as a young lady of high intelligence and refined instincts. Her husband, on the other hand, is said to be little better than a coolie, ignorant, uncultivated, and unable to earn more than ten rupees a month. The idea of going to live with such a man was utterly repulsive to her. She accordingly refused to do so. Her husband thereupon brought a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights in the Bombay high court. Mr. Justice Pinhey, who first heard the case, dismissed it without calling on the defendant. An appeal was lodged. It was argued last week before the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Bayley, who have taken time to consider their judgment. It was evident that the sympathies of the court were entirely with the lady; but the question which they had to try was one of law, not sentiment. Should they hold—as is not unlikely—that the Hindu law affords no relief to the wife in such a case, then it may at least be hoped that Rukmibai's sad fate will have more effect than her letters have had in inducing native reformers to direct their energies less to the vague political aspirations and more to the pressing evils of their social system.—*London Times, Calcutta Correspondence, March 21.*

THE other day, a street singer,—a well-built man,—with two children by his side, was drawling out, verse by verse, "Safe in the harms of Jesus," when he was asked by a woman if he would get in a load of coals which lay in front of her house. "To hell with your coals!" was the reply; and he went on singing unctuously,—

"Safe from the world's temptations,
Sin cannot harm me there."

Were the coals too suggestive to his mind of the mythical region he richly deserved to go to?—*The Inquirer (London).*

For *The Index*.

A SUN-DAY MORNING HYMN.

[TUNE, *Missionary Chant*.]

O upward-springing Morning light!
Forth-bursting from the caves of Night
To dissipate earth's pall and gloom,
And for man's ways and work make room!

Beneath thy all-enkindling ray
Our souls expand to greet the Day,
And fain would catch, on Wisdom's road,
The light to Life's serene abode!

When shall man's act be based on Law,
Till nations show nor stain nor flaw?
Nor man from Virtue's fairer heights
Be held by ancient appetites?

O flame of ever brightening Truth!
Earth's waywardness, as of its youth,
Dispel, revealing manhood's strength,
That life diviner be at length!

JAMES H. WEST.

GENEVA, ILL.

BOOK NOTICES.

MANUAL TRAINING. The Solution of Social and Industrial Problems. By Charles H. Ham. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1886. pp. 403.

This handsomely printed volume urges that systematic training of hand and eye in drawing, carpen-

try, wood-turning, forging, etc., is so valuable a branch of education that it should be given to all the pupils in our schools and colleges. The question is not between manual and mental education, as it is often incorrectly stated by old-fashioned pedagogues, nor whether our public schools should fit boys for special trades. All here aimed at is to make education more actively and powerfully intellectual than it has been hitherto, and more successful in developing such mental vigor as every man and woman needs, especially in a free land. Nothing does this more surely than improving the two main avenues of knowledge, the senses of sight and touch. We all know how much the development of a boy's mind would be retarded, if he were to lose the use of his eyes or his hands. Must there not be a corresponding acceleration of mental development given by teaching him to use his hands and eyes skillfully and intelligently? What else could we expect from the closeness with which our mental powers are adapted for use in a world full of things which are to be seen and handled?

Manual training has been introduced too recently, as a branch of general education, for its full value to have yet become manifest. But Mr. Ham has collected a large amount of facts which no one interested in our public schools and colleges can afford to overlook. His first ten chapters tell how worthy the Chicago Manual Training School is of the handsome building, a view of which forms the frontispiece. Here, substantially, the same branches are taught as in any English high school; and Latin is an elective. Each boy has also at least an hour's drawing daily, and two hours in the laboratory. Then he begins with carpentry, and goes on through wood-carving, turning, moulding, forging, etc., to making tools of all sorts and learning the care of steam-engines. Special pains are taken to make the boys read, talk, and think about every part of their work; and, at the same time, the practical training is so thorough that "competent and experienced instructors declare that the student in the educational smithy gains as much skill in a day as the smith's apprentice gains in a year in the ordinary shop." What is more important as well as more probable is the conviction of the superintendent that "an hour in the shop of a well-conducted manual training school develops as much mental strength as an hour devoted to Virgil or Legendre." "Three years of a manual training school will give at least as much purely intellectual growth as three years of the ordinary high school, because, as has been said, every school hour, whether spent in the class-room, the drawing-room, or in the shop, is an hour devoted to intellectual training."

The same testimony comes from a similar school at St. Louis, as well as from one in Rotterdam, Holland, where an experience of seven years proves that "boys who are occupied one-half the day with books in the school and the remaining half with tools in the laboratories make about as rapid intellectual progress as those of equal ability who spend the whole day in study and recitation." No need to say which is the healthy and attractive plan. The Chicago and St. Louis system is also in use in the Institute of Technology in Boston, in the State University of Wisconsin, and in various colleges in Indiana, Pennsylvania, Colorado, Alabama, Iowa, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Minnesota, and Louisiana. Many such particulars will be found not only at the close of this volume, but in the extracts published with some additions by the author in *Harper's Monthly* for February. It is a pity that he did not give this wide circulation to his opinion that Prof. Adler's school is "the most comprehensive educational institution in existence," or to "the fact that manual training in some form has been adopted in certain of the schools of at least twenty-four of the States of the American Union." Our Boston plan of sending the boys and girls in turn, each detachment for one half-day in every week, to the work-shop has at least the advantage of reaching ten times as many pupils at the same cost as in Chicago. This cheaper plan is described with approbation in the magazine article as well as in the volume. Both fail, however, to say much about the value of drawing, not only as an indispensable preparation for becoming a skilled workman, but as a sure way to gain just such accuracy in observation as is needed by every lawyer, physician, teacher, merchant, and scientist. An eminent botanist has declared that this is the best way to prepare school

children for studying science. Dr. Bartol says, "He that can sketch an object with a pencil understands it better than he who recites all its titles in the speech of every tribe under the sun." F. M. H.

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1877. By Alfred Rambaud. Translated by Leonora B. Lang. In two volumes. With illustrations. New York: John B. Alden. Price \$1.75.

This is one of the best of Mr. Alden's cheap reprints of originally high-priced works. The cheapest edition of Rambaud's *Russia* hitherto attainable cost \$6.00. In this translation from the original French work, the translator acknowledges her indebtedness to the author for many emendations and additions. The index and genealogical tables added by the translator also met the approval of M. Rambaud, to whom they were submitted. Besides maps and genealogical tables, the first volume contains fourteen and the second twenty-three illustrations, mostly portraits of Russian leaders and rulers. The London *Athenaeum* declares this to be, "beyond question, the best complete history of Russia which has appeared in the West." The style of M. Rambaud, as translated, is bright, terse, graphic, always interesting. He has the faculty of seizing the most telling incidents of each page in Russian history, and, by a few swift strokes of his pen in the way of word pictures, reveals to us the salient points in the character or period depicted. He dwells at considerable length on the biographies and history of Peter the Great and Catherine II., but to the fascination and not weariness of the reader. Indeed, no page of this history is at all prosy. S. A. U.

An old Turkish fireplace in the Governor's Palace at Keresoun forms a very pleasing frontispiece to the *Art Amateur* for April. It looks very rich and attractive, with its arabesque scrolls above and soft divans below, and the side cabinets for precious objects of beauty. There is a full account of the great Morgan sale of pictures and objects of *virtu* in New York, of which we have already spoken. Theodore Child gives an interesting sketch of Edvard Manet, the "King of the Impressionists." He is one of the modern painters who has departed from the traditions of the ancients, and sought to express what he has seen with his own eyes. The critic ascribes to him very great influence over modern French art, although he says, somewhat severely, "In his pictures, we must seek neither absolute beauty nor ideas: the artist paints neither history nor soul." We should hardly allow him the name of artist, if this be true, although he may be a painter of pleasing effects. Among the exhibitors at the Paris Water Color Exhibition is Maurice Bontet de Monvil, who paints, according to Edvard Villars, in the Kate Greenaway style, purified by the study of Chinese and Japanese paintings. An illustration of his work is given. We are grateful for so much improvement of the tedious mannerism of Kate Greenaway, but we think it needs reforming altogether by immediate abolition. Greta speaks appreciatively of Mr. Herkimer's fine portraits of Miss Grant and Mr. Richardson, and of the sale of Mr. Oudinot's collection. The portion devoted to Decorative Art treats principally of Oriental luxury, whose aim seems to be to cultivate the *dolce far niente* more than suits our ordinary busy American life.

THE *North American Review* for April is an exceptionally wide-awake number. The opening article is a lively account by the distinguished French woman, Madame Adam, of "Gambetta's Electoral Tour" in 1876, in which he had a thrilling adventure with a royalist mob. This is accompanied by a hitherto unpublished private letter from Gambetta in regard to the affair. Dr. Octave Pavy's "Arctic Journal," edited by his widow, Mrs. Lilla May Pavy, who contributes some interesting notes on the subject, will be read with interest by the thousands who remember that last disastrous expedition, in which the author of this journal perished. "Constitutional Reform in Rhode Island" is discussed by Abraham Payne and W. P. Sheffield. Anna Ella Carroll succinctly relates the story of her "Plan of the Tennessee Campaign." "English Rule in India" is the subject of an article by Amrita Lal Roy. There are also timely papers from Senator Ingalls, Gov. Martin of Kansas, Henry George, the editor, and others. Among "Notes and Comments," an unpublished letter from Byron to Shelley is given to the public.

THE April number of the *Century* gives a detailed account of the "Alabama" and "Kearsarge" affairs, with other war articles. Mrs. Annie Fields gives some delightful "Glimpses of Longfellow in Social Life" from her own and husband's personal knowledge and from private letters from the poet in her possession. Washington Gladden discusses "Christianity and Popular Education"; and George M. Powell has a timely article on "Strikes, Lockouts, and Arbitration." Mrs. Mary Hallock Foote's winning story, "John Bodewin's Testimony," comes to an only partially satisfactory conclusion; and Howells' story brightens up a little.

THE *Forum*, in its second number, bids fair to become a noteworthy rival of the time-honored *North American Review*. It opens with an article of the duties owed the child by the State, by David Dudley Field. Mrs. E. C. Stanton contributes one of her vigorous papers, entitled "Our Boys on Sunday." Among other writers are Andrew Carnegie, Col. Higginson, O. B. Frothingham, Prof. David Swing, Gail Hamilton, Noah K. Davis, and others. The editor of the *Forum* is Mr. Metcalf, formerly of the *North American*. Forum Publishing Company, New York City, N.Y.

"LITERARY LIFE" for March, published by the Elder Publishing Company of Chicago and New York, gives a bright illustrated sketch of "Nathaniel Hawthorne: His Home and Study," by his son-in-law, G. P. Lathrop, and an exhaustive paper on "The Century Company's Offices," with nine illustrations. Other articles treat of "International Copyright," "Tennyson at Home," etc. Lexington White, Elizabeth O. Williams, James B. Kenyon, and "Clanmorna" furnish the poetry of the number.

AMONG the instructive articles in *Treasure-trove* for April, we have space only to notice "Bridges and Bridge Building," by Alice M. Kellogg; "Battle of Crécy," by I. J. Romer; "Bats," by S. C. Wheat; "A Cooled-off World," by Cyrus M. Carter. Sketches of the lives of John B. Gough and Josiah Henson, the original of Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom, poems, stories, pictures, and bits of wisdom fill up the other pages. E. L. Kellogg & Co., 25 Clinton Place, New York. \$1.00 per year.

THE *Magazine of American History* for April shows how history can be made as delightful reading as fiction by wide-awake and powerful writers. "Chancellorsville," "Shiloh," and "Our First Battle" are the subjects of the Civil War papers in this number. "The Convention of North Carolina, 1788," and "The Newgate of Connecticut" treat of earlier historic times in America. A very fine steel portrait of Gen. Hancock adorns the frontispiece page.

THE most "taking" feature of *Lippincott's Magazine* for April is that entitled "Our Experience Meeting," in which Julian Hawthorne, Edgar Fawcett, and Joel Chandler Harris ("Uncle Remus") relate their experiences in authorship. These are to be followed by others in the same line. Alice W. Rollins, Dora Reade Goodale, Charlotte Fiske Bates, Grant Allen, and M. H. Catherwood are among the contributors to this number.

THE *Herald of Health* for April has an exceedingly interesting and instructive semi-autobiographic sketch, by Frances E. Willard, of her "health habits"; also, articles by John Fretwell on "How to strengthen the Memory," by Dr. Richardson on "Physiological Aptitudes for Political Labors," "A Case of Hot-water Cure," by E. A. Getchell, together with many hints and helps toward proper hygienic living.

WE have received from that indefatigable apostle of temperance, Miss Frances E. Willard, a copy of "The Minutes of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union at the Twelfth Annual Meeting, Oct. 30 and 31 and Nov. 2 and 3, 1885." This report contains one hundred and forty-four pages of interesting temperance news and statistics, with an "appendix" of over two hundred additional pages. These lengthy "Minutes" show the amount of genuinely good work which this well-organized women's association is doing.

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THERE was rather a strange scene enacted in the House one day last week. Chaplain Milburn's invocation was devoted exclusively to a prayer that the country might be delivered from the evils of drunkenness, which he pictured in strong colors. At its close, Mr. Price, of Wisconsin, and several other members applauded Speaker Carlisle was annoyed at the idea of applauding a prayer, and brought his gavel down with unusual severity.

In New York, the age at which girls are made free moral agents in choosing between virtue and vice is fourteen years; and the White Cross League will ask the legislature to raise it to sixteen years. Massachusetts still maintains the old common law limit of ten years, for the protection of male debauchees. And yet she has the impertinence to send missionaries to "civilize heathen."—*Boston Herald*.

PROF. DAVIDSON'S lecture on "Bruno" is for sale at *The Index* office. Price 10 cents.

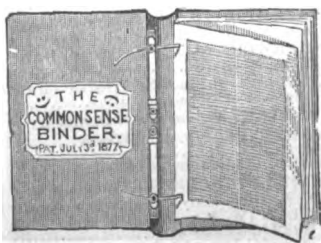
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Presbyterian* says, "We remember, years ago, in reading Mr. Darwin's books, noting with much surprise the great number of probabilities he was wont to deal in." The difference between the method of Darwin and that of theologians, generally, may be thus stated: he was "wont to deal in" a "great number of probabilities," they in a great number of improbabilities.

THE result of the Rhode Island State election, held on April 7, was a triumph for those who believe in prohibitory legislation. The prohibition amendment to the Constitution received 5,629 votes, and was adopted by the requisite three-fifths' vote, with a few hundred votes to spare. Prohibition will go into effect in Rhode Island on the 1st of July. The experiment will be watched with interest by many in other States.

THE Royal Orange Institution of England has issued a manifesto denouncing Mr. Gladstone's proposed Irish measure, and summoning the Orange brethren everywhere to remember their obligations to defend the Protestant succession, and to prepare now to prove their loyalty to Orange principles. Orangeism is one of those survivals from the past which in the social and political life of to-day can do no good, and, we hope, but very little harm.

THE coming man, according to Dr. Hammond, is to be quite bald; and, fortunately for him, women "are rapidly overcoming their prejudices, and see in the bald head an element of manly beauty." Baldness is one of the marks of an advanced stage in evolution, it seems, and not, as is so often said, an indication of early piety or of connubial difficulties. Bald-headed men, having long rested under unjust imputations, may now congratulate one another upon the fact that the time of their vindication is at hand.

MR. MENDUM, of the *Investigator*, has reprinted in pamphlet form "A Lecture on Woman's Rights," delivered by Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose in Boston, Oct. 19, 1851. It is one of the most thoughtful and sensible lectures ever given on the subject; and Mr. Mendum is entitled to the thanks of the friends of "woman's rights" for reissuing this address by the courageous and eloquent Polish lady, who spoke for their cause when its supporters

were few. Although given nearly thirty-five years ago, but few of the lectures heard from the platform of the woman suffragists to-day equal it in strength of argument or in force and felicity of diction.

It is stated that Princess Clementina, of Belgium, is being carefully educated as a Protestant, that she may be a fit wife for the eldest son of the Prince of Wales. Her sister, now wife of the crown prince of Austria, was carefully educated as a Catholic. Evidently, the crowned heads of Europe take a very conventional view of religion. It is of interest to them chiefly as a means of perpetuating hereditary distinction and honors, opposing popular government, forming alliances, and otherwise carrying out schemes in the interest of themselves and their families. There are exceptions to this statement; but, as a rule, it is true.

THE executive committee of the Florence Cosmian Society, referring in their annual report to the agitation in this State for raising the age of consent, says: "It seems that this so-called Christian Commonwealth, while it has stringent laws to protect itself against blasphemy, against Sabbath-breaking, against woman suffrage, against small-pox and informal milk-cans, leaves its sisters and daughters helpless against the seducers of their virtue. Your committee recommend that our resident speaker and the executive committee be authorized, in behalf of the society, to sign the petition now in circulation, for a more stringent and effective law for the protection of our young women."

THERE are, doubtless, cases in which what is called boycotting is justifiable in this country; but generally speaking, it is a method not to be encouraged or defended. The attempt to ruin the business of a law-abiding, industrious woman, who carries on a bakery in Hudson Street, New York, because she declined to compel her workmen to join the Workmen's Union, was not simply unjust, but was unspeakably stupid. It violated the American sense of fair play, aroused sympathy in favor of the woman, advertised her business, and increased her sales; and, furthermore, while it has injured the Workmen's Union, it has put a weapon into the hands of those who are opposed to all combinations the object of which is to keep up the wages of workmen.

SEÑOR GASTEN, the chief of the bureau of mercantile statistics in Lima, Peru, has prepared a document, in which he says that statistics show that forty-six per cent. of the births in 1884 were legitimate, while fifty-four per cent. were illegitimate. Evidently, some legislation is needed so as to include the larger part of the "fifty-four per cent." among legitimate births; in other words, to legalize those unions of which so large a proportion of the children born is the fruit. The general condition of the people is represented as deplorable. "Immense sums are subscribed to build sumptuous temples side by side with the hovels where the poor die in want and misery. Hun-

dreds of people exist in damp, narrow, and unhealthy dwellings; while in the main street of the city are extensive convents and monasteries covering acres of ground, and affording shelter to a handful of useless and idle monks and nuns. On this account there are more churches and convents than municipal schools, more children and women than men, more soldiers and Chinese than native citizens, more beggars than laborers, more priests than men of science, more illegitimate than legitimate children, more concubines than women legally married, more ignorance than enlightenment, more corruption than morality, more gunpowder than bread. From this indifference, the little good among us is gradually disappearing. It lacks support and appreciation. It is therefore necessary, in our own interest and in that of our descendants, to change the vicious order of things, to reform these dreadful abuses, to punish these offences with severity, and to afford instruction, protection, and support to these women and children, so deplorably unfortunate in their present state."

PUBLIC opinion in favor of temperance in England seems to be gradually gaining in strength and influence. The chancellor of the exchequer states that during the past ten years there has been a decrease in the imperial revenue equal to \$22,500,000; that the revenue from this source last year was \$5,000,000 below that of the previous year; and that at the same time there had been a large increase in the receipts derived from tea, tobacco, and fruits, among other articles. The inference is that the English people are more temperate than they were in the use of alcoholic liquors, and that the amount drunk is diminishing every year. An intelligent, educated public opinion is the only sure guarantee of the growth and success of the cause of temperance, with or without legislation.

IN the House of Commons, the Liberals have three hundred and thirty-five members, the Conservatives two hundred and forty-nine, the Home-rulers eighty-six. The danger to Mr. Gladstone's bill is now evidently in his own party. Assuming that the Home-rulers will stand by the Premier, he can afford to lose eighty of his own party, and yet carry the Irish bill through. Can Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, if they persist in their opposition, carry with them eighty or more Liberal members? Popular discussion of Mr. Gladstone's measure has begun; and England, Scotland, and Wales will soon be rocked by an excitement such as they have not lately experienced. Both the Liberals and the Tories will do their best to influence public opinion before the day set for the second reading of the Irish bill. The Tories are now trying to revive old prejudices, to invoke religious bigotry, and to create alarm as to the safety of the empire, if Home Rule is granted. The Liberals are circulating by hundreds of thousands the Premier's great speech, and arranging to address meetings in rural districts during the Easter recess, and leaving nothing undone to educate the public mind, and to secure popular approval of Mr. Gladstone's tentative measure of Home Rule.

THE INDUSTRIAL TROUBLE.

Between the two extremes, of Labor with its grievances, real or imagined, on one side, and of Capital with its enormous power complained of, justly or unjustly, on the other, there stands the great body of American citizens, who are both laborers and capitalists, who have no partisan interest on either side, and who will judge the issue fairly, when it is presented to them; and this class of citizens have it in their power to decide legally and peacefully the conflict which has now culminated in so much violent disturbance of the industries of the country. There are enough intelligent and honest citizens in New York City to prevent the tax-payers being fleeced by a combination between a sharp, unscrupulous speculator and a municipal government of liquor-saloon keepers, whenever those citizens shall go to the caucuses and polls, and do their duty. So, too, there are enough fair-minded and humane people in this country to settle justly and peacefully, through public opinion and constitutional legislation, all the conflicts between Labor and Capital, when they shall seriously apply themselves to the problem. And to this duty, it may reasonably be believed, these fair-minded, humane, sober people will apply themselves before anarchy arrives on the one hand, or such a desperate remedy as governmental despotism is resorted to on the other. There are anxious persons who fear that the country is drifting toward civil war. But the sober common sense and fair conscience of the great body of the people may be trusted, we believe, to avert such a catastrophe.

And there are certain signs that this large class of citizens are awakening to a proper sense of their duty in this matter. There is a growing feeling that the workingman has a story of wrong which must be listened to and considerably heeded. Public sentiment, as manifested in churches and ecclesiastical conventions, in the press, in social reform meetings, and in legislatures, is turned toward the subject as never before. A disposition is shown on both sides of the conflict, and especially on the side of Labor, to introduce the principle of arbitration in the settlement of difficulties. The substitution of arbitration for strikes would of itself be an immense gain. Many of the representatives of corporations are giving their attention to the problem, with a view of doing what is for the best interest of their workmen as well as their own. There are signs, too, that the labor organizations, particularly that which just now is the most active,—the Knights of Labor,—are realizing the necessity of clearing themselves from responsibility for some of the frenzied acts that have been done and wild speech that has been uttered in their name. So far as concerns the official declaration of Principles and Aims put forth by these organizations, there is little or nothing in them to which fair-minded men and women, generally, will not subscribe. The reprehensible deeds which have given them a bad name have been done for the most part—at least, so their intelligent leaders now aver—by local assemblies without authority, or by hot-headed allies, vicious parasites of the labor cause, who are not members of the order at all. It is reported that it was the Knights who restrained the riot at East St. Louis, and prevented that bloody retaliation which the maddened crowd was eager to inflict upon the deputy sheriffs.

But it must be admitted that the labor organizations will have to do many such deeds meet for repentance before they can win the full confidence of the great body of the citizens. The boycott is a species of despotism to which no free and

self-respecting people can be expected long to submit. It is a kind of warfare which, if extended, will inevitably fail through its own excesses. The intelligent workingman, who is subjected to it, feels the instinct of resistance to its yoke no less than the merchant or the manufacturer. There are cases where a simple refusal to trade with or to labor for persons who have committed a gross wrong may be justified; but to extend the boycott to third and innocent parties who do not choose to join in the refusal, or to attempt to dictate to an employer of labor whom he shall employ, is an act which admits of no justification. Nor will intelligent laborers long submit to a condition of things under which, though having no grievance of their own, they may be suddenly ordered by the chief of some labor organization to quit work, in order to rectify a grievance in another part of the country, or even, as has sometimes happened, without their knowing the reason at all or the man who has given the command. This is tyranny, by whatever name it may be called. It is a tyranny which not only takes away from an employer the right to engage such laborers as he may desire, but takes away from the workingman the right to dispose of his labor to whom and where he may choose. In a free country, these two rights must go together. But, in the present industrial disturbances, these rights have become disjointed; and both of them are violated. Fair and intelligent men must see that there can be no justice nor genuine liberty until the normal relation is restored. Let arbitration come, and the boycott and the strike must go.

Again, considering the special trouble in the railroad traffic at the West, the class of men who are employed in the running of railroad trains have intelligence enough to understand that they are not merely in the employ of certain corporations, but that they are paid for rendering certain services to the public, and that they are under obligation to do their part toward conveying certain passengers and freights to certain places within a stated time. This obligation of moral contract may well be made in all cases a legal contract, so that it should become a penal offence, and one of a high magnitude, as it is in the case of mail trains, for any railroad train-men to leave their posts while their trains are in transit, or to refuse to work for present wages without giving reasonable warning to the managers of the road. Such legislation is so manifestly fair that it will be sustained by all fair-minded citizens.

And, on the other hand, this same class of men deserve to be treated with special magnanimity. They occupy positions of great responsibility and trust. They should be well paid. The men who as engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, through all weathers, exposures, and fatigues, facing hourly peril, are taking the enormous traffic and travel of the nation safely across the country in all directions, should not be bargained with in a mean or niggardly spirit. To their fidelity, endurance, presence of mind, accurate observation and memory, people commit their lives and property; and to the general faithfulness of these men to the momentous trusts devolving upon them society owes a debt more than money can pay. Some of them are men of heroic mould, standing in moments of impending calamity unflinchingly at their posts of duty, and calmly meeting death themselves in order to save the lives committed to their keeping. Workmen of this class deserve not only just but generous consideration. Their wages should bear some correspondence to the perilous trusts they so well discharge.

Mr. Carnegie, himself a large employer of labor, in his suggestive article on "The Labor Question"

in the April number of the *Forum*, speaks of the co-operative plan of business as a solution of the problem in the distant future, but for the present doubts if the plan could be made in a majority of cases a financial success, without a larger amount of business ability than could be supplied. He is, perhaps, correct in this doubt, though possibly he does not take sufficient account of the capacity of the method to cultivate business ability. But, however this may be, the remedy of the industrial trouble, in our opinion, lies in the direction of the co-operative principle. For the full financial success of that principle, the time may not be ripe. But, if only its humane and moral features were put into effect, even this much would go a long way toward allaying the disorder. That is, Capital and Labor, corporations and their workmen, need to be organized on a plan which should make it evident that they have not antagonistic, but common interests and aims,—that they are engaged in an enterprise where the obligations and services are mutual, and the ends identical; namely, the better welfare of all. There are some large manufacturing establishments where this community of interests and aims is made at once apparent, though the pecuniary principle of co-operation may not be applied. The proprietors manifest a friendly regard for their workmen by providing for them good schools, lectures, libraries, reading-rooms, social entertainments, an artistic and sanitary arrangement of their cottages and of the factory buildings, and sometimes even the agency of a wise and benevolent woman as adviser and helper in their domestic affairs. And this proof that the proprietors and managers are not aiming simply to get the most labor at the smallest pay, but have an interest in the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the workmen and their families, develops in the laborers a corresponding regard for their employers, and a just pride in the prosperity, order, and beauty of the establishments which they help to create. It is difficult to conceive of a strike occurring in such communities. If, in depressed times, the wages of labor go down a little, the workmen yet see that they are receiving something for themselves and children that is better than gold. And there is such confidence and trust between employers and employed that the latter know that the best thing pecuniarily will be done for them that the conditions of trade will allow.

Now at the head of such enterprises as these there are, it is true, men of exceptional character,—men who combine wise philanthropy with first-class business talent; and it may be too much to expect that all great corporations can be managed by such men in the present state of the world. But it is not too much to expect and urge that such examples as these should be accepted as pointing the way in which all corporations and their managers should endeavor to follow. It is not too much to ask that all capitalists and business men whatever should strive after some measure of philanthropy, should remember at least that there is a law of justice and a Golden Rule.

And with regard to both sides of the Labor Problem, if there be any sanctions of moral law, the capitalist has no right to say, "I can use this money which I have amassed as I please, without regard to the demands of justice and benevolence"; nor has the laborer any more right to say, "I can use these physical powers which I possess as I please, without restraint from reason and conscience." A higher law—the law of duty and of social order and brotherhood—says alike to both, "You must serve the welfare of mankind." Labor must learn to recognize not only its importance and dignity, but the obligation it is under to do in

anything the best piece of work possible. And Capital should recognize its function as an appointed instrumentality for promoting industrial civilization, mental culture, and moral elevation. When the truth shall be learned and obeyed that Labor and Capital are the two strong arms, each equally necessary to the other, through which the higher faculties of brain and heart are to organize the interests and activities of human society, then the secret will have been discovered by which these old antagonists will find themselves in peaceful and productive alliance.

W. J. POTTER.

ECCELESIASTICAL AID TO THE WOMAN'S CAUSE.

"The Primrose League," composed of several hundred thousand of the *élite* of English ladies, from duchesses to the wives and daughters of squires, led by the American wife of the English Tory leader, Lord Randolph Churchill, was organized during the last political campaign in England for purely electioneering purposes,—to canvass for votes, to bring all possible influence to bear on doubtful men to cause them to vote for the political candidates of the Conservative party, and to help elect such candidates in every reputable way known to party politics. Some Catholic ladies ventured to join this league, whereupon Bishop Bagshawe of that Church forbade the women of his diocese so to "unsex themselves" as to join the league. But the women promptly appealed from his decision to the temporal head of their Church, Pope Leo XIII., who, recognizing how much more likely women would be than men to help on any future political designs of the Roman see, shrewdly and wisely refused to forbid Catholic women liberty to join such political leagues, knowing that, should he so forbid, such decision might at some future time become an undesirable subject of discussion as a precedent.

If the question had been whether these Catholic ladies might work in some such organization in furtherance of their *own* political enfranchisement instead of for the benefit of male candidates for political offices and honors, it is more than doubtful if so benign a reply had been returned from "His Holiness." And, if such had been the question, and the reply of an acquiescent tenor, although still sensational, it would not have seemed so very strangely out of place for the women suffragists of New York to send an address of thanks to the pope, as they did in this case, nor for other sympathizers with the cause in other States to follow gushingly their New York sisters' lead, and to rush into print with enthusiastic praises over so small a matter. The following is a copy of this uncalled-for address to the pope:

Reverend Sir,—The Woman Suffrage Party of New York State, an organization devoted to the promotion of virtue, justice, and civilization, and in part composed of persons not members of the Church over which you preside, desire to express to you their warmest thanks for your just and beneficent decision in the case of the Primrose League of England, sanctioning women's taking part in politics. The impression has prevailed in America, despite the noble example of many Catholics, that the Catholic Church is hostile to woman's liberty. This grand decision will go far to remove this error, and to aid the uplifting of woman, and hence of mankind, throughout the world. No act of your predecessors for many generations will bear such great and glorious fruit. With kindest wishes and grateful hearts, we are yours in sincere respect.

(Signed) CLEMENCE L. LOZIER, M.D.,
Chairman State Committee.
HAMILTON WILCOX,
Chairman Executive Committee.
IDA LONICE DELDINE,
Secretary.

A friend, enclosing this address in a private letter, comments thus upon it,—a comment which, it is to be feared, will be made by many, both friends and enemies of the woman's movement: "It seems to me as if the 'suffragists' had 'put their foot in it' badly. I should like to see how 'you-uns' justify this 'appeal to Cæsar,'—or rather to the 'Beast.' The Catholic Church is hostile to woman's liberty, and to man's also, and will always be, world without end. No good can come out of that Nazareth. The pope is fooling you; and, if the 'cause' cannot get on without thanking his holiness Pope Leo XIII., it is in a very bad way, to my thinking."

But, fortunately, despite the mistakes made by many of its real friends, the "Cause" is not in any need of such downright pandering to ecclesiasticism as this. The inherent justice of its demands is sure to be recognized at last, even in the face of such inconsistent hindering occurrences as this address, which, however sincere and enthusiastic the spirit in which it was written and sanctioned, can only awaken regret among thoughtful adherents of the cause, and contempt among the foes it seeks to propitiate. As an instance of the latter, we quote the sneering editorial comment upon it of the *Brooklyn Examiner* (late *Catholic Examiner*), one of the most fair and favorable of Catholic publications in its treatment of the woman question. It says: "His Holiness should certainly be informed of the communication addressed to him by the 'Woman Suffrage Party of New York State.' The cares of the Sovereign Pontiff would be lightened by an occasional amusing episode of this character. The woman suffragists address him as 'Reverend Sir,' and thank him for his decision in the Primrose League as 'sanctioning women's taking part in politics.' Pope Leo will doubtless be deeply moved by this address."

In view of this case, and also of the constant truckling for ecclesiastical recognition of their claims displayed by a majority of the large number of women sufficiently advanced to understand their right to political equality,—a truckling spirit which makes them welcome to their platform the veriest weakling who can attach "Rev." to his name, in preference to the strongest pleaders or most intellectual thinkers among laymen,—it is high time that more strenuous attention be given to the release of the womanly intellect from the domination of the Churches. Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Gage, and others, have already sounded the alarm. Something definite ought to be done in this direction. Some such measures as recommended by Mrs. Stanton, in her letter to the Washington Convention of the N. W. S. A., should be adopted and carried into effect. Without intellectual and religious liberty, it seems now almost impossible to gain political liberty for women, or even to awaken among them the true inspiration of liberty in any direction.

Ecclesiasticism, for ages, in every Protean form it has assumed, while it has soothed and befooled woman with promise of mythical spiritual amends in a future world for all the hardship, injustice, and degradations incident to her earth life, has yet done nothing to make her earthly estate more desirable; has in no way strengthened her intellectual faculties; has not taught her self-dependence or self-assertion. Its primary lessons to woman have been obedience, submission, humility of spirit, self-sacrifice, and acknowledgment of inferiority to her brother man.

In spite of the delight with which many women suffragists welcome every half-way indorsement of their claims by their spiritual leaders, the number of "Reverends" whose names they can bring forward as active, public, acknowledged champions of their cause were, until the last decade, when it

became more popular, few and far between; while some of its most prominent opponents have been distinguished divines, such as Horace Bushnell, Dr. Morgan Dix, Dr. Dexter, Dr. Patton, Bishop Spaulding, and others as well known, who have taken some pains to put themselves distinctly upon record as opposed to it upon moral and Biblical grounds.

When the religious leaders of any faith or denomination take up this reform in downright earnest, and prove conclusively that there is nothing in the tenets of their religious beliefs in opposition to the broadest principles of true liberty or intellectual growth, nothing to prevent woman's advancement to her highest possible development in all directions, it will be then time enough to pour out grateful praises for the help which may, under such circumstances, be given. Until such time, let those who *have* really borne "the burden and heat" of the most needful reform of the day go on unfalteringly in their appointed work, which must be one of enlightenment as well as of liberty.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THE OPEN SECRET.

Dr. Montgomery's striking criticism of *Scientific Theism* reveals a significant and attractive man, acute in thought, deep in feeling, earnest in study, sincere to the core, and withal a soulful man, who, in thinking, can never for a moment be a mere theorizing machine. Upon one point, I fully agree with him, in opposition to the author he criticises; namely, in thinking the line between life and inorganic matter a line very strongly marked to the mind, if not to the eye. Of the criticism generally, I permit myself to say nothing, save that it merits study, and that those who read it once would do well to read it more than once. But, upon a single point, I will venture to raise a question, because it touches a matter of much interest, and because it will lead me to a partial confession of belief concerning the greatest of all matters.

Dr. Montgomery maintains, in opposition to Dr. Abbot, that we know nothing concerning the "immanent relational constitution" of things. It is to us, he says, utterly unintelligible. In support of this proposition, he brings forward, first of all, the case of a living body. This body is composed of a countless number of cells, each of which, according to the best authorities, is a complete individual, with a form and vital motion quite its own. How are these numberless individuals absorbed into the unity of a larger individual life? There they are, at once complete individuals and minute parts of an individual whose being comprehends them all, and is, nevertheless, a single identical life. What is the power that unites them, and how does it operate? We cannot say. The organic principle is there, and does its work; but we can never get it 'twixt thumb and finger or under the microscope, never in any way make it an object of direct inspection. It is a mystery, a wonderful mystery. Who has not many a time pondered and wondered over it? What mind has never been fascinated by that marvellous secret of life and growth, so near to us, so hidden from us? As I ask the question, a vivid recollection recurs. While toiling and moiling in the theological mill, with little content to my soul and little enlightenment of my mind, I one day strolled out into the open country to breathe the sweet air and look upon the fresh life of nature; for it was then early summer. In crossing a hill, I came upon a single buttercup; and the question rushed upon me, Whence is that, and what is it? Ah! whence and what? I

seemed looking down into an infinite depth of mystery, no blank unknowable, but living, pregnant, significant, voiceful, and a mystery. That little plant spoke to me as the theological tomes could not; and the impression of that hour remains with me in vivid freshness now, when so much of the same or more recent date has faded from my memory forever. Dr. Montgomery's mind has been drawn to the same point. What is that principle of organic unity? he asks; and the question remains unanswered, unanswerable. He cannot analyze it, cannot get behind the scenes to see it work, can see only what it does. Accordingly, he says that the immanent relational constitution of a living body is unknown and unknowable. Did he not mean to say that the producing and sustaining principle of this constitution rather than the constitution itself is unknown?

Here is Dalton's *Human Physiology*. Upon its publication, twenty-seven years ago, it was praised by the *Westminster Review* as the best compendious treatise upon the subject which had been put forth up to that date. This treatise, praised for its union of clearness and compactness, fills an octavo volume of six hundred and odd pages. What is treated of? The system of functional relations which has been discovered in the human body. Join to this work another on human anatomy, and, in the two together, we should see described the system of structural and functional relations found in the human body. Now, this system of structural and functional relation is the constitution of that body,—we may say its relational constitution, its constitution of relations, or simply its constitution, as we choose; for any constitution whatever is necessarily a system of relations. This constitution is immanent in the body; that is, it is developed by a process of growth, not imposed from without. It appears, then, that, of the immanent relational constitution of animals, we know just so much as is comprised in the sciences of anatomy and physiology. Yet Dr. Montgomery says that we know, and can know, nothing of the matter! What does this mean? It means that he is speaking of one thing and thinking of another. He speaks of the actual and largely known system of relations; but he thinks, and supposes himself to speak, of that which causes such a system to exist. He should see that the constitution or system of relations is one thing, its producing and sustaining principle quite another thing. The Constitution of the United States is an instituted system of political relations, easily examined; but its sustaining principle is in the minds and hearts of the American people or nowhere, and is not so easily examined. Very plainly, the integrating and animating principle of an organism is to its "relational constitution" what the spirit of a nation is to the grown forms of its political life. It is not itself a relation or system of relations, but the source whence relations arise and the power by which they are maintained. So far, therefore, Dr. Montgomery's criticism fails to touch at all the statements against which it was, by the writer's intention, directed. But he has argued beside the point, only because his searching eye—that must penetrate to the ultimate mystery—has looked quite through, instead of looking at, the said relational constitution.

Meantime, the unitive principle of an organism and the so-called individual selves are by no means so much estranged as has been assumed. There is certainly a degree of rhetorical exaggeration in Schleiden's assertion that the cells are "individual beings." If they were, indeed, such, if they were severally capable of an independent

existence and had grown independently, if each had its principle of life in itself as a separate being, and if they were, nevertheless, seized upon, subordinated, and merged in the unity of a larger individuality by a principle quite external to themselves, the case would then present not only a mystery, but an impervious puzzle. The fact, however, is a very different one; and no such puzzle affronts our intelligence. The cells have been called into existence by the power they obey, and could not live apart from it. Without that principle which makes the oak to be a living whole, not one of all its component cells could have been formed. Here, then, is clear truth in the seeming paradox that the whole makes the parts of which it is composed. The subtle organic principle builds itself out into material realization. It calls the cells into existence as partially individuated vital forms, in which it is the genetic, formative, and sustaining power. In the whole there is one life,—one life as the source equally of unity and differentiation. To begin, therefore, with the cells, in trying to think the life of an organism, is to begin just where Nature does not begin, to get the cart before the horse; and when one must, moreover, set up the component parts as "individual beings" in the full sense, he blocks the wheels of the cart, besides putting it in the wrong place.

What, now, is this principle of organic unity, this principle of life? I suppose it to be a particular mode of cosmic energy. That is the light in which the fact presents itself to my mind; and I shall not offend against modesty by saying how it presents itself, though it would ill become me, could it be becoming in any man, to dogmatize on such a matter. I will therefore go on to state my conception, begging the reader to understand that I am simply making my confession of belief, not calling upon him to believe the same. I conceive, then, that the cosmos—the builded and ordered universe we behold—is the manifestation of an absolute, pure energy, self-sustained and self-active forever. This is cosmic energy. Whether we are to attribute to it a divine character, and call it God, is a question which is here left wholly aside; but it is most certainly not blind, not undirected, for it issues in a structural order that at once amazes, almost confounds us with its complexity, and awes us with the grandeur of its unity. This energy, without subdivision, without prejudice to its oneness, distributes itself into an infinite number of definitely conditioned and derivative modes, lower and higher, rising rank above rank, a vast gradation, until the highest mode is reached in conscious spiritual being. Every organism and every natural form of existence is in its essence one of these specially conditioned and specially determined modes of cosmic energy. To every vital being, this energy imparts more or less its own secret of self-activity, though only as contingent and relative; and the imparted power of self-activity arrives at its highest point in the spirit of man. Much is implied in this,—very much; but, of its implications, I can here say nothing. Enough to have stated my conception in the simplest possible outline.

Now, an energy appears, and by its very nature can appear, only in its effect. It cannot appear otherwise, for the obvious reason that it exists as energy only in the doing of work. It exists only as it acts: its being and its action are one and the same, and to conceive of it as not acting is simply to conceive of it as not in existence. Gravitation is an energy manifested in the drawing together of material masses, and it obviously exists only in this manifestation. Who could conceive of gravitation as remaining when its

action had ceased? It and its action are the same fact. Heat is said to be a commotion among the component molecules of a body. What causes the molecular motion? An energy that can be seen only in its manifestation, because it exists only in such manifestation. To suppose the motion absent is to suppose the energy not there. In short, energy is all and only a working principle, to be seen in what it does, and not to be seen otherwise, since it exists only in the doing. It can never be made a separate object of observation, since, to make it such, we should have to find it out of its work, as a thing apart; that is, we should have to find it as not energy. Accordingly, if the organic principle of a tree or other organism be, as is here supposed, a specially conditioned mode of cosmic energy, we should not say that it is unintelligible, but rather that it is invisible. Even this is but partly true; for it is always visible in its effect, always to be seen in the relations and processes it establishes and sustains. But, if one would go behind its effect, to find it there and see how it acts, he will see nothing; for the energy is not behind its work, but in its work: it is not a thing that acts, but is itself action. Here I rest. The bottom fact everywhere is energy, cosmic energy, with its infinite variety of modes. By its very nature, it can appear only in what it does. I am content to see it as it appears, and not otherwise. Therefore, I do not ask how the mind can perceive objects. From my point of view, this is an idle question. Perception is an act or manifestation of mental energy. We know of the energy by its manifestation, but shall never get behind the manifestation, to see how it can manifest itself. Have done with this futile spying! Energy is in its work, and will never be seen out of its work. The question, how the mind perceives, resolves itself into this, How can percipient energy be such an energy? And this resolves itself into the farther question, How can cosmic energy be what it is and do what it does?

Cosmic energy is the "open secret" of the universe, hourly, instantly familiar to our experience, and an unsounded sea of mystery. The universe, in the great unity of its order and course of its evolutions, is a perpetual publication of it. Nature reveals it in all her infinite variety of form and expression, in things least and things greatest, parasites and planets, singing gnats and the heaven of stars, the shadow of a passing cloud and the constitution of a solar system; and it is told not only in all that the eye beholds, but in all that the mind thinks or the heart feels. But, so published, so proclaimed, it is a secret still, nor less a secret in our own breasts, as the very substance of our being, than at the remotest distance. What do I know of my own mind, my own spirit, myself? Everything and nothing. I think, feel, will, and so on; but what is it that thus acts? I, an irresolvable unit, bodiless as a mathematical point, which acts, knows that it acts, and knows itself only in its action. As the secret of the universe is hidden from me, so am I hidden from myself; and, without as within, the hidden is revealed, not a blank unknowable, but an open secret. The conscious spirit of man is also a mode of cosmic energy, the highest derivative mode known to us, and therefore is revealed even to itself only in and through what it does. That is, the nature of our self-knowledge conforms perfectly to the hypothesis here put forth; and, indeed, I as yet discover nothing which does not conform to it.

I think, then, that the principle of the universe is a pure eternal energy, self-nourished and directed; that every form of natural being is in its

essence a derivative and specially conditioned mode of this energy; that, however, these modes are not mere linear extensions of it, like Spinoza's modes of Absolute Being, or of its attributes, but are brought forth by a creative process, and are in some valid sense *other* than their original; that, by its very nature as energy, this can appear and be known only in its action and effect; and that, however qualified to follow intelligently the processes of its manifestation, we can never in any case say how it should be able to produce such effects. Accordingly, it is idle to ask how vital energy can do the work it is seen to do, or how the energy we call mind can perceive or think. Again, any attempt to predetermine the possibilities of cosmic energy in its creative action, as when, for example, one declares it impossible that mind should be free in willing, is not merely idle, but presumptuous. What that energy can do we learn only by observation of what it does: how it should be able to do this or that we never learn at all. The secret is forever open, forever a secret, always revealed, never exposed; and the human mind has equal occasion for boldness and for modesty.

D. A. WASSON.

"THE AGE OF CONSENT."

Will you allow me, as a friend of woman and of woman suffrage, to express my utter dissent from the effort now being made to raise the so-called "age of consent" for women to eighteen or even to twenty-one years? The whole attempt is based on a theory which seems to me utterly false and reactionary; to belong to the old tradition which made of woman a perpetual child. If she is so utterly weak and irresponsible a being as not to be held responsible in the slightest degree for her action at that age, the Oriental system of subjection is vindicated. To say that on the day before she is twenty-one she shall be held wholly passive where she connives at a sin, and that the day after she is capable of being a voter and a law-maker,—this seems to me the severest logical blow yet dealt at woman suffrage. Out of such wholly helpless and negative material, a voter cannot be made. If I believed in such a law, I should cease to believe in woman suffrage.

Nor can anything be shallower, as it strikes me, than the attempted analogy between the age of contract and the "age of consent." The act in question is not a contract, but a crime; and any child is held responsible before our laws for a crime. Moreover, a boy is as incapable of a contract as a girl; but the effect of such a law, if passed, would be to throw the whole penalty upon the boy, if they sinned conjointly, and to exculpate the girl altogether. What, then, becomes of the analogy of the "age of contract"? Why is not a boy entitled to the benefits of the analogy as well as a girl?

It must never be forgotten that the majority of those of both sexes who fall into profligate habits do so before the age of twenty-one; and, if the boy is often the seducer, he is also often the seduced. It is the general testimony of policemen, confirmed by the late investigations of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, in New York, that the ranks of prostitution are largely, though not wholly, supplied from families where girls are so reared as scarcely to know what virtue means. Where a girl so reared corrupts and misleads some inexperienced boy, far more ignorant than she is of the tremendous force of his own passions, it seems to me little short of wickedness to regard her as a mere victim, and send him to the State's prison for rape. If the fact of sex is to shield absolutely and at all ages from all moral responsibility, we must revert at

once to the safeguards of the harem and the zenana. It is not on this theory that an American society has been built up.

The question of the proper age at which responsibility should be recognized as beginning is no doubt a difficult one, and it must be determined partly by practical considerations. In my own judgment, sixteen should be the very latest. But the cardinal point always to be borne in mind is that, whatever of moral responsibility we remove from the young woman, is only so much more heaped upon the young man,—who may, in point of fact, be no older than she is.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

MILK FOR BABES.

Would you like a bit of reminiscence? Well, when a child of half a dozen years, I was a reader of the Bible and Catechism; and, I am happy to say, I still reverently read the former. I recited the whole of several catechisms, and will give you a specimen of the poetry I then learned, which will not budge from memory's tablet. It was a dialogue between Christ, Youth, and the Devil, climaxed by Death, who at the last steps to the front; and the following lines are what he has to say:—

"I am come, Youth, to take thy breath,
And carry thee to the shades of Death.
No mercy on thee I can show.
Thou hast thy God offended so.
Thy soul and body I'll divide:
Thy body in the grave I'll hide,
And thy dear soul in hell must be,
With devils to eternity."

Now, Yankee children were keen little polemics, smart, if not very profound. I remember I used to recite the whole of this terrible dialogue; and, very early,—my head did not come so high as the old-fashioned balustered pew,—I entered my little protest, greatly embarrassed by an unlucky lisp, by saying,—

"That ith what ith thaid in the book, but I don't think tho."

This being carried off by Death and the devil did not much trouble me, for I persisted in declaring *I was good*. I was not afraid of the devil, because I did no "wicked thing"; but I have seen children, whom I sought in those days to bring round to a proper state of moral feeling by reciting the lines to them, with suitable emphasis, turn deadly pale and scream with terror.

I compare the children of our day with the children of the long ago,—children who now never hear the obnoxious noun mentioned to ears polite and us who were taught to think him always at our elbow, and were kept busy in ordering him into the background; and, really, we devil-trained children appear somewhat to advantage.

Children of my own age brought the difficulties that exercised their infant minds to me for solution; and one little girl once came to me, and asked, with wide, solemn eyes,—

"Does the devil ever try to pull you out of bed?"

"Pull me out of bed!" I exclaimed with a shudder. "No, indeed: I never tell lies, nor be disobedient."

"Well, he tried to pull me out last night, because I told a lie; but I screamed, and mother stopped him."

Now, I never profanely doubted the existence of such a being; but I believed my great righteousness was my protection from his power.

Dr. Potter, in an excellent mention of the tendency to crime in the modern child, very justly imputes it to the sensual, excitable stories of the dime novel kind. It is not dime literature alone: it is the kind of stuff tolerated in the leading

dailies and weekly sensational papers, the latter filled with most atrocious and demoralizing illustrations. The boy and the girl of to-day are educated to crime by these pictures of men distorted with the vilest emotions, and women in deadly peril; and all nobleness, gentleness, and manliness are scattered to the winds.

Now, the headings of our newspaper paragraphs are in the last degree atrocious, stimulating, indecent, and misleading. The advertisements, also, ought to exclude the best of the dailies from the household. The young mind questions the meaning of what it reads, and it is impossible to answer it. Our one weekly paper of a secular kind, which came to the fireside, the *Portland Argus*, still alive and alive like to be, and the *Boston Recorder*, now the *Congregationalist*, contained none of this objectionable stuff in any shape. And there were not many murders in those days, no divorces, and never a suicide; while the humbuggery of clap-trap and nostrums had not expanded into the vast proportions they have reached in this day of shams.

Everybody believed in the devil, but was trained to resist him and all his works. It was a not unwholesome check. We children never heard about him except from the Sunday-school and pulpit; and, as high moral qualities were the great specified antidote to his power, parents and teachers were apt freely to interlard their homilies with what would follow evil courses.

If I were to publish a daily paper, I should have one column devoted to "The Devil and his Works." All else should be clean and tender and hopeful; that is, human.

I read in one of the papers that a boy of nine years was lately lynched somewhere in the West; and run-away girls, suicidal infants of both sexes, and incarnated devils in the shape of boys are not infrequent.

I write, questioning is it best altogether to topple down a power, a god, a dual, a rival in evil to the divine beneficence, till we have reached a substitute, or something that shall be an equal check to the disorders of our social system.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

OUR contributor, Mr. Kennedy, in his very readable article, last week, on the biography of Longfellow, spoke of the poet, in respect to habits of pecuniary liberality, as being "close-fisted, as is well known." If this be well known,—which we did not know,—then it is all the more important that any facts to the contrary should be brought to light. One such fact came under our immediate knowledge. A number of years ago, a young woman, who had struggled up against poverty and the influences of a shiftless, wretched home to the point of appearing on the platform as a public reader, called on Mr. Longfellow, at his home, for advice and aid. She had no more claim upon him than any other of the numberless strangers who went to him for a like purpose. But, on listening to a specimen of her reading in his library, he was convinced that she had genuine talent, and deserved to be encouraged. He at once invited a company of friends to hear her at his house, secured invitations for her before other parlor audiences, and bought and distributed a considerable package of tickets to a public hall reading in Boston. After a few years, the reader's health failed. Consumption had seized her. She returned to Boston from a hard winter in the West, too sick for further work, and with little money in her pocket. She had no home; but, through the aid of friends, a place was secured for her in a hospital. Mr. Longfellow was informed of her condition, and went to see her. Learning that she

had no funds, he made himself responsible for half of her board in the hospital (\$5 a week), another friend paying the other five. This continued for several months. She was then removed to another hospital, where Mr. Longfellow paid the full board (\$10 a week) so long as the lady lived, which was four or five months. Only a very few persons knew of this generosity. May it not be that there were other cases where he was doing similar kindnesses, though they were not "well known"? W. J. P.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will open on Thursday evening, May 27, with a business session in Fraternity Hall, Parker Memorial Building, corner Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston, at 7.45, for hearing reports, electing officers, and considering any resolutions that may be offered. The executive committee authorize the presentation for rejection or adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, according to which present Article I. would be divided into two Articles, which would read thus:—

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

The other articles to remain as now, but to be numbered respectively III., IV., V., and VI.

The public convention will be held as usual in Parker Memorial Hall, Friday morning and afternoon, May 28, and the festival that evening in the Meionaon. Further particulars hereafter.

F. M. HOLLAND, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

REFERRING to the element of danger to Judaism, a well-known rabbi says, in the *Jewish Reformer*, "When King Jannæus felt his end approaching, he advised his queen Saloma to make peace with the Pharisees. For said he (Sota 22b), Fear neither the Pharisees, nor those that are not Pharisees, but the 'dyed ones who resemble the Pharisees.' The danger lurks with the pseudo-Radicals, and, I may add, with the pretended Conservatives."

It is evident from their writings and speeches that many who, in their desire for the protection of young women from deliberate and experienced seducers, have advocated raising the so-called "age of consent" to eighteen and even to twenty-one years, have overlooked some aspects of the subject considered in Mr. Higginson's timely article printed on another page. On this subject, as on others, there is danger of going, in theory at least, from one extreme to another.

OF *A Study of Primitive Christianity*, by Lewis G. Janes, Mr. Chadwick thus writes: "A wonderfully clear and strong expression of the higher criticism of the New Testament and the origins of Christianity. . . . No mere compilation, but the outcome of an independent mind working freely upon a mass of materials to which few, except the professional scholar, can give the attention they deserve. If I am not mistaken, Dr. Janes has brought to these materials a singularly just and patient mind, which has saved him from the 'falsehood of extremes,' and enabled him 'to see things

as they are.' It is, for me, an admirable feature of this book that it does not apprehend the life of Jesus and the early Christians as any merely historical problem, but demands at every step to know what there is here to help us in the storm and stress of our own times,—philosophy and ethics, and sociology and religion."

REFERRING to a paragraph in *The Index* of April 8, which, while praising Mr. F. A. Hinckley's work in Providence, stated that it was done without the recognition of his society by the churches of the city, Mr. Hinckley writes: "When several years ago my right to join parties in marriage was questioned, it was a committee of ministers, appointed by ministers, consisting of one Unitarian, one Calvinist, and one Episcopalian, who went to the State House in my behalf and in behalf of the society I have the honor to represent, and turned the scale in our favor. That, surely, was a recognition both in spirit and letter. More than this, my relations with the ministers of our city have long been of the most cordial kind. I meet them in various reformatory and philanthropic associations; they greet me on the street as a brother. However wide apart we may be in our theological conceptions, I feel that I have their respect as an honest man, trying to do an honest, ethical work. I am not aware that my religion hurts my standing, in the least, in this community."

Most all that Mr. Hinckley says can be said by Liberals, generally, living in the larger communities. That his personal relations with the clergy are pleasant, and that much of his work—the same as they are now doing—is appreciated by them, has not been questioned. By the remark that his society was not recognized by the churches of the city was meant, of course, not that Mr. Hinckley or the members of his society were held otherwise than in respect and esteem, but that the radical principle and work of the society were not regarded by the churches with favor and as deserving encouragement and support. It was, of course, kind in the clergy to help Mr. Hinckley, as a minister, obtain the legal right to join parties in marriage; but this was no part of the work for which a free thought or free religious society stands. Indeed, it was rather a concession on the part of Mr. Hinckley to ecclesiasticism in acknowledging, contrary to the principle of State secularization, that the State can justly authorize the legalization of marriage, a civil contract, by a minister, by virtue of his religious office or profession.

At the annual meeting of the Cosmian Society at Florence this month, the old officers were re-elected, and Mrs. Elizabeth Powell Bond was rechosen resident speaker. After Mr. W. H. Spencer's term expired, the society returned to its original method of employing a resident speaker who should occupy the desk one-half of the time, leaving the remaining Sundays for other speakers, "thus combining," as the executive committee in their report say, "the transient or itinerant with the resident system, and thereby meeting the various needs of the members." This course the committee declare to be more in harmony with the spirit of the society's platform, and a return to it has been followed by the best results. "It is found that introducing different speakers from time to time, instead of disintegrating, serves to cement us in a closer unity." The report says that Mrs. Bond, as resident speaker and superintendent of the Sunday-school, "has officiated in both capacities to the entire satisfaction of the society. She has shown great devotedness to her work; and the result is a growing popularity,

prompting your committee to recommend the continuance of Mrs. Bond in the same office for another year." "It is due Mrs. Bond to say that she has done more for the society than her agreement required. In the absence of speakers, she has conducted the meetings without extra charge, saving to the society over \$100. We are happy to say that, under present arrangements, a deeper interest has been shown in supplying the necessary pecuniary aid than under our former speaker, so that the report of our treasurer will be found more buoyant than formerly." Sunday evening meetings, arranged by members of the society, the exercises consisting of music, recitations, and reading, were held during the winter. The report concludes with these ringing words of confidence and cheer: "Your committee feel that we all have cause for congratulation that at no time since our organization have we had so good reason for believing in the perpetuity of our society as at the present. Fortunately, we are organized on a basis sufficiently broad to secure the full enjoyment of all the virtues of which the churches can boast; while, at the same time, being relieved from all those clogs with which the Church is burdened, in the religious rites and dogmas borrowed from an effete paganism, we seem, as it were, to have risen into a clearer and serener sky, where, as on the wings of the morning, we have the unlimited range of the bright expanse. Let us, on this twenty-third anniversary, be baptized anew with the Cosmian spirit, and henceforth move onward, in perfect unity, with renewed zeal to accomplish all the good we can for ourselves and our fellow-beings in the inculcation of virtue and intelligence and the highest improvement of all our social relations."

JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES, who died at Niagara Falls last week at the age of seventy-five, and who was best known in connection with the Oneida Community, with its system of complex marriage, was born at Brattleboro, Vt. He studied theology at Andover Seminary, intending to enter the Congregationalist ministry; but careful study of the Scriptures satisfied him that the Christian churches had all departed from the teachings of Christ, and that it was his mission to restore the religious communistic life, as enjoined by Christ and his disciples. He began preaching at New Haven in 1834. At Putney, Vt., where he preached ten years, his disciples were known as "perfectionists." In 1845, he fully declared his scheme of religious communism, which was based on four principles,—reconciliation with God, perfect salvation from sin, equality of man and woman, community of labor and its rewards. An essential part of the plan was complex marriage,—the union of men and women for offspring only, subject to the decision of the community, and all actions and relations to be matters of public criticism, from which none should be exempt. This brought trouble upon the perfectionists at Putney, when they began their experiment in 1846; and they were forced to leave. With the history of the Oneida Community, founded in 1848, the public are somewhat familiar. About ten years ago, outside opposition and internal dissension compelled the society to abandon its system of pantagamy as a practice, although it was still adhered to as the ideal of the future social condition. Noyes went to Canada, where he found opposition too strong to be overcome, but not so strong as to prevent his planning to establish a community near his home at Niagara Falls. Mr. Noyes was undoubtedly a sincere man, of a strong religious nature and philanthropic disposition, as well as of intellectual ability and considerable organizing power and business capacity.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

THE "UNKNOWABLE POWER."

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL, M.A.

"The Earth goes on the Earth, glittering with gold;
The Earth goes to the Earth sooner than it would;
The Earth builds on the Earth castles and towers;
The Earth says to the Earth, 'All this is ours.'"

—In Melrose Abbey.

It was a terrible spectre, during the ages of monastic gloom, this fact that the body had weight and shape and limitations of strength and was simply a material object. Nor has the notion lost its force, however it may its ghastliness, to a great multitude of perplexed ones, since we have learned so much more clearly its mechanical nature in the lever-action of its bone-and-muscle adjustments, the chemical operation of the digestive juices, the voltaic-battery structure of the brain, the similarity of nervous currents to electrical, and the whole family of facts which show us that the body, from crown to heel, is, and acts as, simply an elaborate machine. But, surely, there are some differences between it and an ordinary machine? Let us examine those differences, together with their likenesses.

The principal likeness between the body and the machine is that each is an *organism*; that is, a structure consisting of parts which interwork for a common purpose or purposes. The machine may be a large printing-press: its common purpose, then, is to turn out printed sheets, and perhaps to drop them, neatly folded, into a box.

The parts of the body likewise interwork. One of their common purposes is to digest the substances we take as food. Another such purpose is locomotion. But the great general purpose, to which all subordinate ones contribute, in the uninstructed natural man, is the preservation of the type; that is, the preservation of the organism itself, and the transmission of its like.

This purpose the organism is adapted to effect mechanically. It might be done unconsciously just as well as it is done. Suppose a stone thrown at such an unconscious body. Its eye would be affected by the rays of light coming from the

stone; these would send a current to the optic centres; the effects of similar previous occurrences would have opened thence certain arcs connecting with motor nerves leading to the muscles of the legs; and the legs would leap out of the way, as those bodiless frog's legs leap in Galvani's experiment.

Thus, we have the principal likeness between the body and a "mere" machine. The principal differences are certain mental facts. One is that I am conscious of much that occurs in my body. Another is that I—or my mind—seem able to guide its special movements as I please; in other words, that, ordinarily, it acts toward my pleasures and away from my pains.

Now, how is this compatible with what was said before? If the body is a machine, will it not move where it tends? and must not the mind merely follow its tendencies, *volens volens*? Sometimes, this occurs. But take a case where it does not occur. For instance, you yourself can walk to the door if you please, or you can stay where you are if you please. There your body does not move in spite of your desires. Of that case,—and it exemplifies most cases of willing,—one of two explanations is true: either the body is governed by your pleasure or else both body and mind here work together in simple parallelism.

But pleasure is only a state of consciousness, a feeling. It is not a weight or a chair or a force or a nervous current. It is utterly unlike any of those external things, and cannot act upon them or upon what is like them,—the body. Imagine in your mind some strong pleasure, if you wish to test this. Being a simple state of consciousness, it cannot as such stir anything. This is one of the most important points in psychology to understand thoroughly, and cannot be better put than by Dr. Alexander Bain, of Aberdeen: "Mental states and bodily states are utterly contrasted: they cannot be compared, they have nothing in common except the most general of all attributes, degree and order in time. . . . When I am studying a brain and nerve community, I am engrossed with properties exclusively belonging to the object or material world: I am at that moment (except by very rapid transitions or alternations) unable to conceive a truly mental fact, my truly mental condition. Our mental experience, our feelings and thoughts, have no extension, no place, no form or outline, no mechanical division of parts; and we are incapable of attending to anything mental until we shut off the view of all that. Walking in the country in spring, our mind is occupied with the foliage, the bloom, and the grassy meads, all purely objective things. We are suddenly and strongly arrested by the odor of the May-blossom: we give way for a moment to the sensation of sweetness. For that moment the objective regards cease; we think of nothing extended; we are in a state where extension has no footing; there is to us place and space no longer. Such states are of short duration,—mere fits, glimpses; . . . but, while they last and have their full power, we are in a different world."*

We come back, therefore, to the second explanation, that matter and consciousness here work together in parallelism. But something must cause this parallelism. What is that something? It acts for man's pleasures and away from his pains. It cannot be a mere conscious state. And it cannot be a mere unconscious matter, because it acts with an understanding of his pleasures and his pains.

One thing is certain. There must be a deeper being than either the phenomena of matter or of

* Paper on "The Correlation of Nervous and Mental Forces."

mind somewhere concerned in the affair. It may be that man's own individual nature is the deeper being, and contains, unknown to him, capabilities of feeling and acting and co-ordinating the two. Or else the deeper being concerned is some greater, who knows him and knows what pleasure is, and that he can feel it, and can and does arrange for him.

As to his individual nature, so far as he is conscious of it, being the agent required, that seems unlikely, because its area of power is so limited. Many of the acts which tell for his pleasure are out of the reach of his will,—for instance, the operations of the heart and of the arterial muscles which equalize the circulation of his blood,—and most of the arrangements for him were made long before his birth.

What, then, is this power?

Let us characterize it somewhat more. We have seen that it is a something which acts in much for the individual. In his acts of conscious will, it acts in the individual. Does it not look as if mind and body—consciousness and matter—were here but different sides or phenomena of a reality which is the reality of both, and that his true self is not known to his ordinary consciousness?

But a great part of the working of the power is not directed to the individual's pleasure specially. It is directed to that of others, even in the individual himself. For one thing, in the arrangements for the continuation of species, it looks beyond him to the race that is to come after him. Secondly, take that principle running through evolutionary history which constitutes the commonest conditions of existence, those which give most natural pleasure, as the colors of the sky, the grass, the trees, the mountains, and the forms of one's own species. In intellectual altruistic action, again, the power impels the man to a voluntary self-devotion to the happiness of others, directly against his personal pleasure, and often at much individual pain.

The power, therefore, is not of the individual, but has a field of purposes including all pleasure-feeling creatures. (I am using the word "pleasure" as typical of feelings in general.) And the family of such creatures grades all the way down to simple protoplasmic masses, and carries its analogies beyond these even to colloids, as Graham* shows, and thus into the inorganic lifeless world, so that no limit can be logically fixed where the latent feeling ends.

Again, a curious conclusion can be drawn regarding all these creatures which alike possess a conscious nature. Their likeness and certain other circumstances, such as some of those above mentioned, point to a common base. Of course there is no difficulty about their having a common origin,—that is to say, what might be called a common base in time; but there are reasons, also (which, however, might be cumbersome here), why this ought to point to a common *simultaneous* base.

There is very great significance in the power's action for pleasure. In the first place, pleasure is the one thing we care about, of all things. Furthermore, it and pain are the facts of our true internal being, so far as our self-consciousness pierces. What strikes them strikes into our very core. Our powers of knowledge lead into them, our will starts out from them, and both subserve them. If the power had worked to produce some mere idea or some principle of mere matter, there would have been no special significance. We care nothing for those things except as they produce pleasures or pains. We can see no real design in them except as they do so.

The only thing that will show a budding of the

* See appendices to Spencer's *Biology*.

physical and the mental together in one united plan for one united purpose, as apart from a mere accidental principle of union, is the action of the physical for something mental; and this can only be thought of pleasures and pains.

Furthermore, to act so persistently for pleasure, the power must understand pleasure. It does act persistently so. All the laws of feeling look toward a continuation of pleasure, the law of pleasurable activity, for example, which is the arrangement that pleasure is associated with the most frequently recurring conditions of our activities and those which tend to permanence of the material organism, as also the laws of the withdrawal of consciousness from an injured frame.

I use the word "understand" at once as part of the theory I am about to state. We find in the world a tendency of the unknown to resemble the known in broad characteristics. Mill, the great logician, shows in fact that this is the basis of reasoning by inference.* We are more and more every day finding out that the universe known and unknown is a unity. The probability is, therefore, in favor of the power knowing pleasure in somewhat the way we know it rather than in some totally unlike way. Why should not this power fall into a place in the unity of the universe? If our body and our consciousness are but outer shows of our deeper individual self, that which wills through and in all matter and in and for all consciousness will be a being uniting the whole of these in its essence, they and ourselves being but parts and outer shows of it. If it acts so distinctly for the pleasure of all, just as the individual tends to will for his own pleasure, then, on the same analogy, the inner fact of the whole universe, so far as our consciousness can conceive it, should be feeling. And the rule of action of the whole universe, by a law as wide-spread as matter, must be toward pleasure. And if men are but parts of the general universe, so considered, they obey the biological laws of parts. Their individual consciousness will be to that of the whole as the consciousness, say, of the individual cells in their own brain substance. Mankind and all flesh upon this globe must obey, united, simply the laws of development and function of an organ of the great Organism; and the function of this organ is evidently ethical. And, finally, we have the important deduction that man, so far as he goes, is an *expression* of the universe; that the universe, therefore, is intelligent and fatherly. Has not anthropomorphism, then, some truth, after all?

Our leading quest—next to the performance of our function, duty—ought surely to be the study of this Great One. That it can be clearly and simply seen and proved is a great step in religion. Clearest of all is it to be discovered in the parallelisms of states of physique with states of feeling, —a large field for exploration. This field leads on to all associations of states of physique with states of consciousness of every kind, and wherever there is a different state of consciousness there is a different phase of matter. Thence, the call is onward to a study of the organic structures of the universe, and also of the phenomena of objective existence. Everything, in fact, will contribute something. There is no lack of material.

The theologian theists have done much good work in the pleasure field, mostly on the questions of Order and Design. They have followed, however, rather instincts than any deep-reaching system, because hampered by traditional doctrines. On the other hand, recent scientific thinkers, while they neglect this field, reach the conclusion from other directions. Herbert Spencer arrives at his "Unknowable Energy" by recognizing a single

Source behind all the phenomena of force, matter, and consciousness,—infinite, eternal, and either personal or higher than a personality, and unknowable in the sense of being "no more representable in terms of human consciousness than human consciousness is representable in terms of a plant's functions."* Huxley has lately followed him.† Fiske, the author of the *Cosmic Philosophy*, concludes the same: "There exists a Power to which no limit in time or space is conceivable; to which all phenomena, as represented in consciousness, are manifestations, but which we can know only through the manifestations." Schopenhauer ascribes all to Will permeating the universe. Schelling reached the idea as a common reality including both Subject and Object in one. Hartmann and those from whom he draws his chief ideas approach it from an examination of unconscious and instinctive acts. Even John Stuart Mill, just before the development of our evolutionary methods, was led to see some kind of such a power crudely given by ordinary induction, of which he was *par excellence* the master. "A Being of great but limited power, how or by what limited we cannot even conjecture; of great and perhaps unlimited intelligence, but, perhaps, also more narrowly limited than his power, who desires and pays some regard to the happiness of his creatures, but who seems to have other motives of action which he cares more for, and who can hardly be supposed to have created the universe for that purpose alone." A learned German-American ‡ has just given to the world a system, starting from the dualism found in Kant's writings, which evolves the idea from still a different point of view. Spencer and his fellows, though on the simplest track, have been properly criticised for laying too much stress on the "unknowable" aspect. They would not have been so likely to do this, had they started from the tendency to act toward pleasure instead of that of the large quantities and more mysterious forces of physics. It is in the hope of calling attention to the neglect of this department that the present paper is written. Research in it may yet reveal as striking facts and fruitful laws as physical research has done. We cannot, it is true, know the power directly, just as we cannot know things in themselves; but we can follow much of its effects among phenomena. Inference leads us as legitimately into that world beyond sense as into the unexplored regions of the world of sense itself. Far in their *extent* beyond our power to grasp as are the attributes of the Great One, still science is demonstrating the *directions* of lines that lead to it; and the fact that we may never comprehend more than a part of it is no sound reason for restraining our researches in those directions for partial knowledge.

Why, for example, may I not ask such a question as this: "If the Universal Spirit be my true self and that of all my fellows, is not exact justice a necessary law of existence? for, if I injure my neighbor, do I not hurt myself precisely so much?" "On the same basis, What are rights?" Or why may I not ponder on the apparent truth that different phenomena, when traced into the realm outside of consciousness, do not become confused at once into one homogeneous ultimate? A fact which the constancy of the parallel associations between given states of mind and matter, and the reappearance into consciousness in accordance with regular conditions of states which had disappeared from it, amply prove. Besides its unseen unities, that world is a world of differences corresponding largely to the differences of this.

* *Essays. First Principles.* Controversy with Harrison.
† Controversy with Mr. Gladstone.

‡ Dr. Paul Carus, *Monism and Metiorism*, New York, 1885.

How like are the suggestions of the whole subject to the (unscientific, however) doctrine of the Tao-te-king, the mystic Foist book contemporary with Confucius! "Immaterial, unchangeable, all-pervading, unwearied, I have no name for it. If I would speak of it, I call it the Tao. . . . All things are born of Tao; by its power upheld, by its substance formed, by its forces perfected. . . . "The origin of the world is the mother of all. Whoso has found his mother knows himself to be a child, and knowing this and returning to his mother, though the body perish shall not be harmed."*

CORRESPONDENCE.

TWO VIEWS OF CHRISTIANITY.

My dear Mr. Perrin:—

My weekly *Index* came to hand yesterday, with extra numbers containing your very interesting article pertinent to my book. I thank you most heartily for the warmth of your commendations and the terms of estimation in which you rank me and my work. And yet I beg you will not think me *cranky* and unreasonable, if I tell you in what respect such a notice as yours is not serviceable. You have done, in the same friendly spirit and from the same point of view, just what my good friend, the late Elizur Wright of Boston, did. He hailed my book as the *coup de grâce* of all religion and all theism, and taunted all believers with cowardice for not daring to read or being able to answer it. Of course, this was tying a tin kettle to the tail of this poor dog, and sending the whole kennel after him down the street. What I wanted was a candid hearing among the orthodox, by whom I had been trained; and such a notice only warned them to avoid my book as they would a mad dog.

Nor do I think your taunt of illiteracy any more effective, and that, too, mainly because it is not quite just. I think you are right in concluding, as I do, that a man who keeps a corner of his mind darkened, and allows it to become the depository of all kinds of obsolete and dilapidated superstitions, which, with some not wholly unenviable sentiment, he continues to cherish, as an old girl sometimes does the dolls of her childhood, is not a completely enlightened man and not wholly free in the range of his critical inquiry. But, on the other hand, we have known many fine and even fair minds who, controlled, as we must allow, by a sentiment of faith and reverence that we respect, interpose a *thus far and no further* to all investigation into the grounds of beliefs they have come to consider ethically sanitary and wholesome. So we have been obliged to acknowledge that high and even critical intelligence is quite compatible in certain persons with a superstition that to us seems quite puerile. Then, too, while such men continue to instruct our youth, and make the books that mould the opinions of our age, and wear the titles and distinctions that are awarded, or are presumed to be, only to the best scholarship, it is no use for a small squad of us to cry out, "Dunce!" in any average assembly of their admiring disciples; for we shall only be drowned by the overwhelming plaudits of the faithful, and might be justly kicked out for the indiscretion of our ill manners.

No: we are pretty shabby fellows not to receive with open-eyed, open-mouthed docility the spoon-victuals of doctrine from those who have been ordained to instruct our ignorance; but hitherto, as a class, we have behaved well, and not made ourselves the subjects of discipline for the offensive or ruffianly manner in which we have made confession of our heresies.

You speak of my book as an attack upon Christianity and an irrefutable proof that it is a false religion. This proposition cannot be assented to, unless you greatly restrict the definition of Christianity. If you mean by Christianity the narrow dogmatism of the Catholic *propaganda* of to-day or the unmodified Orthodoxy of Old and New England, as expressed in the Monday lectureship of Joseph Cook, then I have attacked it, and shown the falsity of its fundamental teachings. But, to me, Christianity is a genuine historical development, and embraces the whole mental

* S. Johnson, *Oriental Religions: China*, pp. 873, 874, Boston, 1877.

movement from Jesus and Paul through Augustine, Luther, Knox, and Wesley to Channing, Emerson, Parker, Martineau, Strauss, and Renan. As, when we speak of chemistry or astronomy or geology, we have in mind the whole progress of those sciences, from the first tentative experiments and imperfect speculations to the most recent discoveries of our own times, but always mean chiefly the best accredited theories and the best verified generalizations of the latest investigators, so, when we speak of Christianity, we embrace the doctrines of illiterate monks and scholastic logicians and metaphysicians, indeed; but we mean chiefly Christianity in its best and broadest expression in the most capacious and cultivated modern minds. So I think my own poor speculations and studies are not to be charged as antagonistic to Christianity, but as a part of its own natural growth and modification.

Coming from the orthodox into the Unitarian ideas, I naturally went to the extreme left, as most recruits from that quarter do. I found the Unitarians borne along everywhere by the all-involving sweep of scientific inquiry,—the young, generally, joyfully giving themselves up to the current, and saying that the movement was jolly, the old paddling for the eddies, and with genuine fright clinging to every bush or stone that gave them a holding place. As a whole, their position seemed to me woefully illogical. They affirmed the humanity of Jesus, and yet they deferred to him as God. He was a man, but without the limitations of humanity and without its infirmities. If this man is my exemplar, my master, the sovereign of my soul, why stickle with the orthodox about his rank? Better be the servant of God than of a man. Since I do not regain my liberty, what have I profited by my liberal creed? Just so about the Bible. It was neither written nor dictated by God taught Channing; but it is infallibly true, nevertheless, and the process of painfully consulting it at every emergency of conduct or duty went on just as it did before. We continued to make a fetish of it. We read it as an act of devotion and merit. We solemnly droned its obsolete texts, and put into phraseology—sometimes serious and sententious, sometimes wise and weighty, but sometimes political, sometimes poetical, sometimes cynical, sometimes cabalistic, sometimes sophistical, sometimes even indelicate—the better meanings of our own better thoughts, and called it the Word of God.

Now, what I wanted to do was this,—to ascertain what is the genuine tradition concerning the origin of our religion. What, as near as it can be now ascertained, is what the world received from Jesus, from Paul, and his collaborators? These inquiries naturally led out to the investigation of these questions: What was Jesus? What were his great life purposes, as disclosed by his words and acts? What opinions did he hold and teach, and how far has the "consensus of the competent" accepted them, how far modified or repudiated them? He belonged to a peculiar people, in whom the religious instinct was marvellously developed, as was the art instinct among the Greeks and the political instinct among the Romans. From them, he derived the idea of a regeneration, a restoration, a convulsion, which was to establish a reign of righteousness in the world. This idea we now see to have no other basis than the contrast between conditions of misery, nearly universal, with hopes and aspirations that the sanguine imagination has ever busied itself in stimulating; but we also see how natural was its development in the minds of disappointed patriots, like the prophets, whose ideal of earthly good was so contrasted with the unusually sad fortunes of their own race. This idea Jesus accepted, and ultimately surrendered himself to it; and its legitimate result was, just as he foresaw and intended, his own violent death. Now, all the thaumaturgic, the prophetic, the world-destroying part of the work of Jesus, not being in the plan of God, came to a complete end and failure. But, inasmuch as Jesus himself belonged to the high order of men, of whom are Zoroaster, Moses, Confucius, Socrates, Buddha, and Mohammed, and as he had taught and exemplified a system of ethics, a philosophy of living, of universal and everlasting validity, all that, being in the plan of God, survived, and, though not original with Jesus, received from him a new codification and a new emphasis, and is now to be regarded as the kernel and substance of Christianity, or rather of that universal religion of which Christianity is one of the forms and expressions. Historically, though the kingdom of heaven, as held in the strong

hope of Jesus, has not been realized, his marvellous courage in enduring his crucifixion, which resulted from his assumption of the office of the Messiah, and the belief in his resurrection were the two wings upon which the enthusiasm of the Christian faith has been uplifted and has been borne down the ages.

The enterprise and fate of old John Brown are an admirable illustration of the work and relation of Jesus. Brown's scheme of a slave insurrection, a righting, in bloody vengeance, of the long wrongs of slavery, was all fanatical, impractical, and even criminal. It all came to naught, and ended in his execution. But Brown's devotion to his wicked project, the love of man that prompted it, the high sense of duty that inspired it, the sublime courage of his suffering,—become thus a martyrdom,—the ages will admire, and at the same time see in his scheme and its defeat the bringing on of that judicial trial by battle for which the insolent slave system was waiting, and by which it was condemned and punished.

Now, you see all that mythologic conception of a Messiah, a kingdom of heaven, a separation of righteous and wicked, may be disregarded,—cancelled from perfected Christianity just as alchemy is cancelled from chemistry, astrology, and the Ptolemaic and Platonic theories from astronomy,—and we shall have left a purely ethical religion, none the less valuable in that a part of the ethics of Jesus his own followers have set aside as impractical. This puts Christianity upon the same basis as the other great world religions, as a genuine product of the universal religious sentiment, an aspiration of man toward God rather than a revelation or inspiration of God toward man.

I hope I have fairly vindicated my claim to be not an antagonist to Christianity, but a worker within the pale of its large ideas. Believing, as I do, that it is a purely human and historical development, and that the sentiment that created it is greater than it, I strive still further to study and develop this sentiment. While I believe that Christianity is a human work, I do not shut my eyes to its incompleteness and deficiencies. But, with all these, I think it is better than any other religion, at least for all these Western peoples. For Asia and Africa, I can but think, if Christianity—native to one, and first offered to the other—had been better, it would have held its place, as it did not. I love my religion, as, on the whole, the best we have been able to devise, just as I love my form of government and my constitution,—not that they are ideally perfect nor capable of immense improvement, but because they are better than other forms of government and constitutions, at least for free and enlightened men.

More than this, I do not think it is wise or safe either for individuals or peoples to try to live without the sanctions and the authority of religion; and the experiment will be sure to end disastrously. I see signs everywhere of the weakening of the sanctions of the Christian religion, and tokens of its giving way before very long to some higher cultus. I have hope that the succession of Messiahs and Saviours has not closed, and that somewhere, among some people, soon another man sent from God will speak to us all with (finally) the authority of Jesus and Moses, though, like them, in his own day he may be disregarded and derided. The change of cult is a terribly sad trial for the world, and I look upon it only with apprehension; for it has ever been accompanied with the outbreak of terrible crimes and the experience of terrible social and personal suffering. To change from the Olympian gods and the old Greek philosophy to the Trinity and metaphysics of Scholasticism cost the world a thousand years of eclipse and arrested civilization. Let us hope the next *salvus* will not cost so much. Meantime, let us cling to Christianity with tooth and nail, till God sends us, if he may, a nobler faith. Let us stretch its meagre vestments all we can, to cover all the exigencies of human thought, all the bold askings of the aroused human spirit. They will be in the best mood of mind to welcome the larger faith of the future, who have given the broadest interpretation to the faith which it succeeds.

A religion is to be judged by its results, by its efficacy to redeem men from their bestialities and vices, and make them noble and wise. I am willing to admit that the myths and marvels that hang like draperies around the cradles of faith are not to be too rudely plucked away. They, too, did some good office in their time. Nor am I shocked if the too

shrewd historic critic discovers even palpable traces of charlatanry and imposture. It is quite obvious these latter were controlling factors in the production of Mormonism in our own time; and yet I can understand how for thousands of honest, narrow-minded men and women its poor, second-hand faiths and obsolete, sanctimonious phraseology may have all the sanctions of genuine religion in keeping them devout, pious, truthful, just, upright, and charitable.

GEORGE F. TALBOT.

PORTLAND, ME., March 19, 1886.

My dear Mr. Talbot:—

I have greatly enjoyed your letter, as well as profited by it. I envy the calm and the kindness of your attitude toward Christianity. Had I been in a state of mind more fully to appreciate this side of your book, I should perhaps have paid less attention to what might be called its destructive qualities in my brief mention of it. The trouble is, I am undergoing a course of training for another assault upon the Church; and I am naturally prone to look upon the dark side of the picture until the undertaking is accomplished. I suppose that, when it is over, a reaction will set in; and I will gain by degrees a more amiable feeling for the faith. As it is, I have a deep and passionate resentment toward the religion which has tyrannized over reason for so many centuries. I cannot forget the infamous despotism of the Christian empire, and the long and sickening list of its crimes against humanity,—crimes which would have been impossible, had its principles been true; and I shall never rest until I have burned into the forehead of the Christian Church the brand of these false principles and the crimes which they have engendered.

One cannot love and hate at the same moment. All art is an exaggeration. If I am to paint this picture of Christianity with the strength which it deserves, I must feel the horror which the history of the Church must inspire in every human heart.

I do not see any sense in the word "Christian," unless it means one who worships Jesus, or in the word "Christianity," unless it means the religion which teaches that Jesus was a perfect or divine being. If Jesus was perfect, his teachings should have been perfect; and I find them full of error,—error of thought, error of feeling, error of conduct. To say that Christianity is a synonyme for the intellectual and moral development of Europe and America is to give the religion credit for what it has relentlessly and bitterly opposed throughout the past, and still opposes. If we do not discriminate between Christianity and the natural impulse toward a higher life in man, we may as well give up all effort to understand life and to establish definite and clear religious conceptions. I believe that the time has passed for temporizing with Christianity. The time has come for every earnest and true man and woman, who is able to understand the conditions and meaning of moral life, to take a firm stand against a religion which distinctly teaches that unreasoning faith is superior to upright conduct and that sin can be cancelled by a Supernatural Power. For these doctrines, I have a deep abhorrence; and I can conceive of no higher aim than to consecrate one's life to the destruction of a religion which upholds such principles and renders them holy in the eyes of our fellow-men.

If there is an axiom in ethics, it is that the worship of an individual destroys morality, because it establishes a despotism over thought and feeling. The universe is a republic, not a despotism. God is a principle, not a sovereign. There is no superior will other than that of humanity; for morality is the adjustment of the individual to society, not abasement to a Superior Being. All this undermines Christianity, and marks it as false; and there is no tincture of it so mild that, when analyzed, it is not found to be both an intellectual and a moral poison. Years ago, I became discouraged with what seemed to me a hopeless opposition to a great faith; and I withdrew from religious discussions into the study of philosophy. From this pursuit, I emerged to find a religion dominating my country which taught positively immoral doctrines. I had become indifferent to its historic, its scientific, and its philosophic errors; but, when I fully realized that this great organization was actually corrupting the mind and weakening the character by sanctifying false principles of thought and feeling, I determined, for the remainder of my life, to resist its influence to the uttermost.

If, therefore, you have found me too vehement in

my opposition to a faith for which, with all its faults, you still have an affection, you see at least that my course is consistent, and that it has a definite aim. Also, when I assure you that my dearest friends are devout Christians, and that I am the trusted associate of staunch churchmen,—both official and unofficial,—you will believe that my hatred is for ideas and principles alone, and that it has no personal rancor.

I hope that some day we may join hands as to the proper method of attacking Christianity, for I know that in your heart you must deplore its teachings almost as much as I do.

Sincerely yours, R. S. PERRIN.
NEW YORK, March 28, 1886.

NOTE.—It should be said that Mr. Perrin wrote this letter with no thought of its publication, to which he has no objection, however.

A GENTLEMAN, who was a prominent New York publisher and bookseller a generation or two ago, thus writes us:—

"It is surprising to me that the name of Frances Wright is never mentioned, so far as I have noticed, by writers of either sex, by the women more especially; for her work, in connection with R. D. Owen, on the rostrum and in the columns of the *Free Enquirer*, made thousands of Liberals all through the country. They broke up the ground, and planted the seed. Later speakers and writers harvested the crop. At the time she came upon the stage, Orthodoxy, as it is called, was rampant. In the city of New York, chains used to be stretched across the streets during the time of service in the churches, to prevent the passage of vehicles. Hell and damnation were the staple pulpit themes. The people were at the same time deluging Congress with petitions to stop the Sunday mails, and they came mighty nigh carrying the measure. If they had succeeded, we should next, probably, have had a batch of Puritanical law enacted. It was due in great measure to the labors of Frances Wright that this scheme came to grief. Her themes were political as well as religious; and it was one of the results of her work that the 'workingmen's' party was organized in 1830, in New York City, which, with only a few months' preparation, elected one of the six members of the Assembly the city was then entitled to. I have heard most of the celebrated readers and speakers who have figured on the stage or rostrum during the last fifty years, and never listened to a more brilliant reader and speaker than Frances Wright. I have often been in the old Park Theatre when it has been crowded from pit to dome to hear her, and seen as much excitement produced by her eloquence as I ever saw there when Fanny Kemble or Ellen Tree have made their favorite points. She was, in short, a remarkable woman, who did meritorious service for free thought,—in fact, set the ball in motion,—for which she gets no credit in these later days. She wielded a powerful pen, and what has been said of another may be truly said of her,—that, 'in thought, no blade was more trenchant; in feeling, no heart more human.' The only work of hers of a purely literary character, as far as I know, is a *Few Days in Athens*, which she calls a fragment, and which any one who reads will only regret that she did no more. Some publisher ought to reprint it. It is a charming sketch, and couldn't fail to meet with a large sale."

THIS extract is from a letter received lately from a well-known writer on economic questions:—

"I was writing for the daily — here, and incidentally had to discuss the labor question. I wrote a paragraph indicating that a laborer had no natural right to demand wages at the hands of any employer, but that his economic right to wages was at all times dependent on his employer's ability to profit by hiring him, and on his own ability to do work out of which a profit could be made. The editor Ganiel said: 'Why, we can never teach this. I never could sell the —, if I published in it that a workman's right to be hired depended on his employer's ability to sell the product of his work at a profit.' 'Thanks,' I responded. 'If that is so, I have the same right to be employed by you if my articles cause a loss on your paper as if they cause a profit!' He could not see it in that light. So he stopped my services, because he was angry at my desire to teach, through his editorial columns, that he had the perfect right to stop my services, if he did not find them profitable. What he wanted to teach was that he was bound to hire me,

whether I pleased him or not; and he discharged me because I would not teach that he had no right to discharge me."

BOOK NOTICES.

SIGNS AND SEASONS. By John Burroughs. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. pp. 269. Price \$1.50.

It seems very appropriate and reasonable that a new book from this careful and sympathetic observer of nature should appear with the very first "flowers that bloom in the spring." This volume is published simultaneously in England and this country. In the opening paper of this volume, "A Sharp Look-out," he says, "The student and lover of nature has this advantage over people who gad up and down the world, seeking some novelty or excitement: he has only to stay at home and see the procession pass"; but, despite this assertion, Mr. Burroughs seems to have "gadded" somewhat in the course of writing these papers, some of which appear to be the result of peregrinations made in the pursuit of this study of nature. "A Taste of Maine Birch" gives us the result of observations made during a hunting and fishing excursion to that State, "A Salt Breeze" tells us of some of the experiences gained in a visit to some watering-place, while "A River View" is taken from altogether different environments. There are "a baker's dozen" of these essays; and those not before named are entitled as follows: "A Spray of Pine," which deals with the peculiarities of the pine trees which Emerson was peculiarly attached to; and, in this essay, Burroughs remarks: "The real white pine among our poets is Emerson. Against that rustling, deciduous background of the New England poets, he shows dark and aspiring"; "Hard Fare" treats of the food habits of birds and the smaller wood animals; "The Tragedies of the Nests," giving anecdotes and observations in regard to the nest-building of different sorts of birds; "A Snow-storm," in observing which, he remarks, "We are admitted into Nature's oldest laboratory, and see the working of the law by which the foundations of the material universe were laid,—the law or mystery of crystallization"; "Winter Neighbors," showing the friendliness of various birds in winter, when their necessities are greatest; "A Spring Relish" treats of various indicative sights and sounds of early spring; "Bird Enemies" gives some idea of the hazards of bird-life; in "Phases of Farm-life," he declares that "the farmer should be the true naturalist: the book in which it is all written is open before him night and day, and how sweet and wholesome all his knowledge is!" which brings a smile as we remember some New England farmers whom we know; a return to "The Roof-tree" appropriately closes the volume, which, as a whole, is full of wholesome, healthful, thought-inspiring pictures of nature in a guise which few of us have time to cultivate acquaintance with.

S. A. U.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for March contains a powerful protest in the name of the believers in the triumph of liberty, who expect everything from the development of individuality and the abandonment of old-fashioned shackles against longer union with the socialists, who would stop independent activity, and sink all individuality in the motion of the social organism. Socialism is creating a new church, which says to men: "For you, liberty is misery. In the name of your own interests, which only a reorganized society can preserve, I command you to follow its law." Other articles show how communal property has flourished in Java and Sumatra, how wars and standing armies impoverish Europe, and how Arbor Day has been transplanted to Belgium.

"WIDE AWAKE" for April opens with a lovely Easter picture "On Easter Day," by W. L. Taylor. The poems of this number are exceptionally good, by Kate Putnam Osgood, Lucy Larcom, Mary A. Lathbury, M. E. B., and others. Stories by A. M. Griffin, F. L. Stealey, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Caro Lloyd, and Margaret Sidney. Short sketches are given of Alice and Phoebe Cary, by Amanda B. Harris; of Carmen Sylvia, Queen of Roumania, by Mrs. Sherwood; the poet Juvenal, by G. E. Vincent; and Madame Récamier, by Mrs. Fremont. Mrs. Power tells "What to do in Emergencies," and Mrs. Treat chats about "Cave Spiders." Nearly every page is rich with beautiful illustrations. D. Lothrop & Co.

HE who can at all times sacrifice pleasure to duty approaches sublimity.—*Lavater*.

THE grand essentials of happiness are something to do, something to love, and something to hope for.—*Anon.*

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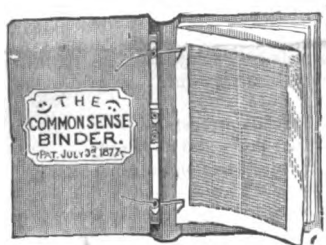
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AFTER quoting some words from *The Index* in regard to the late W. S. Bailey, the Nashville *Liberal*, now edited by a daughter of the deceased, says: "Yes, our father suffered many hardships in that terrible struggle to liberate the colored race. How vividly we can look back on the faces of that large mob who broke the panels of our office doors with a large plank-board, and rushed in on father, mother, and us four girls (all that were present at the time), in the dead hour of night, went upstairs and plied our type, carried it and the presses and threw in the river! Not being satisfied, come the next day and demolished everything. While the leader of the mob, Al. Berry, was breaking our door open, sister Ella (now in Chicago) lifted up a keg of yellow paint, and from the third story window poured it all over him. He rushed upstairs, and said, 'Where's the man that threw the paint?' She said, 'I am the man.' He said, 'It's a good thing for you that you're not a man.' She replied, 'And it's a good thing for you that I am not a man!' Kind friends from Boston and other cities replaced father's office and started him up again. He got about \$2,700 out of the mobsters for destroying his office, which placed him squarely on his feet again."

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Massachusetts House Judiciary Committee have presented a bill to amend Sec. 17, chap. 160 of Public Statutes, by striking out these words: "And the evidence of such person's disbelief in the existence of God may be received to affect his credibility as a witness."

SAYS the Boston Transcript: "The Connecticut clergymen have declared war against the Sunday papers. Let the ministers boycott the newspapers, and refuse to preach to anybody who reads them! Not that we care anything about the matter one way or the other, only we should really like to see how the thing would work."

MRS. WENDELL PHILLIPS, widow of the distinguished abolitionist and orator, died in this city last Saturday. She joined the anti-slavery movement in 1834, when she was young and beautiful. She was subsequently united in marriage to Mr. Phillips, whom she sustained from a sick-bed during all the years of the anti-slavery struggle with her sympathy, courage, and self-denial, expending liberally from her fortune, too, in the cause of the oppressed.

IN his recent lecture before the Parker Memorial Science Class on "Bacon," Mr. F. M. Holland said: "The Transcendentalism of Concord is decidedly orthodox. While there may be many crowns of honor resting on the heads of the Transcendentalists of to-day, they are crowns on the brows of the old, not on the young. The work of the Concord School may be judged of by the reply of one of them to the question, 'Why don't you hear both sides?' who said, 'Why hear anything but the truth?'"

IN a paper read before the Liberal Union Club, last Saturday evening, Mr. Richard P. Hallowell, in defending the Quakers, said that the sect was originally organized not for religious propaganda, but to relieve people in prison, and generally to promote purity and virtue; that, although they had their period of fanaticism, the offences of the

Quakers against social order were very few. They were received in New England, officially designated as the "cursed set of heretics," and subjected to the severest persecution and oppression; but they finally triumphed, said the speaker, and to them Massachusetts was under heavy obligations. Mr. Hallowell's acquaintance with this subject is thorough, he having given to it much careful study; and the lecture was pronounced by those present very interesting and instructive.

A FELLOW named Breeze, in a letter which somehow got into the Nevada papers, wrote from Ulidia, in Montana, to a friend: "I presume the folks are somehow surprised at my leaving so suddenly. I wish you would tell the folks that I couldn't help it: the preaching and looking out for that flock didn't pay. I am doing very fair here. I am keeping a saloon in connection with a gambling saloon. A man by the name of Vaugh and myself are in partnership. Vaugh is an old-timer from California. He and I used to deal faro together for Irish Charlie and Big Mouth Lize in Colorado, in 1875. He was sent up for burglary to the Kansas penitentiary; and, after his time was up, he came to Montana. He is a good gambling man. There is no use talking, gambling and selling whiskey pay much better than preaching, besides it's no harder work. I have been in all kinds of business, from preaching to stealing horses; and I know what I talk of. My respects to," etc.

WHEN the banking business conducted by the Augustinian Fathers at Lawrence collapsed, some of the confiding depositors thought that, as under ecclesiastical law priests have such powers only as are delegated to them by the bishop, they might recover from him the money they had lost. Two years ago, a test suit was begun against Archbishop Williams of the Roman Catholic diocese of Boston. The plaintiff, Miss Ellen Labey, gained a verdict in the superior court for the full amount she had deposited. The case went up on exceptions; and, now, Judge William Allen has delivered the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, sustaining one of the exceptions. The judge in the lower court had refused to rule that the evidence was insufficient to make the archbishop responsible. That the money deposited with the pastors of the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Lawrence had gone into the common fund used to meet the debts and expenses of the church, and that the title of all the church's real estate was vested in the archbishop, were unquestioned. But the court is of the opinion that the supervision by the bishop of the debts contracted by his subordinates "does not appear to be the supervision of a legal principal over his agents, and the debts which a bishop is forbidden to allow a priest to contract without written permission do not appear to be the debts of the bishop himself." And, although the bishop may procure money to pay such debts by mortgaging church real estate of which he has the legal title, and although he receives, according to church customs, from a dying pastor funds of the church which

he hands over to a successor in the pastorate, he is not in either case made liable for the debts of his subordinates. When they come to understand this decision, Catholic servant girls and others may be less ready to intrust their hard-earned money with priests who go into the banking business for the benefit of the Church.

THE Sunday newspaper continues to be a source of great trouble and anxiety to the orthodox ministers. One hundred and eighty-two of them in Rhode Island, all Protestants, and chiefly Baptists and Methodists, have signed and published a declaration to the effect that the Sunday newspaper is a hindrance to the proper observance of the Sabbath, and calling the attention of all Christian people to its alleged injurious influence. Many of the Sunday newspapers are not in all respects what they should be; but they reflect public sentiment and taste, and these must be elevated before there can be permanent improvement in the character of Sunday papers or of the press generally. If the clergy would use their influence in favor of better Sunday newspapers, their efforts would be well directed. What they object to, however, is not simply the low tone of the Sunday papers, but the publication and sale of any papers on Sunday, whatever be their intellectual or moral quality. They seem to think that the people should be satisfied to attend church and hear their preaching, and to confine their reading on that day to the Bible and theological books and papers. It is the "desecration of the Sabbath" by publishing, selling, and buying papers on a day the observance of which is nowhere commanded in the Bible, that so disturbs the clergy that they must combine their influence to put a stop to this great sin. The discussion of secular subjects, exhibitions of sectarian narrowness and bitterness, sensationalism, and all sorts of mountebank performances in the pulpit, repulsive to cultivated and refined minds, call forth no such protest from the clergy; and, while religious papers devoted largely to secular matter, and whose columns in many cases contain advertisements coarse and indecent, and puffs of all kinds of nostrums and humbugs, printed as reading matter, may be read on "Sunday" without incurring the charge of "desecrating the Sabbath," the publication and sale on that day of the New York Sunday Tribune, the Boston Sunday Herald, the Springfield Sunday Republican, or the Providence Sunday Journal, are great sins, and the clergy want an end put to them, lest the Creator and Governor of millions of worlds be displeased, and the people suffer for disregarding the divine will. Nevertheless, the Sunday newspaper has come to stay; and the efforts of the clergy to stop it are too late in the century, even in New England, to be successful. The orthodox pulpit evidently wants "protection." Backed by ages of superstition and bigotry, it is yet unable to compete with the liberal and progressive tendencies of the age. But it must, to succeed in securing a protective measure in its favor, use methods a little less direct and less in conflict with the requirements of the times than that of trying to stop Sunday newspapers.

"FREE FOR WHAT?"

The *Unitarian* magazine, of which Messrs. Brooke Herford and J. T. Sunderland are editors, says that the important matter to be considered by Unitarians now is not whether they shall have freedom, but what they shall do with their freedom now that they have got it. It affirms that they "certainly have got it, complete and perfect," and asseverates emphatically, "We are free, and we shall remain free." "But," it asks, "free for what?" It adds the opinion that, if the denomination would "take a rest of about ten years from talk about liberty, and set to work all together to see how it can use liberty nobly, Unitarianism will go forward to new life."

This is very good. Liberty, certainly, is not an end in itself: it is only a necessary condition to the proper development and use of the human faculties, in order that they may do their best service for truth and right and human welfare. Yet we doubt whether the time has quite come, even among Unitarians, to stop talking about liberty. What to do with liberty is, indeed, always the most important question. But most persons who are striving within religious denominations for a greater measure of freedom know precisely what they want to do with it. They want it for inculcating different religious views than those which may be most widely accepted in the denomination, or for amending certain traditional ecclesiastical practices; and they want opportunity for these reforms, because they believe that the interests of truth and human welfare require them. Messrs. Herford and Sunderland's idea of religious liberty and its uses does not appear broad enough to cover the whole of this want, even as it manifests itself in some of the most earnest preachers and workers of the Unitarian name. And it is precisely the position these editors have taken in their magazine that has excited in us the present doubt whether the Unitarians have as yet earned the right to take a rest from talking about liberty, and that their only duty now is to consider how they can use their liberty. To us, an outsider, it looks as if what Messrs. Herford and Sunderland, and the reactionary faction which they are leading, have in mind as the proper use of Unitarian liberty, is to organize societies and denominational work and ordain preachers on the basis of about the beliefs and practices which they think to be true and requisite. And this may be "Unitarian" liberty. But is it liberty "complete and perfect"? Let us test this question.

There are many persons connected with the Unitarian denomination, especially in the Western States, who, hearing the long and loud claim which that denomination has made for liberty, have within recent years said to themselves: "Yes, at last, we have got freedom; and now we propose to use it for building societies and organizing conferences on freedom, fellowship, and character in religion. We will have no dogmatic restrictions whatever, not even any expression of belief in God, but will admit to full membership and co-operative work all who will aid in the advancement of truth and righteousness." And, on this basis, Unitarian conferences and societies have actually been organized in Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, and other States. But now the editors of the *Unitarian*, if we rightly understand their position, say to all such conferences and societies: "Oh, but we didn't mean that you should use your liberty in that large, all-out-of-doors way. You ought, at least, to have said in your articles of association that you believed in God and met together in the spirit of Christ. Without such

a bond of union, we do not believe you can build up Unitarianism, and much doubt your right to the Unitarian name."

A few years ago, Mr. Rowland Connor, having been discarded by the Universalists because of his connection with the Free Religious Association, and having served a term of years as resident speaker of the Florence Free Congregational Society, heard of the wide breadth of liberty offered by Unitarianism in the West, and decided to seek service under its auspices. He went to East Saginaw, Mich., organized a society essentially on the Free Religious basis, though under the Unitarian name. He treated Christianity simply as one of the great natural religions of mankind, and Jesus as one in a line of natural prophets. He has been successful in his work. The society has prospered under him, and has built a church, which has been criticised for being too secular in its appearance,—looking, that is, as if it were made for this world's uses; and Mr. Connor was criticised because at the opening services he spoke of it as dedicated to humanity rather than to God. It has been said, also, that he has given up prayer; and, if he has substituted anything in its place, it is only an expression of aspiration. Yet the society appears to be entirely satisfied with him and his work, and he and it form an influential part of the Michigan Unitarian Conference. "This," Mr. Connor may say, then, to Unitarianism, "is what I have done with the liberty you offered me; and I propose to continue working on the same lines in the future." But the editors of the *Unitarian* reply that this is not at all the use to which they expected him to put his liberty, and they insinuate that they even think him rather dishonest in doing such things and still calling himself a Unitarian.

Further West are Messrs. Gannett and Blake, who have done zealous service with and for Unitarian societies for many years. They have been especially effective in Sunday-school work and in the preparation of Sunday-school lesson and service books. But they do not take the Christian name. They draw religious lessons from all Scriptures, ancient and modern, and from all the great prophets as well as from Jesus. They compile Easter services, in which they do not celebrate Jesus alone, and call the story of his resurrection a legend. More distinctly theistic and emotionally religious than Mr. Connor, they yet speak and work for no dogmatic basis whatever in Unitarian organization. "Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion" is their special motto; and this is what they are trying to make Unitarianism mean. With profound faith in the permanent significance of religion and with the utmost earnestness of purpose, they have labored to emancipate Unitarianism from all traditional limitations, and to identify it with the noblest, highest, grandest efforts in behalf of social and personal righteousness, irrespective of sectarian names and doctrines or historic faiths. When asked, "Free for what?" "Free to do this," is their answer. "But do you not see," cry the *Unitarian's* editors, "that thus to use your freedom is to take you beyond the established denominational boundaries? Unitarianism,—yes, it has always stood for righteousness, and it has always stood for freedom; but, then, it is righteousness attained in connection with certain beliefs and through certain forms of worship. And beyond that line—well—it isn't Unitarian liberty,—it is a dangerous kind of liberty: it is *Free Religion*."

Now there are many men and women in the Unitarian ranks, both East and West, who are using their liberty in the same direction as those here named. There, for instance, is Mr. Clifford

of the Germantown church, who used his liberty at the Philadelphia dedication to read an appropriate and noble scripture from various writings instead of a chapter wholly from the Bible; of which reading the *Unitarian* said—we have reason to believe that it was Mr. Herford who wrote the paragraph—that it was "a patchwork of snippets," and that "probably there were not ten Unitarians in the church who were not ashamed of it." All this class of radical Unitarians, when the query is raised how they are going to use their liberty, are ready with their answer. They frankly say that they are going to use it, are using it, to make Unitarianism include non-Christian as well as Christian; all inspiring writings as well as Hebrew and Christian Scripture; all great prophets as well as Jesus of Nazareth; all true thought from whatever faith it come; and all aspiring souls who wish to do good and to get good, irrespective of the doctrines they may believe or disbelieve. These Unitarians, when told that the denomination is "perfectly free and will remain so, and that the important point now to be considered is, Free for what?" can reply: "Very well, that is precisely the point we are considering and acting upon. We are using our liberty for this work which reason and conscience require at our hands; and we have no disposition or occasion to talk much about the liberty so long as we are left free, but have only to keep at the work. Others may use their liberty in other ways, but this is the work given us to do."

And, to this reply, what response can the editors of the *Unitarian* make? No question is here raised of the right of a society, whether conservative or radical, to have a preacher sufficiently near to its own views to give satisfaction both to intellect and heart. But these men are able to satisfy their congregations in both of these respects. They are using their freedom for doing constructive work. If the claim were true that the denomination "has got freedom, complete and perfect," then the only logical response would be a *God-speed* to these workers at their tasks. But the editors of the *Unitarian* appear in the plight of making this claim, and then, in the next breath, of reproaching these gentlemen for using their freedom to do a work which they have no right to do under the Unitarian name! A little more "talk about liberty" would seem, therefore, still to be needed in the Unitarian ranks. Some brains among them have, evidently, not yet caught the "complete and perfect" idea of it.

WM. J. POTTER.

LABOR REFORM.

It would not be easy to exaggerate the amount of irritation and unrest that characterize the interests of labor at the present time. These elements confront us, turn whichever way we will: strikes East and West here in America; in Belgium, more and worse; Ireland waiting in agonized suspense for the response of England to her cry for justice; a multitude of books and pamphlets, hundreds of articles, thousands of editorials, devoted to the discussion of this question of questions; writers of every grade, good, bad, indifferent, jostling each other with their rival panaceas; men of enormous force and genius, like Lassalle and Marx, giving their splendid energies to the most daring speculations; such brilliant theorists as George and Gronlund bringing fresh fuel to the dancing flame; every variety of socialism, communism, and co-operation advocated with passionate enthusiasm and supreme self-confidence; the Nihilist and Anarchist hopeless for any polity that is not built upon the levelled ruins of the present structure.

ure of industrial and social life. It is impossible for us to accept the diagnoses and the remedies that are proposed by all this writing, talking, theorizing multitude of spirits, genial or morose. We may not accept the diagnosis or the theory of any one of them. But, where there is so much smoke, there is certainly some fire. Where there is so much restlessness and fever, there is surely something wrong. There is something wrong. A million men out of employment in the United States for the year 1885! A loss of wages equal to \$300,000,000! Is this the "unexampled prosperity" for which protection is to be praised? If it is so, then, certainly, we ought to have a great deal more protection or a great deal less. But no. It is as little warrantable to hold any single economic cause, protection or another, responsible for this condition as it is to credit to this or any other single cause all the prosperity we have enjoyed since the war tariff entered on its memorable career. But the "something wrong" is not merely a few years of depression and collapse succeeding to a few of generous expansion. Prosperity may come again after five years of depression, as it came in 1879, after the much more gloomy period from 1873. And with prosperity there may come some temporary abatement of the stress of labor agitation. But it will not wholly cease, because the principal cause of it is a great deal deeper than the immediate depression and collapse. It is the immense and steadily increasing disproportion that exists between the condition of the rich and poor. If it is not true, as frequently insisted, that the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer all the time, it is true that the rich are growing relatively richer and the poor are growing relatively poorer. Here is the dreadful fact that, corresponding to the enormous increase of the general wealth, there has been no corresponding increase of the wage-earner's wages. From 1850 to 1880, the net product of American manufactures increased four hundred per cent., the wages of labor forty per cent. That is to say, the advantage which the manufacturer has derived from the improvement of machinery and other methods of production has been ten times as great as that derived from this improvement by the wage-earner. The industrial statistics of every European country show a similar result, and it is this result which is the efficient cause of all that is most fundamental to the industrial agitation of to-day.

The merchants, the manufacturers, the capitalists, are not consciously responsible for this enormous and increasing incongruity between their opulence and others' indigence. Other men had labored; and they entered into their labors, with this lamentable result. But there is none of all the poorest that decry it who would have acted differently in their position. Nevertheless, the time has come when rich men's dainties are to be bitter in their mouths and their luxurious surroundings hateful in their eyes (I speak of men of natural goodness, and the great majority are such), unless they can devise some scheme that will make possible a more equitable division of the profits of industry.

But it is easier to know the trouble than to prescribe for it aright. If the Nihilist and Anarchist could have their way, we may be sure that they would unwittingly do more grievous injury to those who have little than to those who have much. If the communist or socialist could have his way, there are those of us who would prefer annihilation here and hereafter to endurance of his horrible régime of hard, mechanical arrangements, making no allowance for the difference be-

tween men and things. But the régime of socialist or communist, if it could be established, would not be for long. Nothing is surer than that a mechanical *a priori* system that is superinduced on an organic civilization will soon go to pieces, while the organic life again asserts itself. "Revolutions never roll back," said Victor Hugo. Is it not truer that they always roll back; that it is only evolution that maintains the ground that it has slowly won?

In England there has been less of wild-cat speculation in industrial ideas than elsewhere, and more of genuine reform; thanks to the work done by the trades-unions in discouraging strikes, in encouraging arbitration, in fostering providence and mutual aid. For the nineteenth century, so far, the history of trades-unionism is the most satisfying chapter in the history of Great Britain. Here is one mighty instrument for self-protection which our own wage-earners have in their hands. If they do not always use it wisely, patience, give them a little time. As the English unions have worked through some grosser phases, we may hope that ours will do as well. If only our wage-earners knew the virtues of frugality and self-denial, how wonderful would be the rate of their advance! But, while they earn—these figures are for Massachusetts only—forty per cent. more than the English laborer, they save only four per cent. more! Do you say, "God knows they have little enough of comfort or enjoyment"? But the comfort and enjoyment would not be less, but more, if the \$700,000,000 yearly spent for spirituous liquors were reduced to \$700,000, or to many thousands less.

But it cannot, must not, be that all the amelioration is to come from the wage-earning side of our industrial civilization. The capitalist must do his part. And he must do it by co-operation. Co-operation, in the strictest sense, is only possible under the most favorable conditions. There must be "captains of labor," and these can generally do better for themselves alone than as the managers of co-operative schemes. The cooperation of labor and capital, the laborer depending on the chances of successful production, is manifestly too precarious for him. But a system of profit-sharing superinduced upon a basis of wage-earning has in it the promise and the potency of more amelioration for wages-industry than any other system that has yet been devised. It has had many illustrations. (An excellent summary of them will be found in the Massachusetts Report on the Statistics of Labor, Part II., "Profit Sharing.") It will have many more if those who are employers of labor know the things that belong to their peace. And yet it may be doubted whether even here there is so much remedial power for the industrial sickness of the time as in the possible apprehension of the capitalist that the men whom he employs are *men*, and, as such, are to be treated not only with justice, but with generosity and with the manliest consideration.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

STATE CHAPLAINS.

The Chaplain of Congress has been furnishing more prayers to the members than they bargained for, and they have requested him to be a little less personal in his remarks to the Deity. When that unpleasant body-snatcher, mentioned by Dickens, used to come home at daylight in the morning to rest from the labors of the previous night, he generally found his wife on her knees, praying that he might be converted from such a wicked business to some respectable employment. Throwing a sack at her, he would remark: "Praying agin' me, are you? Haven't I told you that I won't

be prayed agin'?" The Rev. Mr. Milburn, the "blind preacher," is not so blind that he cannot see the favorite vices of congressmen; and he makes them the theme of his prayers. The "members of the House" do not like to be "prayed agin'"; and they will probably take good care that the next chaplain shall be not only blind, but also deaf and dumb.

Among the luxuries to which our members of Congress treat themselves at the public expense, one of the most useless, at the price, is a chaplain. According to the theory of our government, a State chaplain is as much an unlawful indulgence as a State archbishop. The connection between Church and State, in this country, is illegitimate and immoral. Congress has no right to build synagogues, make pilgrimages to Mecca, hire masses for the dead, buy indulgences, or pay for prayers out of the public money. The public taxes are paid by believers and unbelievers alike. To buy prayers with them is to misuse the power of taxation. It is a dishonest appropriation of the general fund. A State chaplain is unconstitutional and void. His worship is wasted; for prayers that spring from selfishness, extortion, and wrong, never reach the throne. They are rejected like the burnt offering of Cain.

Although these "chaplains" are extravagantly paid, their prayers are not worth as much as calico. Most of them would be dear at five cents a yard. Here is a specimen that has excited considerable notoriety, which is probably all it was intended to do. The flippant way in which advice, instruction, and information are given to the Almighty is like the childish idolatry of the poor heathen, arguing and remonstrating with his wooden god. In this effort, the chaplain "prayed agin'" the rich, and carelessly addressed his invocation to the God of Jacob, which is very much like praying for peace to the God of war. Jacob is the patron saint of avarice. He made great wealth by very successful cheating. Every honest man should sympathize with Mr. Holyoake in the pious wish that his parents had named him Esau, and not Jacob. The chaplain said, "Give ear, O God of Jacob, and awaken us to see the danger which threatens the civilized world,—a revolution more tremendous than any of which history tells, in which the scenes of the reign of terror may be enacted in every capital of Europe and America."

There is a fine quality of what the boys call "nerve" in this call upon God to "give ear" to the warnings of a State chaplain that a revolution is impending over us, and that the reign of terror is to be re-enacted. Is the "all-seeing eye" blind? Is the all-hearing ear deaf? Is the Supreme Ruler of the universe off duty that it is necessary for the State chaplain to inform him that "for long the few have mastered the many, because they understood the open secret,—the tools to those who can use them"? Was it necessary to instruct the Almighty that "now the many have learned the secret of organization, drill, and dynamite"? The suggestion of "dynamite" in an official prayer to God is dark and subtle. It is a covert appeal, not to God, but to the vindictive and ignorant passions of men. It is a hint to bad men to begin "the reign of terror."

It is curious that theological men have so little faith in God's moral wisdom, while they have no doubt at all as to his physical ability. They think that he is not able to govern the moral universe without their assistance and advice; but they never think of telling him how to keep the stars in their places, and prevent a disastrous collision of the planets. They never suggest to him an improved scheme of their own for the better regulation of the seasons and the tides. They have no

* Carroll D. Wright's statistics, National Labor Bureau.

faith in God's moral government, and yet they put absolute reliance on a shilling almanac. When they read there that the sun will rise to-morrow morning at six o'clock, they believe it; and never think of praying to God to change the time to half-past five. When the almanac tells them that there will be an eclipse of the moon on the 30th of September, they know that the eclipse will occur at the appointed time exactly. So they never think of dictating to the Creator, and advising him by prayer that October would be a better time for it, or that it would be still better to postpone it indefinitely. Forgetting that the laws of the moral world are as immutable as those of the material world, they presume to instruct the Creator, and direct him how to govern it. In this vain spirit, the State chaplain directs God to "teach the rich men of this country that great fortunes are lent them by thee for other purposes than to build and decorate palaces, to found private collections of art, to stock wine cellars, to keep racing studs and yachts, and to find better company than hostlers, grooms, and jockeys, pool-sellers, and book-makers."

There is much theological confusion in the above direction to the Deity. In the first place, very few "rich men" use their wealth in the way complained of; and, if their wealth is really "lent" them by the Creator, the manner of using it must be the purpose of the loan, or the loan would never have been made. Does not God himself know better than the State chaplain who constitute the best company? Perhaps the "rich men" might keep better company than hostlers and grooms; and, perhaps, hostlers and grooms might keep better company than their masters. It is entirely a question of character; and, besides, if God made the "rich men," he made grooms and hostlers, too. In fact, he made neither of them. They "grewed." Neither did he "lend" the rich their money any more than he lent the poor their poverty.

In the cavalry, we used to be furnished with a couple of superfluities for which we could never find any practical use whatever. One was a veterinary surgeon to cure the bodies of the horses, the other was a chaplain to cure the souls of the men. We could transpose these officers and put each in the place of the other without doing any injury to the service, or any good. Taking the prayers of the "blind preacher" as a specimen of their quality, is it not almost time that this religious usurpation, the State chaplain, should be abolished altogether?

M. M. TRUMBULL.

THE CHURCH, SCIENCE, AND WOMAN.

The Talmud appoints to every pious Jew as a daily prayer these words: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, that thou hast not made me a Gentile, an idiot, or a woman"; and, while enjoining the instruction of sons in the law, prohibits that of daughters, on the ground that women are accursed. Men alone can pray. God created man in his image, but this does not refer to woman. No Jewish youth was anciently allowed to read the first chapter of Genesis, whose account of the creation represents woman as man's peer, endowed with equal dominion over nature, until he was twenty-five. By this period, his views of woman had been irrevocably based upon the account in the second chapter, which no longer speaks of her as an integral part of creation, but as inferior and secondary,—a being brought into existence solely for the benefit of man.

The doctrine of woman's secondary creation and subordination was a part of Judaism engrafted upon Christianity, soon becoming a component

part of the new religion, in fact its corner-stone; for, without the doctrine of the fall, and the consequent need of a Saviour, the whole Christian superstructure drops into nothingness. The belief that woman is a being made solely for man has rendered it possible for the present century to witness the formation of a church whose chief corner-stone is polygamy, in a nation where more boys than girls are born, and whose every census shows a preponderant male population. Mormonism and Perfectionism, of which last Oneida Community was the ripened fruit, are ultimates of that debasing sex theory upon which the Christian religion is founded.

Paul, a converted Jew, educated at the feet of Gamaliel, a member of the Great Sanhedrim, which was a combined civil and ecclesiastical court, shortly became the ruler of Christendom, engrafting his belief and polity upon the nascent Church. Through the centuries, his doctrines have corrupted the truths of nature, crushed the efforts of science, and made of the Church a male theocracy.

To Paul is Christianity indebted for the dogma of original sin, and woman as the original sinner. He says, "Woman, not first created, was first in sin." Nothing bearing on this question is more remarkable than the fact that the worshippers of a God spoken of as the Perfect One, the Unchangeable, etc., should represent him as learning through experience, finding his second thought best. "Seeing it was not good for man to be alone, God created woman." So unscrupulous were the writers of the Scriptures they hesitated not at blasphemy, if, in so doing, their point of enslaving woman could the better be gained.

Blackstone says the general preference given by the laws of England to males over females is because they are the worthier of blood. This is Christianity condensed into law, a combination of Paul and Aristotle running down to the nineteenth century. Aristotle, whose philosophy was accepted by the Church as authoritative, maintained that nature did not form woman except when by some imperfection of material, she could not attain the sex which is perfect. Under authority of Paul and Aristotle, religion and law suppressed woman's spiritual and physical claims of equality until even her very humanity was in doubt, grave councils debating this important question. That of Macon, 585 A.D., is celebrated in history for its discussion of this question. The Italians long maintained that women had no souls, quoting several passages of Scripture in proof, and it was a general belief throughout Christendom that women either possessed no souls or had borrowed those of inferior animals, as horses, dogs, asses. For centuries, such religion and such philosophy ruled Christendom.

Mediaeval Christian writings show many discussions upon this point. Grave doctors, philosophers, and divines in great numbers asserted their disbelief in woman's humanity. Nor has this question as yet been fully settled in the minds of orthodox believers. Catholic, Greek, and Protestant alike are to be found imbued with the same contemptuous opinion. Until the time of Peter the Great, woman was not counted in the census of the Russian Empire. That great division of the world, professing the Greek form of Christianity, counted so many souls, no woman named. Nor is our nineteenth-century, Protestant Republic quite free from this same insolent belief. At the Woman's Rights Convention of Philadelphia, 1854, a man cried from the audience, "Let woman first prove she has a soul: both the Church and the State deny it."

But the investigations of modern science prove the falsehood of church hypothesis and teachings,

showing the feminine everywhere to hold higher rank in nature, and female life to be the result of a higher physical condition than male life, the latter being due to impoverished or less worthy blood.

Environment and nutrition are the two great factors in determining sex; a broad, generous environment, with abundant nutrition, developing the female, a contracted environment, with scanty or innutritious food, the male, and these results as far as investigated seem uniform throughout nature. The battle of science, which is culminating in facts proving the inherent right of woman to an equal share in the world's opportunities, began centuries ago in the combat between the Heliocentric theory promulgated by Pythagoras, 550 B.C., and the Geocentric theory of Ptolemy, 150 A.D. The Church sustained the latter as in accordance with the Biblical account of creation; and, for many hundred years, it was looked upon as great a heresy to deny that the earth was the centre of the solar and stellar systems around which the universe revolved as it was to deny the created inferiority of woman. But the discovery of America by Columbus, really the result of Mohammedan learning at a period when Christendom was buried in midnight darkness, together with the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan twenty years later, settled the question of the earth's rotundity. The astronomical and geographical battle, which had lasted more than twelve centuries, was won, and the first scientific step toward the enfranchisement of woman taken.

In order fully to comprehend the aid here given by science, it is necessary to remember the old theologic belief that the earth was flat, the centre of the universe, around which the sun and stars revolved,—was but part of one great theologic theory that all things animate and inanimate were created for man alone, so that a science which proved the falsity of any one of these conceptions aided in the overthrow of them all. When the earth sank to its place as a small and insignificant part of creation, woman began to rise toward a position of natural equality with man. All the sciences have rendered aid; but the seven most important have been geography, astronomy, chemistry, geology, botany, philology, and biology. Chemistry, long pursued under the name of alchemy, attacked the old theologic conception of the creation by teaching the once fluid condition of the rocks; geology farther aided the destruction of the six days' theory by proving the immense periods of creation; botany investigated the deeply buried fields of coal, finding evidence in them of long and slow ages of growth, the subsidence and upheaval of forests, and by aid of chemistry restored to us, in the beautiful aniline colors, the hues of the ancient world; philology takes us to the birth of nations, and through it we learn the domestic habits and scientific knowledge of peoples so long extinct as to have left no other monuments behind them; while, in biology, we find the science of life itself, and through it ascend to the dawn of creation.

Before tracing the teachings of science farther, we must again refer to old theologic ideas concerning woman and the feminine principle. Not only was God termed masculine, but all inanimate things were also deemed masculine. When Linnaeus, of whom it has been said, "He woke the fields of Lapland from their sleep of centuries, and made their frozen wastes to blossom like fairy fields," first promulgated his sexual system of plants, he was shunned and persecuted as one who had degraded nature by his assertion of a feminine principle in the vegetable world. Before it became thus possible to ignore the feminine in crea-

tion, God had been robbed of the feminine principle recognized everywhere in Pagandom as inhering in the supreme power, and even in the Hebrew, where the "us" creates in its own image man and woman. The words *El Shaddai*, translated in the Old Testament the Almighty, are used when the feminine principle is indicated, as also "Holy Spirit" in the New Testament. The Church, having robbed the creative power of its feminine principle, next declared it created in its own image only males, the more ardent theologians affirming the present form of reproduction to date from the fall, and, had this not taken place, God would have found some other way of peopling the world. Old Jacob Boehm and other mystics declared that Adam in his first estate possessed the power of "virgin propagation."

While modern science proves that reproduction is not possible for the male alone, it also proves this power largely to inhere in the female. Huxley declares agamogenesis, or virgin propagation (by the female), to be one of the most ordinary facts in nature, extending "throughout almost the whole series of living beings." Whole species exist in which no male is found. The celebrated Dr. M. Joly, of the Paris University, examined several thousand of the little crustaceæ known as *Artemia salina*, without discovering a single well-developed male. The experiments of Carl Vogt, the distinguished German naturalist, were of the same character.

The experiments of our countrymen and countrywomen, Profs. Meehan and Gentry, of the Philadelphia Academy, in regard to vegetable life; of Mary Treat and Sophia Herrick upon insect life; also of Drs. Wallace, Combe, Walker, Lord Falmouth, and innumerable others, in reference to animal life,—all tend to prove that when a tree, plant, insect, or animal is in highest physical condition, well fed upon nutritious food, under proper environment, the products will largely be feminine; while, on the contrary, if poorly nurtured and in general bad condition, the products will be male.

It is a well-known scientific and statistical fact that, when a nation is in highest vigor, rapidly increasing in population, the larger proportion of births are feminine; but a nation or tribe retrograding or dying out will produce more males, in some cases male births reaching the enormous rate of seventy-five per cent.

Nature, when at her best, seems constantly striving for the production of the feminine. Protoplasm, that primal organic life from which all other life has evolved, that simplest organism known, "an organism without organs," which moves by floating now in one direction, now in another, which possesses neither mouth nor stomach, but feeds by incorporating its prey,—this albuminous protoplasm, lying in silent darkness on the bottom of the sea, is nevertheless feminine, as it is endowed with the creative function. At a certain age, by an act entirely spontaneous, it breaks apart, each part immediately independent, and from the very first resembling the mother animal. These new animals, like the original one, are also feminine, possessing the power of reproducing from themselves. This unnnucleated jelly-like substance possesses all the rudiments of the highest physical life, as shown by its sensation, its power of motion, of nutrition, of reproduction.

While the Church has opposed every demand of woman for higher opportunities, on the ground of feminine inferiority and secondary creation, the more recent biological discoveries, prove exactly the contrary. All forms of primal life, whether known as bathybius, protoplasm, moner, or amœba, are feminine. Not only are the primal forms of

life feminine, but, as far as has been discovered, the great underlying creative principle is solely and distinctively feminine.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will open on Thursday evening, May 27, with a business session in Fraternity Hall, Parker Memorial Building, corner Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston, at 7.45, for hearing reports, electing officers, and considering any resolutions that may be offered. The executive committee authorize the presentation for rejection or adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, according to which present Article I. would be divided into two Articles, which would read thus:—

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

The other articles to remain as now, but to be numbered respectively III., IV., V., and VI.

The public convention will be held as usual in Parker Memorial Hall, Friday morning and afternoon, May 28, and the festival that evening in the Meionaon. Further particulars hereafter.

F. M. HOLLAND, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SUBSCRIBERS of *The Index* who are in arrears on their subscriptions will confer a favor by sending to this office the amounts due, which they can readily ascertain by referring to the address tag on their papers.

At the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association, Mr. M. D. Conway is to give the essay at the morning session, and has given his subject the interesting title of "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism." The essayist of the afternoon is to be Mr. J. G. Brooks, of Brockton, whose topic is "Sympathy and Science,"—a discussion of the Social Problem.

ACCORDING to the *Presbyterian*, "the very latest writer on the evolution theory, in his exposition and defence of it, says that, 'while evolution is everywhere accepted, Darwinism proper is largely given up.' The difficulties which he could only solve by a 'probability,' a 'maybe,' have increased in force, until it is recognized that all his proposed explanations were worthless." We were not aware of this. Indeed, it is not true.

THE following complimentary reference to women as earnest and effective workers is from the annual report of the executive committee of the Florence Cosmian Society: "As in the churches, so in our society, wherever there is work to be done, whether in the material, the educational, or the moral sphere, the women always take the laboring oar, and pull us to port. During the past year, the Ladies' Industrial Union have contributed to our treasury the generous sum of \$322.01."

In a notice of *A Study of Primitive Christianity*, the *Brooklyn Times* says: "Dr. Janes' book is carefully and thoughtfully written, and contains food for abundant study and thought. The author will find many to differ from his views, but many also to admire the just and patient mind that weighs each fact carefully and tries to see

things as they are. His book is no mere compilation, but, as Mr. Chadwick has said in the preface, the outcome of an independent mind working fully upon a great mass of materials to which few except the professional scholar can give the attention they deserve."

THE *Ottawa Free Press* observes: "A learned bishop of the Church of England has recently, in an article which was given wide publicity in Great Britain, shown most conclusively that the whole scope and original intention of the administration of oaths have been misunderstood and misapplied in popular practice. The oath was never intended, as applied of late years, to be a means of disqualifying evidence, but simply used as a ready means whereby, in the eyes of a majority of witnesses, its use would give testimony a greater sanctity. But the practice has gradually grown, so that, instead of the oath being simply a means of lending weight to the testimony, it is actually being used to exclude the testimony of those who could not conscientiously take the precise form of oath in common use in courts of justice."

WE welcome Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage to the columns of *The Index* this week. Her article is spicy, and will be read with interest; but we must say that it contains some extravagant statements in its references to science and sex. For instance, it is hardly correct to say that nature strives for the feminine. In the forms of life which Mrs. Gage calls "feminine," the cells are differentiated, and sperm-cell and germ-cell unite by conjugation, or, if in different individuals, two individuals unite by conjugation. It cannot be said that, in the plant kingdom, better conditions lead to the feminine and lower conditions to the masculine. The facts at command warrant us in saying only that higher nutrition may lead to differentiation. The corn was once hermaphrodite, each flower being staminate and pistillate; but we have lifted the male blossom to the top, leaving the feminine silk below. A study of embryology does not sustain the idea that sex is a question of more or less brain or heart. Man is of more importance than Mrs. Gage imagines.

HON. SAMUEL E. SEWALL writes to Mrs. R. B. Wolfe, who succeeds her father, the late W. S. Bailey, as editor of the *Nashville Liberal*, as follows: "You have my sympathy in the grief you must feel in the loss you have sustained. He was an old and esteemed friend, whom I honored for his labors, sufferings, and dangers which he endured so heroically in the anti-slavery cause in a slave State. Few of the martyrs in the anti-slavery service met with so many losses, and none were more brave and constant than he was to the end. His long life seems to have been devoted to the service of his fellow-man. I did not agree with his opinions about God and immortality, but I admired the fearlessness with which he dared to express unpopular opinions. I agreed with him in some of his views, that the Bible is no more sacred than any other book, and that much in most religious creeds is mere error and foolish superstition."

HENRY PHIPPS, Jr., of Allegheny, Pa., has given \$25,000 for the purpose of building plant-houses, to be constructed of iron and glass, on the ground formerly occupied by the Western Penitentiary, the plant-houses, when completed, to become the property of Allegheny City. One of the conditions of Mr. Phipps' gift is that the plant-houses shall be open to the public every day, including Sundays, during such hours and subject to such restrictions as the Park Committee may deem necessary for the protection of the property and plants. At a special meeting of the Allegheny Park Committee called to take action in regard to Mr. Phipps' generous

proposition, one member said: "I have been requested to enter the protest of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Allegheny against the acceptance of Mr. Phipps' offer, with the specifications contained in it. I now enter the protest." Another member made a long speech about "all sorts of Sabbath desecration," and placing that community "on a par with the cities of France and Germany, where the Sabbath is mainly recognizable by the increased number of amusements, etc. Several outsiders who were present spoke. One said that Christians were opposed to the acceptance of the gift, on the conditions named, because the boys and girls would desert the churches and go to the park. Another said that he "would favor the proposition, if a pulpit and a good preacher were put into the plant-house on Sundays." The churches seemed to be well represented as to numbers. Mr. Langfitt of the committee said: "The objections offered are trivial, but it has always been the case. Whenever any one has made a generous offer to the city, somebody has always been ready with hindrances. This clause does not change existing conditions." The committee, by a vote of twelve to two, adopted a resolution to accept the gift. At a meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery, a resolution was adopted: "That this Presbytery heartily indorses the action of our United Presbyterian brethren, and will co-operate in their efforts to maintain the sanctity of the Sabbath." A committee of three were appointed to "wait on Mr. Phipps, the donor, to obtain, if possible, a modification of the condition connected with the gift." Mr. Phipps says: "I am, with all respect for the Presbyteries, determined to have the conservatory opened on Sunday or not at all. In New York, they have music in Central Park. In London, which is the quietest city in the world on the Sabbath day, nearly all the parks and museums are opened to the public. This is simply because it is a recognized fact that it is the means of much good, and not only keeps a certain class from spending their hours in gin-mills and places of evil resort, but educates them to a higher standard of thought and morals. The idea of this gift came to me after reading an article by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, entitled 'Our Boys on Sunday.' I wish this matter had not achieved so much notoriety, but I suppose it cannot be helped now."

For The Index.

THE BEST THING IN LIFE.

Far back, in galleries olden,
A Roman Emperor stood,
And, looking upon the nations,
Proclaimed that the highest good
Was to be at one with Nature,—
A part of the Life sublime,
A note in the spherical music
Of the everlasting chime.

The world has gained in splendor
Since Antoninus slept,
And over its primal darkness
Has the light of science crept;
Religion has raised her banners,
And within the homes of men
Have art and affection gathered
The trophies of sword and pen.

But again, as athwart the dawning,
Is the "world-wide whisper" heard,
And to deathless love and longing
Is given the priceless word
That to be at one with Nature—
To abide in the union blest
With God's universal order—
Is in human life the best.

M. F.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 29, 1886.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

NOISM.

BY THOMAS DAVIDSON.

A Lecture read to the New York Branch of the Fellowship of the New Life.

All periods are, more or less, periods of transition. They must be so, for the very word *period* means a going round. Whatever is in time is subject to passing or transition. But some periods are more distinctly transitional than others. Our own time is one of these. We, more distinctly than almost any former generation, are passing from an old order of things to a new. Not only is the change we are passing through very great, it is also very fundamental. It is not a change of details or of mere practice, as the Protestant Reformation was. It is a change of ideal. We may, perhaps, even go further than this, and say that it is a change to the ideal, to the purely ideal. But it will be asked: If we are changing to the ideal, what are we changing from? Is not that also an ideal, though a different one? To this last question, we must answer distinctly: No. We are changing, not away from one ideal to another, but from something that was not ideal at all to the ideal.

This will require some explanation; and I may begin by saying that, in the progress of thought, which is also, in the strictest sense, the progress of religion, there are three distinct stages,—the sensual or fetichistic, the imaginary, animistic or theistic, and the intellectual or ideal. The first of these stages is that of savage peoples, the second that of semi-civilized peoples, the third that of fully civilized peoples. It is from the second to the third of these that we are now passing. We are, in one word, passing from imagination, which is the basis of theism in all its forms,—monotheism, polytheism, pantheism,—to intelligence and the ideal, from semi-civilization to entire civilization. Possibly, you will say: Are we, then, to give up theism altogether, and become atheists, godless?

That depends altogether upon the meaning you attach to the words "theism" and "atheism." For my own part, if theism means a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being made in the image of man, and acting consciously after the manner of man, conceiving purposes and then carrying them out, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, then I am certainly not a theist, but an atheist. I know that the word "atheist," in these mainly stupid times of ours, is a term of reproach, something which acts upon the half-bovine multitude very much as a red rag acts upon the wholly bovine bull. But no sincere and courageous man or woman will heed the reproach of the multitude, so long as he or she is conscious of being on the side of truth and progress. In the very nature of things, the man who arrives at a higher truth than that of the multitude must be regarded by the multitude with suspicion and hate. Of all the jealous powers that ever were, the multitude is the most so,—just because it is the multitude. If, then, we are sure that we have arrived at something higher, truer, more inspiring than theism, than belief in a god of the imagination, then we ought to rejoice in being called atheists, just as we rejoice in being called non-fetichists or non-idolaters. Nor ought we to forget that he who worships an idol of the imagination, called god or anything else, is just as truly an idolater as the man who worships the same or a similar image after it has been outwardly realized in wood, bronze, or stone. If, on the other hand, we agree to call the highest principle in the universe, howsoever reached, God, then those who cast away the god of the imagination for the pure idea of the intellect, which no imagination can reach,—because the Infinite and Absolute cannot be reached,—may justly style themselves theists, and the only true theists, calling the theists of the imagination idolaters. But I think less confusion will arise, less disingenuousness and unworthy compromise, if we allow those who worship an idol of the imagination to retain the much coveted and popular term *theist*, and call those who have risen to the higher ground of pure intelligence by a term correctly designating their true position. Such a term would be *noist*, derived from the Greek term *νόος* or *νοῖς*, which means the objective, ordering principle of the world,—that principle which, when it becomes self-conscious, is intelligence. If I were to designate my own position in one word, I should prefer to call myself a noist. But I shall speak of this further on. At present, let us trace the history of religion rapidly through its three stages, and show that the highest of these is what I have sought to designate as *noism*.

I have called the oldest form of religion *fetichism*. The term is defined by Max Müller as "superstitious veneration felt and testified for mere rubbish." It really means veneration for the material and phenomenal as such, without any regard to, or even consciousness of, the existence of anything behind the phenomenal. It is the worship of matter. Now, this is not only the oldest form of human religion, but it is the form in which religion exists among the lower animals. When a lion runs away from an umbrella suddenly opened, or when a horse shies at an approaching train, this is fetich worship. In man, pure fetich-worship is possible only in the very lowest phases of intelligence, such as are met with in some tribes on this continent and in Asia. Such tribes are said to be utterly without religion or god; and this, in a certain sense, is true. Their religion is pure superstition, and their god matter, in the form of amulets, talismans, and so forth. Of these, some are personal, others tribal. Fetichism is the religion of the senses, and of men liv-

ing a purely, or almost purely, sensuous and material life.

The second phase of religion is what I would call animism, or the worship of life. It is rudely divided into two parts, which, for convenience' sake, we may call idolatry and theism. I am using the term animism here in a very wide acceptance, as including not only plant and animal life, but also those movements of nature that in some degree resemble life,—the motion of the heavenly bodies, of the wind, of fire, and so on. Indeed, the word *animus*, from which *animism* is derived, means properly the wind (Greek *ἀνεμος*). Motion and life were less carefully distinguished by the ancients than they are by us. Aristotle, for example, distinguishes three kinds of motion,—local, quantitative, and qualitative,—whose subdivisions are locomotion, increase, diminution, birth, decay, and change. If the most primitive form of religion was worship of material, of matter, the next was the worship of the dynamic, of force. During the prevalence of this form, men worshipped the wandering sun and moon, the stars, flowing streams, the winds, ever-changing mountains and clouds; later on, trees and animals. This is the religion that we find in India, Persia, and Egypt in the old times.

But, when the new religion—animism—came, it did not at once displace fetichism. The two existed for a long time together, and deeply influenced each other. In fact, their union produced idolatry. For what is an idol but an attempt to put some aspect of motion or life into the form of a fetich? The earliest idols we know were small images of wood or clay that could be carried about the person as amulets or talismans. Thousands of these may still be found in the tombs of Greece, at Mykenai, Tiryns, Argos, and elsewhere. It was long before public idols made their appearance. There is only one or, at most, two such mentioned in Homer. The effects of this union of the material and the dynamic, which we call idolatry, were curious. The most important of these was the gradual introduction of gods proper, a series of imagined beings, neither material nor dynamic, but lying behind both matter and force and causing them. We are in the habit of supposing that idols are mere representations of gods already conceived; but this is not so. The idols come first, the gods afterward. It was the very impossibility of embodying forces in fetiches that made people feel the need of adding in imagination something to the fetich; and this something was a spirit, a god. We are apt to despise idolatry; but, in doing so, we fail to reflect how much we owe to it. It was the powerlessness of idols to express the activities in nature and life that forced men to think pure forces or spirits, and, in imagination, to connect some such force or spirit with every idol. The idols at first were very rude, and, except where they represented the different forms of animal life, had no particular shape. The fetiches of the Greek gods were, in many cases, mere rude, shapeless blocks of wood or stone; and, even after noble images were introduced, these blocks were still regarded as by far more sacred than they. Of course, where different forms of animal life were worshipped, as in Egypt, images of animals appeared early. Among the Eastern Aryans, on the contrary, where the forces of nature, the heavenly bodies, the winds, mountains, and rivers were especially worshipped, images appeared comparatively late in the history of idolatry. I mean that the idols were not images, but rude fetiches, connected by the imagination with these forces of nature. Idolatry thus contains two elements: a fetich, which tends more and more to cease being a mere fetich and to be-

come a symbol; and an imagined force or spirit, of which the fetich is, in the main, the symbol. As time advanced, the fetich came to be more and more regarded as representative only, and so tended to become more and more an image. At the same time, the forces of nature, being thus disengaged from symbols and conceived apart from them, came to be more and more regarded as spirits, the only form in which distinct and separate forces can be conceived. But, as these forces came to be regarded as spirits, they tended to react upon the symbols and fetiches, and to give these the shape in which those spirits most familiar to man appear. In this way, the forces of nature were personified; and the first result of this personification; was the introduction of idols in human shape. When this took place, polytheism, in the proper sense, began. It is generally held that idolatry is the result of polytheism. The contrary is true. It is also held that idol-making is the result of personification. The contrary is true. Image-making is the result of polytheism and personification; but idolatry is much older than image worship. One of the most curious results of idolatry and the separation of the symbol from the power symbolized is the belief in the existence—the separate existence—and consequent immortality, of the human soul. This belief was the source of that very ancient form of religion—ancestor worship—which not only prevails among many barbarous and half-barbarous tribes, but formed a considerable element in the religion of the Greeks and Romans even down to late times. It will, I think, be found a uniform law that rude peoples that have no idols and do not worship the *lares* of their ancestors, have no belief in the immortality of the soul. Indeed, it is utterly impossible that they should have any such belief, not having the concept of spirit or soul apart from matter. It is related that one of the early missionaries to the Indians of this country could find no other way of saying to these Indians that they had immortal souls than by telling them (I hope the rudeness of the expression will be excused) that each had in him a gut that would never rot.

I cannot go through all the steps by which men rise from simple idolatry to ancestor-worship and polytheism, and thence to monotheism or pantheism; but these steps are not at all obscure. They can all be traced. When idolatry begins, the gods are as numerous as the idols, and the idols as numerous as the forces worshipped. As time goes on, two processes advance simultaneously. The forces of nature tend more and more to arrange themselves in classes; and, as this is done, idols tend to represent such classes. At the same time, they tend to represent forces more and more approaching intelligence. Consequently, the idols tend more and more to assume human shape. These are really only two aspects of the same process. As men are able to classify natural forces, they themselves become more intelligent, and so tend to represent the complex unity of forces as intelligent. In one word, as the gods grow less numerous, they more and more tend to assume human attributes. The last step in this process is taken, when men rise to a concept of the universe as a whole, and of its forces as all combined in one great complex. This is wont to take place when men begin really carefully to study the forces of nature, especially the movements of the heavenly bodies. They are then apt to look upon the world as a single great organism or animal, animated by a single soul or spirit. This stage seems to have been reached in comparatively early times by the Egyptians, the Hindus, and the Persians, and, later on, by the Greeks also. In all cases, however, it, of course, struggled long with polythe-

ism, and, indeed, perhaps never, in any case, got entirely rid of it. Moses, apparently, tried to hold to the pure monotheism of the more advanced Egyptians; but, as we know, the Israelites were continually falling back into polytheism. To prevent them from so doing, he forbade the making of images, these being always a temptation to polytheism. Indeed, they did not arrive at a consistent monotheism until after the Babylonish captivity. The Greeks got no further than subordinating all their gods to one chief god,—to Zeus. Christianity borrowed the monotheism of the later Jews, but could not keep it pure. Christianity, though claiming to be monotheistic, is in reality tritheistic, that is, polytheistic. Moham. medanism was a revolt against the polytheism of Christianity in favor of a pure monotheism. Mohammedanism is, therefore, strictly monotheistic.

The second stage in religious development begins with idolatry and ends with monotheism. The idolatrous symbols are first made images; and then, as men come more and more to be able to conceive spiritual things, the symbols are dropped altogether.

But in all forms of religion publicly professed at the present day, there are not only polytheistic and idolatrous elements, but even fetichistic elements. Trinitarian Christianity, as I have said, is polytheistic. The worship paid to Jesus and, in Roman churches, to the Virgin, is pure idolatry. Very many of the ceremonies in all the churches—baptism and that strange ceremony called blessing or consecration—are purely fetichistic. But we may go even farther than this. Theism is itself, for the most part, a form of idolatry. The supreme power in theism is still conceived as an *είδωλον*, a spiritual being of the nature of man. It is true that man is generally said to be made in His image; but, as Voltaire and, long before him, Aristotle said, the truth is just the other way. God is a creature of the human imagination, and is therefore made, in the image of man, the highest *είδωλον* that man really knows.

Idolatry does not cease to be idolatry, because its *είδωλα* are not presented in material form. The essence of idolatry, and of theism as much as of any other form of it, is that it takes a mere product of the imagination for the supreme principle of the universe. Now, the religious problem with which we are struggling at the present day is, how to get rid of this imaginary product and replace it by a higher,—how to pass from theism to noism.

This transition is greater than any previous transition in the history of religion, except that from fetichism to theism, which marks the transition from barbarism to civilization. The transitions within theism itself—e.g., that from polytheism to monotheism—are much less momentous. The transition before us marks the transition from civilization, or State culture, to humanity, or pure culture. The nature and supreme momentousness of this change are apparent to but a very few persons,—the prophets and seers and those who loyally follow these. Nevertheless, a very large number of persons are working, in a more or less unconscious way, to bring it about,—some negatively, by merely combating theism; others positively, by trying to find a substitute for theism.

Indeed, the change to which I refer, though now by no means complete or to any great extent consciously striven for, began more than two thousand three hundred years ago, and has been slowly struggling with the various forms of theism, as well as with mere negative atheism, ever since. Some of the most remarkable men that the world has ever seen have taken part in the strife. The first was Anaxagoras, who used the

term *vovs* to replace the old *θεός*, or God. He was a friend of Periklēs, and was expelled from Athens for atheism. Proceeding onward, we may name Sokratēs, whose fate was due to his atheism, so called; Aristotle, who came near sharing the same fate; Jesus, who suffered because he denied that God was different from himself; Giordano Bruno, burnt in 1600 for atheism; Lucilio Vanini, who shared the same fate; Spinoza, Kant, Goethe, and not a few men of the present day, including many scientific men, who labor earnestly and nobly, but do not know the meaning of their own movement.

Let us now see whether we can fully grasp the true nature of this great transition which began two thousand three hundred years ago, and is still going on. What does it mean to pass from theism to noism? (1) what does it mean in thought? (2) what does it mean in life?

In thought, it means a great deal. In cosmogony, it means a passing from creation to evolution. It means that we are no longer to believe that anything ever came out of nothing, but that whatever is, is necessarily and eternally. It means that whatever takes place in the universe is due to a passing from latency to activity of powers that eternally exist. It means that no being is altogether dependent and none altogether independent. It means that being is at the foundation of all things; that even thought obeys the laws of being, and not being the laws of thought. Perhaps this is the most important of all the changes involved in the passage from theism to noism. Theism, conceiving its first principle in the image of man, whose essential characteristic is thought, tried to place thought at the foundation of things, and to make being its product. This is what is meant by creation. Noism, on the contrary, holds that being is more fundamental than thought, and that thought is but an act or phase of being. It holds that nothing can think before it is, that thought and the thinker are not identical, and that the thinker must precede thought. It holds, moreover, that thought is, intrinsically, a seizing of things and laws that are, and is what it is on account of the nature of the things known. Were the things different, the thoughts about them would be different, whereas any change in our thought would make no difference to the things thought. When I mistake a bush in a fog for a man, that in no way affects the bush. The importance of this difference cannot be well overestimated. It is the difference between faith and science, imagination and positive knowledge. Perhaps you will be inclined to ask me, Does the conscious arise out of the unconscious? And some may be inclined to think this question equivalent to this other, Does thought arise out of matter? To both questions, the answer must be, No. The conscious does not arise out of the unconscious, except in the sense that growth arises out of a seed. Whatever at any time becomes conscious must always have been latently conscious. Thought does not arise out of matter, any more than matter out of thought. Matter and thought are both manifestations of something that underlies both. Matter is, after all, only a form of motion.

But this is not all that the passage from theism to noism means in thought. It means further that, instead of looking, as theists do, for a divine revelation outside of nature, in the so-called supernatural, we are to study nature, study that which is, and seek for our revelation in a knowledge of its laws. By nature, however, we must be careful not to mean merely physical or material nature, as many scientific men are apt to do, but to include under the term also spiritual nature—the nature of thought, feeling, and will. These are manifes-

tations of the *vovs*, quite as much as are the phenomena of material nature. All laws whatsoever, whether of matter or thought, are expressions of the manner in which the *nous* acts. This is only another way of saying that being, as such, has certain essential and fundamental laws, which govern all its actions, and that these laws are what we find displayed in nature and thought.

There is, still further, an important result of the change from theism to noism. Theism makes man a created and dependent being, having a beginning in time, and possibly an end in it also; for not all theists believe in the immortality of the soul, and even those who do make that immortality dependent upon the will of God. Noism, on the contrary, recognizes that man, like everything else that is, is eternally; that he is not dependent upon any outside will for his being, but is an integral, necessary part of the universe; that while certain actions of his, including thought, may begin and cease intermittently, the power to perform them cannot perish.

Such are some of the more important effects of the change to noism upon thought. The effects upon life are even greater. The simple sense of personal eternity and independence, replacing the sense of transitoriness and dependence, gives altogether a new color and meaning to conscious existence. The sense of dependence, which theism fosters, has been one of the most baneful influences that ever checked civilization and humanity. I think it is Hegel who says that, if the essence of religion consisted in the sense of dependence, as some claim, the dog would be the most religious of animals. This sense taught men to fold their hands and to depend upon the grace of God for their highest good, instead of working for it themselves. It made them pray, instead of acting, be idle, when they ought to have been diligent, made them despise and hold apart from the world, when they ought to have been using it for their highest good. Protestantism originally taught, and, in some denominations, still teaches, that a moral life is in no degree the way to salvation, that faith alone and the grace of God can save. Noism teaches men that no real good can come to them save through their own efforts, directed to ascertaining and following the laws of being. It commands them, accordingly, to use their intellects to the utmost, in order to attain to a knowledge of these laws, and to exert their wills to the utmost, in order to conform to them. Instead of teaching them that sin gives offence to another Being who will punish them, probably in a way out of all proportion to their offence, it warns them that certain actions and courses of action are offences against their own being, degrading it and causing it to miss true peace and happiness. It says to every man, "Let thy chief terror be of thine own soul." Above all, it tells them that their true end, which is blessedness, lies in their own complete development in knowledge, love, and power, and that this development is possible only through harmonious interaction with all the beings that are in the universe. Instead of teaching, as all theists do and must teach, that some men may reach happiness while others still suffer, it teaches that no one person can attain his highest end or true blessedness until all have attained it. It tells men that mere material well-being which does not contribute to advancement in spiritual power, knowledge, and love, is a curse, and not a blessing. It makes the end of life being, and not having.

The truth is, the transition from theism to noism is a revolution in the entire purpose and method of life,—a revolution the equal of which the world has never known. Under theism, which

separated God from the world, men were encouraged to abandon the world and cling to God,—to save themselves from the wrecked world and seek to rise to heaven. Noism, recognizing that the world is the expression of the Supreme Power, and at every moment the completest expression possible at that moment, teaches men, instead of abandoning the world, to transform it. It says to each and every man, "Thou art a distinct expression of the Absolute Power. All the might of the universe is potentially in thee. Thou hast only to believe this, and thy faith, translated into love and energy, will be as fruitful as a grain of mustard seed. Not by feeling and praying and supplicating wilt thou task and the task of humanity be accomplished, but by vigorous action of head, heart, and hand. Not by humbling thyself in the dust and calling thyself a worm—a poor compliment, at best, to an omnipotent God—canst thou perform the duty which the law of thy being imposes upon thee, but by earnestly and reverently claiming thy dignity as an expression of the Absolute, as a revelation of the Supreme Power, and by comporting thyself as befits such dignity. All that thou hast ever dreamed of the divine perfections, all the knowledge, all the love, all the patience, all the self-diffusion, thou must realize in thyself, and be, as far as in thee lies, a very present, revealed God."

To the theist, who does not recognize the limits of his own creed, or know that he is only a refined idolater, this, of course, will sound like blasphemy. But what is blasphemy? It is a mere relative thing. It is the denial of the gods that any one else happens to believe in. Sokratēs was a blasphemer, Jesus was a blasphemer, Giordano Bruno was a blasphemer. We can well afford to be blasphemers and to undergo the obloquy that comes to blasphemy. The day will come when it will be recognized that our blasphemy is the highest religion. For it is surely the highest religion to be the most perfect man or woman, to realize in one's self the greatest amount of the Absolute Power. For religion does not consist in worshipping the Absolute as something outside of us, but in realizing it as something in us, as our own deepest and inmost nature.

But I would not conceal from you that noism calls for an amount of sacrifice and energy that theism never called for. Indeed, it calls upon us to do all that, under theism, God was expected to do. It is the cowardly fear of this that makes men so willing to be theists. Men wish to believe that things will be done for them, and that they may fold their hands and plead with that Power to do what they would wish to have done. Noism tells them that the divine work which moves the world must be done through their brains, their hearts, and their hands; that they must be up and doing; that they must understand the world and love it, in order that they may transform it.

The fables of theism differ in no essential way from the stories in the *Arabian Nights*. Both tell us about help afforded to man by supernatural powers: both are childish and unworthy of grown men.

Two thousand—yea, three thousand—years of theism, in all its forms, have shown us what it can do for the human race. I do not mean to say that it has not done a great deal. It has carried men a great way farther than ever fetichism could have carried them; but it has still left them very far from their goal. The world of the present day is just what theism has made it, and we all know what its condition is. Has it in any great degree made men and women unselfish, self-sacrificing? Is the world governed by love? Is the dignity of man as man, and of woman as woman,

recognized? Do the strong and rich toil and expend their riches for the benefit of the weak and the poor? Is all dishonest gain scouted? Are those who gather wealth careful to see whether, by so doing, they are oppressing any of their fellow-men? Are men and women generally using every means to discover and to understand their own nature and the nature of the world around them? Are they enthusiastically eager to find out what is their highest duty and to do it? Are they pure, modest, earnest? These questions need no answer. The world of the present day is, in the main, unspiritual, ignorant, blind, and selfish, each man and each woman struggling in the general *mêlée* for himself or herself. I do not mean to say that there are not exceptions, but I think tolerably few of them will be found among theists.

Perhaps you will say to me: But theism cannot be held accountable for this state of things. If men had but taken the doctrines of theism seriously, the world might have been a paradise. Perhaps so; but what does this prove? Simply that theism has been powerless to influence men sufficiently to induce them to reform the world. But more than this is true. Theism, even if taken with the utmost seriousness, is utterly and necessarily powerless to inspire men to do their proper work. In the first place, it makes them believe that a great deal of the world's work will be done by God, and that they need not trouble themselves about it. In the second place, it flatters them with the belief that they can be saved without salvation's coming to the whole world, since their relation to the Supreme Power is utterly independent of their relation to the world.

Such a view, such a creed as this, is altogether powerless to inspire men to perform their duty, however seriously they may take it. Nay: the more seriously they take it, the less will it inspire them to do their duty. The more they exalt God and debase themselves, the more will they expect and fear from God and the less from themselves.

There is no escape from the state of things induced by theism but to pass on from it to the higher noism,—to that system of thought which finds the Supreme Power manifested in the universe, and, above all, in the conscious spirit of man,—that system which makes man responsible for his own welfare and the welfare of the world, which calls upon him to do what God was formerly expected to do.

And there is no doubt that the world generally is preparing to make the transition in question. A thousand efforts are unconsciously tending in that way. Physical science, the study of which is now threatening to supplant all other studies, has no place for theism. It finds the powers that cause evolution to be in things, not outside of them. It deals with these powers only in so far as it finds them manifested in things. It looks for the explanation of things in universal laws, not in the will of God; and laws are simply the essential attributes of being. Many of the more current philosophies tend in the same direction,—Comtism, Hegelianism, Darwinianism, Spencerianism, the system of Von Hartmann, and, above all, the doctrines of the Spiritualists. These systems are, one and all, imperfect attempts at noism. They all look away from theism, even when they do not condemn it; and they all look for truth in the right direction,—to the natural, not to the supernatural; to science, not to revelation or faith. But not one of them, so far as I knew, has recognized the truth which is required to give these systems meaning, and make them satisfy man's thirst for truth and clearness with regard to himself and his

destiny. Not one of them recognizes that the Absolute is an essence and not a thing. Every one of them makes it a thing, or else declares it to be unknowable. Comte, Darwin, and Spencer declare it to be Unknowable; Hegel calls it an Idea; Von Hartmann calls it the Unconscious; the Spiritualists give it no particular name.

Perhaps it does not mean much to some of you, when I say that the Absolute, the Supreme, Divine Power, is an essence, and not a thing or substance. I am always sorry when I am compelled to introduce philosophical or metaphysical terms; but, in some cases, this cannot be avoided. What I mean I may perhaps best explain by a particular instance. Wine is a thing, a substance: the essence of wine is not. Wine may be divided up into drops smaller and ever smaller, without limit, so far as we know. The essence of wine is in the smallest drop, just as truly as it is in a butt. It is totally in every particle of the wine. Now, I maintain that the Absolute is an essence, and exists totally in every being, the smallest as well as the largest, that everything that truly is contains the total Absolute. You will perhaps say to me that this is pure pantheism. Well, if pantheism were the truth, I should not at all object to holding it; but it is not the truth, and noism is not pantheism. Pantheism, as we all know, considers the Absolute a substance, and not an essence. Herein lies its error, and hence come all its baneful results. According to pantheism, the Absolute is scattered through the universe, one part of it here, another there; one part in one thing, another in another, so that the total Absolute exists only in the sum of things taken together. The result of such a doctrine is this: that no individual thing in the universe has absolute existence; that all individuals are parts and only parts of the Absolute, and vanish in its totality, as waves vanish in the boundless expanse of the ocean. It is pantheism, making inconceivable the absoluteness and eternity of the individual spirit, that has been the curse of the Orient, and, now that Oriental thought is invading the West, threatens to become the curse of it also. Science is in its nature pantheistic. All forms of monism, the systems of Spinoza, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Comte, Spencer, etc., are pantheistic, and contain the germ of destruction to all the hopes, inspirations, and energies of man.

You will say: "There surely cannot be much difference between an essence and a substance. Essence and substance mean the same thing." In ordinary speech, they often do; but, in philosophical diction, they are wide as the poles asunder. The difference between essence and substance constitutes the difference between noism and pantheism; between a philosophy and a religion which tell man that he is a mere will-less, helpless worm in the grasp of a great, self-evolving Power, and a philosophy and religion which assure him that he is of infinite power, that his will is free, that he is potentially absolute, capable of infinite progress, secure of eternal life. Often before now, the fate of whole races has hung upon a metaphysical distinction, and upon none oftener than upon the distinction between essence and substance. Had the early thinkers of India correctly grasped this distinction, India might have been to-day the leading nation of the world. Nay, more, it is not too much to say that, if Oriental thought were to strike deep root among us in the form of Hegelianism, Darwinianism, or of Esoteric Buddhism, we should, in the course of a few ages, sink down into the condition of India or China.

I am afraid that, after I have done my best, the distinction for thought and life between theism, pantheism, and noism will not be entirely clear. All I can hope to do is to direct your attention to

the distinction, trusting, as I most firmly do, that reflection will make it clear to you. When it becomes so, then you will see the momentousness of the religious change through which we are about to pass, and will cling with enthusiasm to the movement which attempts to embody the truth toward which the change is. You will then utterly break away from theism and the whole narrow, selfish system of things founded upon it, and devote yourselves to the system of noism, which forbids all narrowness, all selfishness, all worldliness and other-worldliness, and makes it the highest of duties to know, to love, and to act according to knowledge and love.

In these practical days, the question will doubtless be put to me: What is going to be the practical result of noism? What will be its influence upon human institutions,—upon politics, society, economics, education?

It would take a long time to answer this manifold question in detail; but I think we may say that, if the one thought that there is no true salvation or good for any, without the salvation and good of all, were once thoroughly impressed, all human institutions would assume a different aspect. Men and women would then use all their efforts to discover by what means all could be saved, and to apply these means. Their success in these efforts would be the crown of their ambition and the measure of their worth. They would cease to covet wealth, ease, preferment for themselves; they would abstain from vice, as a cruelty and a wrong to the whole world. Again, the other thought—that they are the means, and the only means, by which the redemption of man can be brought about, that there is no known power but that which works in things—would nerve men to exert energy, instead of remaining passive and waiting for evolution to do things.

The welfare of the future depends upon men's being inspired with a new religious fervor; and this fervor must be one of earnest desire to know, to appreciate lovingly, to labor. What nature has been doing blindly and painfully for ages, men, feeling themselves the highest expression of the objective intelligence that lies in nature, must continue intelligently, and lead it to its perfect result. Ceasing to complain of the evils of the world, they will ask themselves whether they, simply and collectively, are doing all that in them lies to better it. Until they are sure that they are doing so in all singleness and unselfishness of purpose, they have no right to complain about anything except themselves.

Let us then, instead of complaining, make ourselves strong in the conviction that the secret of the future is ours, and then proceed, with all our might, to understand ourselves and the universe we live in, in order that, understanding it, we may, as nature's vicegerents and highest powers, bring it more and more near to that supreme harmony toward which all things are struggling.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A NOTE FROM DR. MONTGOMERY.

Editors of The Index:—

In an editorial note of April 8, I find that Mr. Underwood and a friend believe *concomitance* to be the relation taught by Mr. Spencer as obtaining between the "extra-organic and intra-organic." It seems to me that it is rather difficult to tell what Mr. Spencer's view really is regarding this central problem of philosophy. I wonder whether he himself knows! In my paper on "Scientific Theism," I chose *correlation* among half a dozen equally available views, merely to have a telling contrast to Lewes' two-sided theory, which Mr. Spencer does not omit at times likewise to propound.

I willingly admit that Mr. Underwood and his friend have correctly pointed out *concomitance* as a doctrine taught by Mr. Spencer; and, I am sure, they, on their part, will admit with equal willingness that I have been no less correct in asserting that *correlation* is also one of Mr. Spencer's doctrines. To bring about this satisfactory agreement,—not between Mr. Spencer's views, but between Mr. Underwood, his friend, and myself,—nothing more is needed than the perusal of § 71, *First Principles*, from which I will quote the following passage:—

"Various classes of facts thus unite to prove that the law of metamorphosis, which holds among the physical forces, holds equally between them and the mental forces. These modes of the Unknowable which we call motion, heat, light, chemical affinity, etc., are alike transformable into each other and into those modes of the Unknowable which we distinguish as sensation, emotion, thought; these, in their turns being directly or indirectly retransformable into the original shapes. That no idea or feeling arises, save as a result of some physical force expended in producing it, is fast becoming a commonplace of science; and whoever duly weighs the evidence will see that nothing but an overwhelming bias in favor of a preconceived theory can explain its non-acceptance. How this metamorphosis takes place, how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness, how it is possible for aerial vibrations to generate the sensation we call sound, or for the forces liberated by chemical changes in the brain to give rise to emotion,—these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom."

It is delightful to be able to express one's self so unmistakably as Mr. Spencer has done in the above passage. And thus it will be readily granted that it is not due "to a slip of the pen or to some inadvertence" on my part that Mr. Spencer stands committed to the opinion that extra-mental forces are convertible into mental states, and *vice versa*. In this philosophical dilemma, we may console ourselves by contemplating that less voluminous and far more authoritative works than the *Synthetic Philosophy* are affording to bewildered humanity equally good evidence for various sides of one and the same vital question.

Yours respectfully,

EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING FOR THE RICH.

Editors of *The Index*:—

It has become very popular of late to laud highly the industrial training of the poor. It has struck the writer that such industrial manual training for the rich would be a great good in diminishing the strong tendency in that class to insanity, suicide, and morbid mental states generally. Undoubtedly, such method of attempting to prevent such diseases would not be any more tentative than is the present method of attempting a cure, when the diseased mental state is well marked. Moreover, the object aimed at in such manual training is never to be avowed to be the prevention of any disease, but simply to learn the way to perform well such labor as is under consideration. Hence, no possible disgust at a proposed remedy would exist in the patient's mind,—a most important item, by the way, to be considered in weighing the chances for success in such cases. Because a child never has been taught in early years of life such matters is no bar to the undertaking of such education at any time, even after manhood or womanhood. Nothing so contributes to the relief of the strain on the mind and nervous system as a careful employment of the body in some useful pursuit, in producing, or attempting at least to produce, some valuable or ornamental result. It distinctly is opposed to introspection and overexcited imagination or dreads. Let there be no hurry, no course, no specified or approved method to be strictly followed in all cases in such instruction: simply let one who knows teach the rudiments and make suggestions to those who do not know, encouraging to exertion as a fellow laborer. This would apply to carpentering, tinkering, gardening, photographing, as well as to more delicate mechanical works. As soon as some originality is developed, and a sign of interest in the work on the part of the one taught, the foundation for success is fairly laid; and, with care, the desired result can be obtained for the individual taught, that of securing for him or her a mental counterbalance which will be permanent.

It is surprising what real gratification comes from having originated and completed some article of use or ornament one's self. It assumes a value wholly out of proportion even to the exertion necessary to produce it, and the hopeful side of the mind is thus excited forcibly.

Far too many suicides, too much nervous exhaustion, so called, with all the manifold varieties of allied troubles, are met with to-day by all experienced practitioners among the richer classes; and it is time to combat the prime cause, if it be possible, or at least the tendency, by whatever rational means can be devised and utilized. Mechanical or active labor is what seems to offer the most promising hopes for success in such cases. And this use of this form of training is quite as valuable, quite as great a good to the human race, as is the like training of the poor, that they become more self-helpful. Independent of all this, argument for such training of the rich could be made on the ground that the rich, having more leisure, are more prone to fall into evil ways in general; and all real working would be in opposition to such tendencies, and, therefore, for good.

JOHN DIXWELL.

Boston, April, 1886.

PROF. LONGFELLOW AGAIN.

Editors of *The Index*:—

Allow me to echo the surprise expressed by Mr. Potter that Mr. Kennedy should call the late Prof. Longfellow "close-fisted." It is always easy to apply the epithet to any man who pays his own debts and does not live on other people's money; but I have known few literary men who were so essentially generous, both of their time and their money, as Prof. Longfellow. Not wishing to rely on my own judgment, I asked, just now, the opinion of a gentleman who has been a conspicuous leader in all good works in Cambridge for the last forty years, Mr. F. L. Chapman. His answer was: "I have been to Prof. Longfellow with a great many subscription papers, and there was no one to whom I was more willing to go. He always responded promptly, and generally with as large an amount as was given by any one." Such is also my own experience; and I have also known of acts of private generosity, on a most liberal scale. In later years, after his daughters grew up, his charities were largely conducted through them, as was proper enough, in view of the incessant claims made upon his time. But I should say, as a long resident of Cambridge, that his generosity was as "well known" as his modesty.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

BOOK NOTICES.

WHAT IS THEOSOPHY? By a Fellow of the Theosophical Society. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. pp. 28. Price 50 cents.

This unique little volume, with its new and sensible departure in binding, purports and essays to bring the new science or religion, called by its followers "Theosophy," into terms suited to the capacities of youthful minds, and is dedicated by the author "To my little Boy, whose oft-repeated question, 'What is Theosophy?' has been the occasion of my attempt to put this great matter into little words." We hope the "little boy" indicated is wise enough to understand all about Theosophy after this explanation; but, if he does, he will be wiser than some adult readers. We give in brief some of the doctrines taught: "Mankind fell from their first happy state by thinking more about their *outer* bodies than about their souls." "There is only one way to get rid of sin and suffering, and that is by going back to God." "This world is one of seven planets," in all of which we are liable, at some period, to find ourselves living, in different forms, but with no remembrance of our former life; for "we have all lived many times before," and "we shall live many times again." "What we are now is the consequence of . . . what we did in our last earth life." "In your next incarnation,—many, many hundreds or thousands of years from now perhaps,—you will have to suffer for wrong-doing in this life." "The part of you that lives over and over is the soul." "The soul goes into 'Kama Loca,' which is the first spiritual world, . . . until it has learned to do without the body." Afterward, having conquered all bodily desires, the soul goes "onward to Devachan,—we call it heaven." "On the walls [of Devachan] will be pictures of our good deeds in bright and glorious colors, and we shall be surrounded by

those we love best and most wish to have with us"; but, after a while, the soul realizing even in this happy abode "that some other experiences are necessary, it returns to earth." This "is like going back to school after a holiday; and we must look forward to the time when, our education finished, there will be no more school. When that time comes, we shall reach Nirvana. Nirvana is the highest heaven; . . . and, when we reach that goal, we shall have a long and perfect holiday,—no more suffering and sorrow!" "There is no such thing as supernatural power, and there have never been living men who could do anything against the laws of nature; but it is possible to acquire a knowledge of these laws, and thus make use of forces the very existence of which is unknown to people who are uninstructed. This is what the adepts of to-day have done, and this is what may be accomplished sooner or later by any one who chooses to pursue the same system of study and self-denial." With one more quotation, we close this strange book,—"Theosophy means God's wisdom." S. A. U.

THE *Independent Pulpit* for April opens with an article entitled "Christianity vs. Secularization as a Factor in Nineteenth Century Civilization," by D. R. Wallace, M.D., which is followed by "Has Infidelity done Anything to add to Human Happiness?" by B. P. Barnum; "A Friendly Review," by Millson; "Christian Spiritualism," by Perseus; "The Demands of Liberalism," by E. Strauss; "Religion for Women and Children," by Mrs. E. C. Stanton (reprinted from *The Index*); "Political Economy," by E. Strauss; "The Edmunds Bill," by Helen H. Gardner; "A Model Liberal Association," by Charles Peters; and several other original or selected articles which combine to make a very interesting number. J. D. Shaw, Waco, Texas.

THE *Unitarian Review* for April gives its first pages to an article entitled "The Inevitable God," by J. W. Chadwick, in which he reviews some of the different conceptions of God held by the radical thinkers of to-day. Oliver Johnson criticises at some length Dr. Bartol's recent article on "Channing and Garrison." The sixth instalment of Rev. Thomas Hills' "Man Finite," "The Sufficiency of Christianity," by Rev. E. J. Young, and Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells' interesting sketch of the career of Louise Michel, in a paper entitled "The Pathos of Socialism," make up the list of contributed articles.

BEWARE of making your moral staple consist of the negative virtues. It is good to abstain and teach others to abstain from all that is sinful or hurtful. But making a business of it leads to emaciation of character, unless one feeds largely also on the more nutritious diet of active, sympathetic benevolence.—O. W. Holmes.

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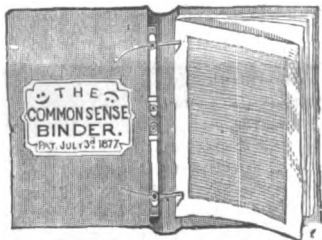
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

COMMISSIONER CARROLL D. WRIGHT does not think that the social inequalities now existing will find their remedy in co-operation as a means of production; but he is a pronounced advocate of the plan of industrial copartnership, which secures to the wage-earner his weekly or monthly pay, and at the same time makes him an associate in the profits of the business in common with the one who invests his capital. An account of an experiment of this kind, inaugurated at the beginning of the present year at Westerly, R.I., was given in *The Index* some weeks ago.

MISS LOUISA M. ALCOTT, in a letter printed in the *Brooklyn Magazine* respecting the condition of her venerable father, A. Bronson Alcott, says: "He will never write or talk again, and his books are all he can offer now. He no longer cares to read, but enjoys pictures, and sits thinking for hours as he placidly waits for the great change. He often says he is tired and wants to go, but, like a true philosopher, bears the inevitable as bravely and sweetly as he has borne all the trials and joys of his long and beautiful life. He desires me to convey his thanks to the many friends who so kindly remember him, in which I very gratefully join."

It is stated, as an illustration of the superstition prevailing in the South, that a "Voodoo" doctor was lately arrested at Atlanta for selling "spells." A doctor who claims to be of "the royal blood of Africa" sold to a colored woman for \$10 a spell that failed to work. She had him arrested. He promised to come through the wall of the jail to make good his promise; but, to the astonishment of many negroes, the feat was not accomplished. This circumstance affords a glimpse of a dark superstition hanging over the colored people of the South; but what shall be said of the following from the *Springfield Republican*, relating to the American Athens? "The sublimation of the mind-cure craze in Boston is a man named Bennett, to whom patients go in and lay down \$10, never more nor less. The 'doctor' pronounces the formula, 'You

are cured'; and patient walks out again. This is humbuggery reduced to its simplest form. There is no diagnosis, no treatment, nothing but faith; and yet it is said that Bennett is making a big income, \$10 bills coming in by the mail, and requests for consultation by telegraph. He calls himself an apostle of the 'Order of the Inspirati.' He ought to be 'inspired' by his receipts."

HENRY GEORGE, in a lecture given in this city, last Sunday evening, under the auspices of the Boston Turnverein, on "Labor and Capital, or the Social Question," said that neither land nor labor alone could be capital, which was the joint product of the two,—tangible articles, consisting of natural products worked upon in such ways as to make them useful. He stated at some length his idea that the chief cause of the labor troubles to-day is land monopoly. The right of every man to land, he said, is involved in the right to life. It was not necessary to divide the land into equal shares, but simply to levy all taxes on land and none on the improvements. This would make uncultivated land undesirable property, and give to the poor man a chance to share in the natural bounty. Ultimately, ownership of the land would give place to tenancy, and all regulations as to apportionment, holdings, etc., would be under the direct control of the State or the community. Mr. George showed readiness in answering some of the questions asked from the audience; but in Mr. Edward Atkinson he found an antagonist to his theme, whose facts and figures interfered somewhat with the effect of the lecture upon the audience, which was not apparently very sympathetic, certainly not very demonstrative from the beginning. The taxation of land, and land only, considered as a panacea for labor troubles and as a means of reconciling capital and labor, does not strike the average mind as of so much value, to say the least, as Mr. George attaches to it.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that the Brazilian Government, under Dom Pedro, has in various ways endeavored not only to provide for the abolition of slavery, but to mitigate its horrors without offence to the slave-owners, according to reliable accounts, the institution is maintained in that irresolute country with great cruelty. It would seem that the slave-owners are trying to crowd into the period between now and the culmination of the emancipation every barbarity they can think of as a protest against freedom. According to the *Revista Illustrada*, slaves are even whipped to death with lashes, bathed in vinegar, thrust alive into hot furnaces, and plunged into caldrons of boiling water. The laws recently enacted by the Senate are practically inefficient. In the free province of Ceara, where the formal liberation of every slave was celebrated two years ago, slaves are not only now owned, but subjected to every cruelty, the same as in the undisturbed slave provinces. The small results of the Emancipatory Law of Brazil may be inferred from the statement by the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, made on the authority of *Rio News*, "that in 1873, when the movement began, there were 1,532,926 registered slaves

in Brazil; and in 1884 there were 1,260,806, an actual decrease in twelve years of only 346,654, including 214,860 deaths, the legal manumissions being only 44,573, while the gratuitous manumissions were 87,221." These figures show that "the slave population is over 50,000 greater than it should be, or that the slave-holders are holding that number in illegal bondage. As the annual average decrease has been only 22,911, an average rate of 1½ per cent. per annum, it is estimated that it will take over fifty years under the present law to free the slaves now existing in Brazil. But, taking account of the great death rate and the hoped-for increase in the effectiveness of the fund, it is given as a certainty that twenty-five years must pass before the disappearance of slavery. The rapid extinction of the institution is not desired even by the ministry, and the Premier was at great haste recently to deny that he had in contemplation a plan for the abolition of slavery within a period of five years. The new chamber is not likely to give its attention to any remedial legislation on the subject, and altogether the present outlook is far from encouraging to the abolition party."

JEFFERSON DAVIS recently described the attempt to found a Southern confederacy as the "glorious dream of idealized liberty." And yet of that confederacy human slavery was to be the corner-stone. He refers to the rebellion as "a holy war of defence," when he knows that it was offensive against the Union from its first act of aggressive warfare,—the firing upon Fort Sumter. Davis had a greater love of power than of country; and the price of his ambition and that of his fellow conspirators was hundreds of thousands of precious lives, and an amount of poverty, desolation, and suffering beyond the power of the finite mind to compute. Only by the wonderful magnanimity of the nation he had sought to divide were his life and liberty spared at the close of the war; and now, after twenty years and more have elapsed, this old man emerges from the obscurity which was so befitting to a defender of slavery and a defeated leader of a wicked rebellion against a great republic, and parades himself before the people as a martyr to "idealized liberty," a representative of truth and justice "crushed to earth," the personification of a righteous but a "lost cause." It was announced that Davis would, last Tuesday, address the school children and probably review the troops at Savannah. Is the man who violated his oath and kindled the fires of civil war, who, with the brand of treason on his brow, remains the sad and disconsolate relic of a bad cause which ended in disaster and humiliation, a good example to hold up to school children or to receive honors from military bodies in this republic? It may be, and we are inclined to believe, that the attachment of the South to the collapsed confederacy is chiefly one of sentiment; but there has been an absence of good taste and of wisdom, if not of fealty, to the government he sought to destroy, in the recent honors showered upon Jefferson Davis by Southern people.

THEOLOGY AND TYPHOID.

The growth of sanitary science is one of the recent achievements of modern civilization. It is not many years ago that Boards of Health were unknown. Now there is hardly an enlightened community without such a body. There are, in this country, State Boards of Health, and there are City and Town Boards; and these committees are given immense authority, both in judgment and execution. In respect to power, Boards of Health stand only a little below the assessors,—assessors coming about as near to supreme sovereignty as any persons in the United States.

This change indicates a change in theological opinion. The time was not far back when disease was very generally regarded as specially sent by the Almighty as a chastisement for sins or for spiritual discipline. Only the past year, the larger part of the Catholic population of Montreal revolted against the authority of the Board of Health in that city in the matter of vaccination against the small-pox. To these ecclesiastical devotees, small-pox was a plague which the direct act of God had visited upon the city for its sins; and the cure was not to be found through vaccination or the physician's arts, but through prayers and ecclesiastical processions. And, even as lately as the time when a Board of Health was provided by Act of Congress for the city of Washington, pious Protestant people of the national capital objected that it was interference with the laws of God. An orthodox deacon, who was one of the city commissioners, went so far as to express his belief that it was little short of a blasphemous flying in the face of Divine Providence to seek by such means to avert even the threatened cholera, which was the immediate cause of enacting the law creating a Board of Health. The cholera, he said, if it were to come, would come by the will of the Almighty for a purpose of his own; and it was not for puny man to attempt impiously to evade or prevent Heaven's will. The attempt would only draw down more dire disaster. But the orthodox deacon's protest was only regarded as a survival of a strange creed of the past, and did not stay the creation of the beneficent institution of the Health Board.

The truth is, enlightened people of all sects have got far away from the time when it was believed that any supernatural power is concerned with the cause or the cure of sickness. Good Christians may read in their New Testaments: "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." But, though reading this, very few believe it; and still fewer—only a few fanatics—act upon it. A small sect in England, the "Peculiar People," have tried to practise this New Testament doctrine in regard to sickness in their own families; but English law has interfered, regardless of the cry of religious liberty, with such a practical illustration of the fervid faith of these disciples. And then, too, "the Lord" has not always seen fit to "raise up the sick": the "prayer of faith" has sometimes failed to be followed by their recovery; and such failures are calculated to excite a sceptical feeling, even in the most faithful disciples, about the method being adapted at least to modern times. A few years ago, George Müller's famous Orphan Asylum, which Müller and its managers allege to be supported entirely by prayer (albeit, a report of its excellent work and pecuniary needs is printed annually, and the public is continually informed

that Müller is praying for money for it), was ravaged by an epidemic of typhoid fever. It must have been a severe test of faith to many devout people of old-fashioned theological convictions, when they tried to think what purpose the Lord could have in bringing this scourge upon a community of innocent children and upon so noble a charity, which the Lord himself was sustaining by his own answers to prayer. Why should he thus bring destruction upon his own work? But the government of Great Britain did not stop to solve these puzzles of theology, but sent its health inspectors into the asylum, who discovered at once that defective drainage of a gross nature was the cause of the scourge, and directed that, whatever devout praying might have accomplished for creating the institution, sound plumbing must be resorted to for saving it.

We have been led into these remarks by looking through the Annual Report of the State Board of Health of New Hampshire, which has recently come to our table. There is no State, perhaps, where the work of such a Board was more needed or where the good effects of the work are already more manifest. On account of the very large number of summer hotels and boarding-houses in the State, and the immense amount of travel through it in all directions, it is of great importance that the sanitary conditions of house-construction and housekeeping, drainage, wells, springs, etc., should be scientifically considered and made as far as possible a matter of public knowledge. We remember once hearing some religious people devoutly wondering why divine Providence had so grievously afflicted a family in their circle of friends, who, after a series of misfortunes and trials at home, had got away to a fine hill town in New Hampshire for a summer's rest and recreation, but upon whom the typhoid fever had fallen, taking down one member of the family after another and bringing two of them nigh to death's door. These friends, like Job's, supposed that there must be some "hidden cause" for the affliction in the counsels of heaven; but they confessed that God's ways with the sorely tried family were not as their ways would have been, if they could have directed affairs: they would have been more merciful, and distributed affliction more evenly. But investigation showed that there was no inscrutable mystery of divine Providence behind the event. The fever was an epidemic in the village, and was traced to bad drainage or no drainage at all. At that time, it was customary, in the country towns and villages of the State, for thousands of people to spend the summer months amid the same primitive household arrangements under which ordinarily only as many scores of people lived. Great improvements in sanitary matters have been made in the summer resorts in that State in recent years, though there is still room for progress. The Board of Health has been largely instrumental, doubtless, in causing this improvement. Such papers as are contained in their reports on "Water Pollution" (the cause of forty-five cases out of eighty-seven of typhoid fever reported for 1884), "Restriction and Prevention of Disease," "Sanitary Engineering," "Lead Poisoning," "School-house Hygiene," "Diphtheria," etc., if circulated in pamphlets through the State, would not only impart knowledge, but give practical directions how to use knowledge. The people of New Hampshire, because of their State's great attractions to summer tourists and guests, have a special interest in learning and keeping sanitary laws.

In this matter of disease, Humboldt once put the case between theology and science in a nutshell. The great scientist, then very aged, was

convalescing from a severe illness which it had been thought would terminate his life. A conference of evangelical clergymen, that was in session at the time in Vienna, sent a telegraphic despatch to him, conveying their congratulations that, "by the grace of God," his health was so far restored. Humboldt caused a despatch to be forwarded in response, thanking the clergymen for their interest in him, and adding the further intelligence that, "by the skill of his good physician and the natural strength of his constitution," he was then well on the road to entire recovery.

WM. J. POTTER.

ARCHBISHOP GUILBERT AND DEMOCRACY.

The Paris *Temps* calls attention in a long editorial to a recent pamphlet of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, M. Guilbert, entitled "La Démocratie, son Avenir Social et Religieux." The French journal is astonished to hear an ecclesiastic of the Catholic Church speak almost with enthusiasm of the approaching universal reign of Democracy. The bishop's outspoken language is indeed a sign of the times. Pere Hyacinthe said to me the other day that he saw marked progress toward Liberalism in the Catholic clergy, and this last utterance from the diocese of Bordeaux proves the truth of the assertion. Let me give you one or two extracts from this suggestive pamphlet.

"The democratic movement," says the author, "is carrying the modern world along with it; and nothing can check its irresistible force. . . . This spirit of democracy, these aspirations after liberty, equality, fraternity, have penetrated everywhere, and manifest themselves more and more among all the civilized nations of both hemispheres. It seems certain to us that, at the rate at which things are moving, there will be no place left for despotism in the near future. . . . On every hand, in England, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Austria, we see the democratic element gaining ground every day. The governments of those countries are constitutional or representative, and are based on universal suffrage or on what will soon be universal suffrage, as the result of incessant electoral reforms. This is, then, more or less, the government of the people by the people, whatever be its official name, whether it be called republican or monarchical."

The archbishop is not a lauder of the past at the expense of the present. He not only believes in the approaching triumph of democracy, but he considers that the revolution will be a happy one. "If one compares the present epoch with those that have preceded it since the Christian era, what progress has been made," exclaims the ecclesiastic author, "what prodigious changes in the condition of humanity among all the nations of old Europe and especially in France! . . . No human force can stop this current, which we believe is providential; for, with the means of propaganda that democracy enjoys,—our modern scientific discoveries, our industries, our commerce, bringing together both thoughts and peoples,—ideas advance more rapidly than ever before. And, now, can you check them? They are scattered to the four winds of heaven by the printing-press and the newspaper, they speed through the telegraphic wires, they are carried by steam on our railroads and ships, they burst with the bombs on all our battle-fields. Yes: we are firmly convinced that within a few years—we cannot say just how many, but the event is surely not far off—democracy, in the form of our Christian civilization, will have made the tour of the world, putting new life into old or barbarous peoples, and lifting them up from their grovelling and servitude."

Every reader of *The Index* will say, "Amen," to this part of the archbishop's pamphlet. It is only the second part that will call forth objections. With Montesquieu and Tocqueville, he affirms that virtue is more necessary in a democracy, and especially in a republic, than under any other form of government; and he then goes on to say that this virtue must be sought after in the Catholic Church. It is only natural to expect such a conclusion from an ecclesiastic. But this conclusion does not detract from the significance of the first part of the pamphlet, where the archbishop places himself squarely on the side of democracy. In America there would be but little importance to be attached to such a declaration from such a personage. But here, in France, the whole situation is different. The full bearing of this voluntary confession is pointed out by the *Temps*.

"Ah, if the whole French episcopate would only think and speak like M. Guilbert, or even like Leo XIII." exclaims the writer of the *Temps* editorial in closing. "It is true that, by so doing, they would run the risk of losing their popularity with the opponents of democracy and the republic. It would indeed be an edifying spectacle to see our reactionaries brought face to face with a clergy honestly and frankly republican. Perhaps, we would then witness once more, even among the well-intentioned upper classes, that indifference to religious matters that characterized the years that immediately followed the revolution of 1830. The clergy no longer laboring in the interest of the reaction, the reaction would cease to labor in the interest of the clergy, would throw overboard the fashionable and artificial piety that it now makes such a show of, and would go over boldly to incredulity, which is in the air and in men's minds."

It will have been seen that the archbishop's pamphlet proves two very interesting things: in the first place, that democracy and republicanism are sure to triumph the world over; and, in the second place, that free thinking, in France at least, is to follow in the wake of this democratic and republican evolution. The archbishop asserts the first fact squarely and with evident satisfaction, but you must read between the lines to discover the second fact. He says that the Church, and the Church alone, can furnish that moral virtue that the new order of things must have, if it is to live and develop. But the good archbishop knows perfectly well that republican France will never seek its morality in the Catholic Church. He sees now that the republic is separating itself every day more widely from dogma and approaching more closely to philosophy; and he must feel what he cannot admit,—that, when the restless democratic wave of which he speaks shall have spread over the world, sweeping away old prejudices, religious, as well as social and political rot, will be borne away on the current.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, March.

EDUCATION.

There appeared, in a late number of *The Index*, an article on education, which contained a suggestion as valuable as I believe it practicable. For myself, I know that, could I have met in my school-days some of the thought-awakening tracts which subsequently fell in my way, it would have saved me from the necessity of unlearning much, as well as prevented the inrooting of prejudices that often influence conduct when intellect affords no sanction. "Many a time and oft," I have listened to a lecture or talk on physical science which, to my "straight-acting" mind, was irrecon-

cilable with the chapters of Genesis read in the morning; but scarcely were my sceptical reflections under way, when the professor would anticipate and kill them off by means of an ambiguous but Orthodox statement. When I reflect how my earlier ratiocinative processes were abused in this respect, I feel for the moment something like resentment. But, as the editor of *The Index* recently said, teachers hold their places during the approval of the public. Freedom of thought and original inquiry will not be encouraged in our schools until there is a liberal public to desire it. Surely, there is no better way to hasten this desired consummation than for Liberals to invade the schools with an enthusiasm, as Mr. Dana suggests, and by the judicious distribution of various thought-inspiring articles and arguments to liberate the young mind from routine methods and veneration for precedent, simply because it is precedent, by which it becomes an imitator ever after, testing all things by principles or theories in vogue in childhood, without a sufficient personal responsibility for what is believed. Of course, such pamphlets should be entirely free from the proselyting character,—simple stimulants to thought on the part of the pupil; and, also, there might well be an occasional hortative to candor on the part of instructors. To a generation thus educated, discourses on ethical culture would be welcome. As it is, not one in a hundred cares to read them, or would grasp their meaning, if he did.

Was the spirit of imitation and subservience ever greater than at the present hour? The virulence of partisanship at the last presidential election made the position of a man of independent views very unpleasant. The extreme pandering of the daily press to the lowest instincts of the community shows for how little moral considerations count with their publishers. The latest phase of business morality is that manifested by the managers of the Gould railroad system. Jay Gould makes an agreement with the delegates of the Knights of Labor, on the strength of which the master general of the organization advises the employés of company to resume work. Subsequently, his subordinates refuse to carry out Gould's agreement. This breach of faith, having a tendency to weaken the position of the strikers, has exasperated them. If, in their ignorance and passion, these ill-used men should begin a war of destruction on Gould's property, it would be the duty of the United States government to stop it. But, in such an event, at whose door would rest the responsibility for the lives lost?

At the risk of being criticised for bad "form," I shall briefly relate an incident which illustrates the "way of the world." Some half-dozen years ago, I had a chum, a bright, high-minded young fellow, poor, but ambitious. At the age of eighteen, he left home, and struck out for himself. For years, I had not heard from him. Not long since, he called upon me, improved, if possible, in personal appearance, and having the air of one who has succeeded in forcing the world to deal graciously with him. In the course of conversation, I reverted to the topics which we were wont to discuss. For a time, he evaded me. At length, he laughed outright, and said: "The one great lesson I have learned since I left school is to get money,—get it honestly, if one can, but get it. The question is not where or how, but have you got it? If you have, you are the *stuff*: if you have not, you are of no use." He was in earnest. His tone and expression were those of appeal. I realized that my friend was dead,—not less so than if his body were lying at the antipodes. Poor fellow, I fear that he read my thoughts. I cannot doubt

that he gave me a true description, so far as it went, of the business world as he had found it; and he had chosen to be a man of the world. One is reminded of the young Napoleon, the writer of sentimental novels, of prize essays on happy government; the enthusiast and dreamer; the prater about liberty, equality, and fraternity. He is carried to Paris by adversity. While there, he writes to his brother Joseph of life as a "flimsy dream, soon to be over." Jostling with the world soon drove the "nonsense out of him." Here he saw men intent only on their personal aggrandizement. In this strange atmosphere and oppressed by poverty, his generous emotions withered; and he plunged into the vortex of affairs, with the result that the remotest generations will marvel to know. To my mind, the hour of Napoleon's best greatness was when he wrote his essay on "Happy Government for Men," as no doubt his happiest was when he learned that it had won for him the prize.

When, in the fall of 1882, Gov. Pattison, then a man of thirty-two years, came to speak in my college town, the meeting was attended by a large body of students,—a fact which probably somewhat determined the matter of his address. In language which, while it showed him to be no college man, revealed the earnestness of his character, he cautioned young men to beware of the corrupting influences of the world. He told of the many young men he had known who had started out in life with bright prospects, pure and high ambitions, but had since become moral wrecks.

'Tis hard to raise the fallen. If it is true that an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure, the school-room is the place for ethical culture. There it may work its mission by fortifying the young mind in the practice of righteousness for its own sake, not leaving it to discover the true helm of life when whirling in the vortex, where failure to grasp it means confusion, suffering, ruin. In a word, the problem of social regeneration is that of moral regeneration. The child has the qualities of the good man. To nourish and develop in strength all these qualities is the burden of true reform.

In the mean time, let it be made a felony to give intoxicants to a minor in a bar-room.

H. T. BERNARD.

FREE THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND.

By the side of the Firth of Forth there stands the city of Edinburgh, famed in song and story. Few cities in the world have such a romantic history as "Auld Reekie," and few will better repay a visit.

Here the mists of the early days cover the land with magic story; here the gods walked the earth; here the men of the bronze age left their metallic records; here smoked the altars of Jove; and here the fierce Caledonian tribes banded together to resist the Roman invader.

The Castle Rock towers five hundred feet above the sea level, and the quaint old castle itself frowns down on a progressive modern city. The faulted trap rock on which the castle stands bears record of a troublous time in Scotland long ago, ere yet the sons of men had entered the world's arena; but the story told to the geologist by the rocks is scarcely as interesting as that which the crumbling walls of the castle have for the pilgrim. Ages ago, the rock was fortified; and savage chiefs played games with human lives for its possession.

The Christian kings and queens lived, loved, warred, and hated here; and many a quaint record have they left. One of the most touching

of all is perhaps that of the good St. Margaret, whose little chapel stands on the top of the towering castle rock even unto this day. She was a woman of lovely character, an Englishwoman, a grand-niece of Edward the Confessor. Driven from her own home to find a refuge in a foreign land, her ship was wrecked in the Firth of Forth, at the place called even now Queensferry. The King of Scotland, Malcolm III., heard of the fair lady who had been cast on his shores, and went to meet her. He found that she was the sweet princess who had befriended him when he visited England some time before. So he took her to his castle in royal state, and, like a brave king, married her. She must have been a good woman, and he a good man; for she tried to train him in good ways, and to improve his manners, and he submitted to being improved. If all tales are true, she taught him to wash himself, and to eat his food, like a Christian, off gold and silver plate. She gave to the poor, and fed a large number regularly, washing their feet and doing other things, as commanded by the Bible, which have gone out of fashion.

The king could not read, but he used to kiss the holy missals given to him by his fair-haired wife, and perhaps that did them both quite as much good; for, if he had been able to read, he might not have made so good a husband. She introduced the manners and customs of her Saxon kindred among the people, and doubtless made Scotland better by her life; and many a monkish legend has woven itself about her. About 1093 A.D., the English made a raid on Scotland; and King Malcolm went out to meet them. By a piece of treachery, Malcolm and his brave son were slain; and his discouraged soldiers fled northward, with his body. Then followed the death of the sweet queen, saying as she passed away, with eyes uplifted to her God, "Praise and blessing be to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me in some measure from the corruption of my sins; and thou Lord Jesus Christ, who through the will of the Father hast enlivened the world by thy death, oh, deliver me." Poor Queen Margaret was no doubt a good Christian woman; but she was good in spite of her Christianity, not by virtue of it, for her kinsmen were also Christians, and a blood thirsty, evil lot they were. King Malcolm's brother besieged the castle, intending to put the orphan children of Margaret to death, just as many another Christian emperor and king had done; but they escaped by a postern gate.

A larger education has modified the barbarous Christianity of that olden time, and made it a respectable creed; but it sounds odd to hear the Christians claim that it has educated us, and modified our barbarism.

Standing on the lofty castle rock beside St. Margaret's chapel, one is carried back in spirit to the evil days of Scottish history. Every tower has its story to tell of cruel hatred and bitter persecution. The castle has run red with the best blood of Scotland, and on every side are the records of a dark and priest-ridden past. Looking down from the storied walls of the castle, the equally storied streets are seen,—streets rendered famous to later days through Scott's novels. Down in the Grass-market stood the city cross, where thousands of the brave went down to death in cruel ways. The smallest crimes were treated with a barbarism that makes one's flesh creep. In an old diary there are entries which open our eyes to what was done under the shadow of the cross. One entry says that in September, 1652, two "Englisches" were found guilty of drinking the king's health, for

which they were bound at Edinburgh Cross and received thirty-nine lashes on their naked back and shoulders, after which their ears were nailed to the gallows. Then "ane had his lug [ear] cuttit from the ruit with a razor, the uther being also nailit to the gibbet had his mouth skobit, and his tong, being drawn out the full length, was bound together betwix twa sticks, hard togedder, with an skainzie thrid, for the space of one-half one hour thereby."

The sons of God had barbarous ways of impressing themselves on those who differed from them, and the history of the entire country is a history of cruel things done in the name of good or of God. As Buckle points out in his history, the Scotch people were the most narrow-minded, bigoted, and intolerant people on the face of the earth; and the old leaven has not all worked out yet. The land of Knox is true to its old traditions, for religions die hard; and the spirit which wrought out its will in the tortures at the market cross still lives in Edinburgh. Just as bloodshed and religion were mixed in the olden time, so are ignorance and religion mixed to day. The power to torture the heterodox has passed from out the hands of the clergy, but a powerful spirit of intolerance still prevails.

The "Sawbath" in Edinburgh is clouded with puritanical view; the liquor saloons are closed, the museums, art galleries, libraries, are all closed, and the "gude folk" go to the kirk; but the spirit of true religion is dead. The churches are honey-combed with "scepticism." Ministers of good standing are advanced free thinkers, and are quietly pointing the way to their weaker brethren; but public opinion is strong, and the old, narrow, cruel creed is deeply graven on the hearts of the people, and it takes a great deal of moral courage to face the scorn that comes from the pious for any fall from grace. For, as our great historian has said, "in no other Protestant nation, and indeed in no Catholic nation except Spain, will a man who is known to hold unorthodox opinions find his life equally uncomfortable"; and this is as true of Edinburgh as it was meant of Scotland as a whole.

In the midst of the prevailing Sunday wickedness there is an intensely strong Sabbatarian feeling prevailing in all ranks; and the wicked people are, the more they seem to love the "Sawbath." Of course, among the upper classes there are few restrictions, and they can afford to smile at the popular superstitions, just as the priests of Athens did, long ago, at the superstition of the masses; but, in such a city, free thought has a hard struggle.

It is gratifying to a free thinker to find that there is a Secular Society in Edinburgh, and that their principles are spreading slowly, but surely. A few faithful souls bear the burden and the heat of the day, as in all societies; but they have a pleasant hall and a united company of workers.

Last Sunday, I had the pleasure of lecturing, in this priest-ridden city of my birth, to as pleasant a company of secularists as ever I faced; and the kindly reception and hospitable treatment I received made a deep impress on me. At the close of the evening lecture, two gentlemen claimed my acquaintance, though they assured me we had never met before. They were subscribers to *The Index*, and they spoke so highly of that paper that I felt my heart glowing with pride on the editors' behalf. It was, indeed, passing strange to meet two Scotchmen in their own city who discussed Boston and its people with so much readiness and knowledge.

They spoke of Mr. Underwood, and wished he would publish in pamphlet form his articles on

John Fiske. They spoke of Mr. Potter, Mr. Abbot, Mr. Holland and his book on the *Rise of Intellectual Liberty*, of "S. A. U.," and many another name that has grown familiar to readers of *The Index*.

As we walked out under the starry sky, under the shadow of the castle, past the beautiful churches which have cursed their land, these Scotchmen talked in glowing terms of the power wielded by Mr. Bradlaugh, and his influence in setting them free from the bondage of the Scotch Church; and I felt as we walked that the labors of all the faithful workers in the vineyard of free thought are bearing rich fruit, and the brave words that are going out to the world week by week through the columns of such papers as *The Index* and the *National Reformer* are bound to find a resting-place in human hearts, and accomplish that whereunto they are sent.

The market cross, the rack, and the stake have disappeared before the rolling tide of free thought; and it must surely be that the envy, malice, and uncharitableness, which everywhere mark the path of "the gospel of God," will also flee away before the holier thought which is slowly growing in the world. We who toil to-day will never see that better time; but we can labor on in the sure knowledge that we are helping forward the time of which the poet sings, when

"The common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm
in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

PETER ANNET.

A MORAL INCIDENT AND ITS LESSON.

Thinking, last night, of the school days and school companions of my boyhood, I was led to retrace the short and sad career of one of those companions; to wonder how many of her whilom associates could look back upon her as I could; and question, too, whether, in the clearer light of the life which we all hope lies beyond, she saw in her own earth-life matter for sorrow or self-pity. Such a sad life it was! Shaped and controlled by circumstances, trained toward all evil, cut off from the attainment of the goal which every pure soul seeks, how few lives, thus conditioned, would have equalled hers in suggestiveness and promise!

Picture a girl possessing "the fatal gift of beauty," having a warm heart and an ardent mind, desiring knowledge, craving sympathy. Give that girl an ancestry of drunkards and prostitutes, extending downward even to her father and mother. Place her in a New England village, where Pharisees pass by her on the other side because of her environment, and where liars and hypocrites help to tighten the chains of that environment. Then tell me what the end will be, and, in the telling, fling, if you dare, one stone at her!

I count it chief among the gracious influences of my life that I could be her friend. I have never ceased to mourn the adverse fate which took me from our village, leaving her quite alone to fight the temptations which met her on every hand. But it was written. When I next heard of her, years after, she had fallen, sore beset in the deadly struggle; and she fills an unknown grave.

I wonder if the wives and mothers who were girls at school with her remember how they shut her from their games, and visited her with the scorn which their parents had bequeathed to them. I wonder if the husbands and fathers remember how, as boys, they hooted her, and tried to drag her down to her own mother's level. I wonder if they teach their children the same devilish lessons that the parents learned.

Oh, the pity of it! that we are such willing slaves to the edict of the Jewish Jehovah as to

not merely permit, but to *cause*, the sins of the parents to be visited upon the children! that we should bind a soul, rich in all known and unknown possibilities, and cast it into hell!

The gospel, say the preachers, *has* superseded the law. But more than eighteen hundred years have passed since the Giver of good-tidings said to the woman taken in adultery, "Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more"; and the righteous folk who shut my friend from sympathy and aid had listened to that instruction from their youths up. Let us hope that the future holds the promise of a gospel which shall heal and save the wandering ones.

The "fallen woman" falls because she is a loving, trusting woman. Is the world so rich in love and trust that it can afford to smile at its hourly sacrifice? This we do; and from the first misstep, even from the parent's first false step, we doom a soul to death. And thereby perishes, perhaps, an unborn poet or painter or singer, who would have made the nations glad.

The child is its parent's legacy to the State. If we, who are the State, neglect any means by which that child might be helped up to useful and happy womanhood, are we not recreant to our citizenship? Ay! we have no right to suffer that perversion of faculties, misuse of talents, crushing out of virtues, which, to-day, under the shadows of the churches, is going on in a thousand wretched homes, that the saloon and the brothel may recruit fresh victims!

Generations to come will see these things as some of us see them to-day. But, ah! for the unhappy of to-day,—

"How long and for what is their patience abiding?
How oft and how oft shall their story be told,
While the hope that none seeketh in darkness is biding,
And in grief and in sorrow the world groweth old?"

WALTER S. SAWYER.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will open on Thursday evening, May 27, with a business session in Fraternity Hall, Parker Memorial Building, corner Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston, at 7.45, for hearing reports, electing officers, and considering any resolutions that may be offered. The executive committee authorize the presentation for rejection or adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, according to which present Article I. would be divided into two Articles, which would read thus:—

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

The other articles to remain as now, but to be numbered respectively III., IV., V., and VI.

The public convention will be held as usual in Parker Memorial Hall, Friday morning and afternoon, May 28. The opening address, at 10.30 A.M., will be made by the President, Mr. William J. Potter. Mr. Moncure D. Conway will then give an address on "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism." Mr. B. F. Underwood will speak on "An Unclerical and Untheological View of Religion." One or two brief speeches will follow, and probably a letter from Dr. Edmund Montgomery.

In the afternoon, a discussion of the Labor Movement will be opened at 3 P.M. by Rev. J. G. Brooks, of Brockton, Mass., who will speak on "Ideals and Realities in the Social Question," and

be followed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright and other speakers. All interested in these subjects are invited cordially.

The Meisonaon will be open for our festival on Friday, the 28th, at 6 P.M. Supper will be ready at 6.30, and Mr. Moncure D. Conway will take the chair as presiding officer at 8 P.M. Among other speakers engaged for this occasion are Rabbi Solomon Schindler, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Mr. William J. Potter, and Mr. Gopal Venayak Joshee, of India.

F. M. HOLLAND, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MRS. CAROLINE H. DALL writes us that she has, by the request of certain members of the Browning Society in England, issued two hundred copies of an historical article on "Sordello," which was printed rather inaccurately in a magazine in 1872. The work is for sale by Roberts Brothers, Boston, at 30 cents per copy.

"This is not," remarks the *Boston Herald*, "the time of year which is technically termed 'the silly season'; but that does not prevent sundry ministerial organizations from boycotting the Sunday newspaper by formal resolution, and also voting that the use of the boycott by the workingman is a sin and a shame."

It is related that, when Darwin was bringing out his books on the habits of plants, an old family servant, having overheard his daughter express some anxiety in regard to his health, sought to reassure her by saying: "Hi believe master'd be hall right, madam, hif 'e only 'ad somethin' to hoccupy 'is mind. Sometimes, 'e stands in the conservatory from mornin' till night, just a-lookin' at the flowers. Hif 'e only 'ad somethin' to do, 'e'd be hever so much better, h'i'm sure." The joke, it is said, was enjoyed by nobody more than by the great naturalist himself.

In a lecture at Washington on "My Recollections of Anti-slavery Times," Frederick Douglass said: "Fifty years ago, I was brought from a jail on the eastern shore of Maryland, and placed on the auctioneer's block to be sold." Mr. Douglass, in continuation of his recollections, said that, on the occasion referred to, his limbs were exposed to the gaze of the purchasers, and examined as if he had been a cow or a horse. Since that time, he had seen wondrous changes in his own condition as well as in that of his race; and, where sales were formerly held in this city of slaves by the United States marshal of the district, he had held that office himself, and he added rather grimly, "I believe that there were no slave auctions when I was marshal."

THE opposition of the orthodox clergy to the Sunday paper is causing the secular press to speak in terms, generally confined hitherto to liberal journals, in regard to the pulpit. Says the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*: "Ministers 'labor' on the Sabbath as they do upon no other day in the week. The physical exertion of preaching is harder work than the mental exercise incident to the writing of most of the sermons delivered. The ringing of church bells is no less a noise than the cry of the newsboys, and the rattle of carriages over streets bearing people to and from church is quite as decided as the clatter of the early morning wagon conveying the newspaper edition to trains. If a sermon amounts to anything as a subject of thought, it causes as much mental labor with the hearers as is occasioned to the reader perusing wholesome articles in a Sunday newspaper. The ministers justify the one set of facts by the moral

influence sought to be exerted, and the editors and publishers defend the other for the great good sought to be disseminated to the public."

MISS FRANCES POWER COBBE recently sent to the *London Inquirer* an article from a French journal, purporting to give an account of a "Faithless City," to quote Miss Cobbe's own words, "now actually existing in America." The account is a libellous story put into circulation about a year ago, in regard to Liberal, Mo., by an unscrupulous man, who escaped punishment under the law because the evidence of his authorship of the libel was technically defective. The story was declared false in letters over their own names by several orthodox ministers of the town of Liberal and of adjacent towns. Miss Cobbe, probably, had not seen the denials of the truth of this account, which had been published not only in this country, but in England. Still, she seems to have been most too willing to believe and too ready to circulate an evil report, which was wholly unsupported by evidence, in regard to a community declared by her to be "faithless." Mr. Bradlaugh, who says that he has had personal experience of this lady's "unfairness and intolerance toward atheists," concludes, in the *London Reformer*, a reply to her letter on a "Faithless City" with these words: "We do not ask Miss Frances Power Cobbe to express regret, for we fear that her only regret will be that her libel is not true. We will express regret for her that so many good and pious people are so ready to believe without evidence and to circulate without inquiry any malicious calumny against unbelievers." We do not doubt that Miss Cobbe, when she becomes satisfied of the falsity of the account to which she has given the weight of her name, will, as did Mr. Spurgeon, withdraw her statements; for she is a most excellent woman, whose love of truth and sense of justice are strong. Her own religious views, from the orthodox stand-point, are so wicked that multitudes would read with much pious satisfaction any similar story, with such alterations only as would make it seem to illustrate the insufficiency of "mere theism" instead of the influence of the alleged agnosticism of the "faithless city." Many theists, who have outgrown much of the Christian theology, are still unable to be quite just to those called agnostics and atheists.

AFTER the above paragraph was in type, we received a copy of the *London Inquirer* containing a letter from Miss Cobbe, requesting the editor to reproduce from the *Sword and Trowel* a correction of the clipping she had sent to the former paper. She writes, "I had never heard of this professedly atheist town till I read the account of it in the *Genevan paper*, and that account tallied so remarkably with my own previsions of what a 'Faithless World' would resemble that I considered the description might possess some interest for the readers of my little book which you had kindly reviewed last year." The editor of the *Sword and Trowel* having copied from some American paper the same "description" of Liberal, and having received letters declaring it entirely false, wrote to friends in this country for the facts. After examining the evidence, the editor feels "bound to say that we judge the article we inserted to be far from correct, and to have been written in a prejudiced spirit. We should never have dreamed of inserting it, had we known what we now know." "We are not in a position to give a judicial opinion, for we cannot weigh the evidence; but, supposing the persons who have written to be truthful, we judge that the town of Liberal has been in several respects grossly libelled, and, therefore, we are truly sorry to have given currency to the ill report."

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 6, 1886.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

ROOTS OF MORMONISM.

BY W. D. GUNNING.

"Nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus." (A god does not interfere except on business worthy of a god.)—*Horace.*

Two very rare volumes have fallen into my hands. They are the first editions of the Book of Mormon and the Revelations and Covenants. In the introduction to the Book of Mormon, Smith says that a portion of his first translation was perverted by a trick of the devil. God comes to Smith and complains of the devil, saying that he will show man that his wisdom is greater than the devil's cunning.

The book opens with the Chronicles of Nephi, whose father, under command of God, fled from Jerusalem to the wilderness, taking all his family except Laban. Laban had certain revelations written on plates of brass. Nephi returned to Jerusalem under divine command to get these plates. Laban would not give them up. Nephi was persistent. One day, he found his brother drunk; and the Lord said to Nephi, "Slay him." Being a very religious man, as he tells us, he was not disobedient unto the heavenly voice. "Therefore, I did obey, and took Laban by the hair of the head; and I smote off his head, and after I had smote off his head I took the garments of Laban, yea, every whit, and put them on my own body. And I went forth unto the treasury of Laban." This ancient man of God was a prototype. Here and there, to-day, is a godly man who "goes forth unto the treasury of Laban." On another page, and with no reference to this transaction, the man of God says, "For I oughter be content, and I hadn't oughter harrow up in my desires." In this confession, too, he was a prototype. The sin he confessed was the expression of a desire to be an angel, that he might sound the trump of God. It was not that he had murdered his brother or that he had "gone forth unto the treasury of Laban." Oh, no: it was that he "hadn't oughter harrow up in his desires."

This man of God went with fratricidal blood on his hand and stolen treasure in his arms to his father in the wilderness. "And it came to pass that they did rejoice exceedingly, and did offer sacrifice and burnt offerings to God. And it came to pass that they did journey in the wilderness, killing game with arrows and slings. And it came to pass that they had no fire. And it came to pass that God cooked their game. And it came to pass that, as we journeyed, behold Laman and Lemuel and two of the daughters of Ishmael did rebel against us, yea, they did rebel against I and Sam. And it came to pass that we did build a ship and sail to the promised land, even to America."

I will abridge this Book of Mormon, using its own language: "And it came to pass [on the ocean] that Laman and Lemuel did take me and bind me with cords. And it came to pass that the compass which the Lord had prepared did cease to work. And it came to pass that there was a great storm, yea, a tempest began to be exceeding sore. And it came to pass that they came to me and loosed the bands on my wrists, and behold they were swollen exceedingly. And also my ankles were much swollen, and great was the soreness thereof. And it came to pass that I took the compass, and it did work. And it came to pass that, after we had sailed the space of many days, we did land. And it came to pass that we did find [in America] both the cow and the horse and the ass and the sheep [sic]. And it came to pass that the Lord commanded me, and I did make plates of ore that I might engrave on them the records of my people. And it came to pass that the very God of Israel did my people trample under their feet, I say trample under their feet. And it came to pass that they would that I should be their king. And, behold, they were cut off from the presence of the Lord. And the Lord God did cause a skin of blackness to come to them. And thus saith the Lord God, I will make them loathsome. Oh, the wisdom of God! his mercy and grace! And it sufficeth me to say that forty years had passed away, and we had already wars and contentions with our brethren. Oh, the goodness of God! I am the Lord thy God, whose waves roar. Awake, awake! Put on strength, O arm of the Lord. Wo unto they that worship idols! Wo unto the blind. Wo unto the deaf! Wo unto the uncircumcised of heart. And, in fine, wo unto they that die in their sins. And it came to pass that Nephi died. [It is now Jacob who writes.]

"And it came to pass that the people who were not Lamanites were Nephites [Lamanites were Indians]. And it came to pass that the people of Nephi began to grow hard in their hearts, and indulge somewhat in wickedness, desiring many wives [sic]. Thus saith God, This people wax in iniquity, for they seek to excuse themselves in committing whoredoms, because of the things which were written of Solomon and David. Behold David and Solomon did have many wives, which thing was an abomination unto me. Behold, the Lamanites are more righteous than you; for they have not forgotten the command of the Lord that they should have, save it were, one wife. And I, Jacob, saw that I must go down to the grave; and I said, Enos, take the plates. Brother, adieu. [Enos now writes.] And it came to pass that we did go to battle against the Lamanites. The Lamanites know nothing concerning the Lord. How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of him who bringeth good tidings.

"And it came to pass that we went again to battle, suffering much loss. Break forth into joy. Sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem! And it came to pass that many of the rising gen-

eration did not believe what had been said of the resurrection concerning the dead. Neither did they believe concerning the coming of Christ. And they would not be baptized, neither would they join the church. And it came to pass that they were brought before the priests. And it came to pass that they were brought before Alma, the high-priest. And it came to pass that Alma enquired of the Lord; and the voice of the Lord spake, Blessed art thou, Alma, baptized in the waters of Mormon. Behold, the Lamanites have I cursed.

"And it came to pass that a voice was heard among all the inhabitants of earth, saying, Wo, wo, unto the inhabitants of the whole earth, for the devil laugheth. Behold, the great city of Zarahemla have I buried with fire and the inhabitants thereof. And, behold, the great city of Moroniha have I covered with earth and the inhabitants thereof. And, behold, the great city of Moroni have I covered with the sea and the inhabitants thereof. And, behold, the city of Gilgal have I sunk, yea, and the city of Oniba and the city of Mocum and the inhabitants thereof, yea, and the city of Gadiandi and Gadiorna and the city of Gingimmo and the city of Jacobugath have I burned with fire and the inhabitants thereof. Behold, I am Jesus Christ. Sing, O barren, that thou didst not bear. And thus endeth the four hundredth year of the judges of Nephi. And, behold, in the end of this book, ye shall see that Gadiantugu did prove almost the complete overthrow of Nephi. Behold, I do not mean this book, but I mean the book of Nephi. Behold, a hundredth part of the proceedings of this people, —yea, the Lamanites and the Nephites,—and their wars and contentions and dissensions and preachings and prophecyings, and their righteousness, and their whoredoms, and their robberies and plunderings, cannot be contained in this book. And it came to pass that the more part of this iniquity had come to them in sixty and nine years. And it came to pass that they were enemies, notwithstanding they were not a righteous people. And it came to pass that the Lord spoke to Nephi to come forth; and Nephi bowed himself before the Lord, and kissed his feet. And it came to pass that, in the 361 year [A.D.], the Nephites did go up against the Lamanites. And it came to pass that the Lamanites did take possession of the city of Desolation. And it came to pass that I, Maroni, do not wish to harrow up the souls of men in casting before them such an awful scene of blood and carnage as was laid before my eyes. And it came to pass that my people, with their wives and children, did behold the Lamanites a-marching toward them. And, behold, all the Nephites were hewn down but twenty-four. And their bones and their flesh and their blood were left on the face of the earth, to crumble and to moulder. And, behold, the Nephites which were left were hunted down and destroyed. Behold, I am alone, and whither to go I know not. Great and marvellous has been the destruction of my people. Behold, it is the hand of the Lord which has done it. . . . Sing unto the Lord.

"And now I, Moroni, proceed to give an account of those who were destroyed by the Lord in the North countries. And Ether was the son of Coriantor, the son of Abah, the son of Seth, the son of Shiblön, the son of Coni, the son of Amnigaddah, the son of Lib, the son of Kish, the son of Kim, the son of Riplakish, the son of Jared, which came from the great tower, when the Lord confounded the language of the people and swear in his wrath that they should be scattered. And it came to pass that Riplakish did not that which was right in the sight of the Lord, for he did have many wives."

(After the extermination of the Nephites by the Lamanites, who were under a curse, there remained in America another chosen race, whose lineage this holy book traces back to the confusion of tongues at the tower. They formed two nations. The king of the one was Coriantamur. The king of the other was Lib. Let the prophet tell the story now in his own words.)

"And it came to pass that all the people on the face of the land were a-shedding blood. And Lib did smite the army of Coriantamur that they fled to the plains of Agosh. [The reader will supply to every sentence "And it came to pass."] And Coriantamur had taken all the people with him, and he smote Lib till he died. And Shiz, the brother of Lib, did pursue after Coriantamur, and did overturn many cities, and did slay both women and children, and did burn the cities thereof. And the whole face of the land was covered with bodies of the dead. And they did march from the shedding of blood to the shedding of blood; and the scent thereof went up on the face of the land, even upon the whole face of the land. And Shiz smote upon Coriantamur. And Coriantamur saw that there had already been slain by the sword two millions of his army; yea, two million mighty men and their wives and their children. And Coriantamur fled, and came to the waters of Riplakish. And they did gather on all the face of the land. And when they were all gathered together with their wives and their children, all [even children], being armed with weapons of war, did march forth to battle. And at night they took a-howling; and, so great was their howling, it did rend the air exceedingly. And, on the morrow, they did go again to battle; and great and terrible was the day, and they did rend the air with their cries and their howlings. And they did fight on the morrow, and on the morrow they did fight again; and, at night, they had all fallen by the sword except, save it were, fifty and two of the people of Coriantamur and sixty and nine of the people of Shiz. And, on the morrow, they fought again, and fainted for loss of blood. And when they had all fallen save it were Coriantamur and Shiz, and, behold, Shiz had fainted for the loss of blood, and Coriantamur leaned upon his sword that he rested a little, behold, he smote off the head of Shiz. And, behold, Shiz raised upon his hands and fell. And after he had struggled for breath, behold, he died. And Coriantamur fell to the earth, and became as if he had no life."

Shades of Kilkenny cats! What a battle! Child to child, woman to woman, man to man,—two nations, every human being killed! Shade of Hector, what heroism in Shiz! In profane history, a man usually surrenders to the inevitable when his head is cut off. Not so did Shiz. While his head was rolling over the ground, he tried to breathe; and, not succeeding, he concluded to die. I have known of St. Dennis carrying his dismembered head through the streets of Paris, but Dennis was a canonized saint. Shiz was only a Riplakishite of the city of Jacobugath.

Who now will put into divine language the battle of the Kilkenny cats? He will found a church and have an ample following.

This battle picture closes the Book of Mormon. For the honor of human nature, I could wish that my abridgment were a caricature. It is not. It is just, even in the inconsequential ejaculations. From the fratricidal beginning to the final holocaust of two nations, not one virtue is commended, not one vice is reprobated, except polygamy. The god is the same invisible Arab Sheik who, under the name of Jehovah, was the tribal god of the Jews,—the most atrocious character in all the annals of fiction.

We turn now to the Book of Revelations. The volume before me is very rare. On page 251, I read, "One man should have but one wife." But the god did not say this. He was concerned with human affairs on every side but that of morals. Hear him: "Behold, thou art Joseph [Smith, Jr.]. Behold, I am God. Martin Harris has desired a witness that you have the plates of which you testified. Behold, this shall you say unto him, He who spaketh said I, God, gave you the plates, and you must not shew them, except to those persons I command you. O thou stiff-necked generation! Mine anger is hot. Amen."

"Behold, verily, thus saith the Lord unto you: All grain is good for the food of man; nevertheless, wheat for man, corn for cows, oats for horses, and rye for hens. Amen."

I fear that the "revelator" has not heeded the injunction of Horace, which is the text of this lay sermon. It would seem that a god, speaking to man, might advise him in something more important than the feeding of rye to hens. The god goes on to say that the saints who observe these directions will receive strength in their navels and marrow in their bones.

"Verily, verily, thus saith the Lord. I say unto Joseph; or, in other words, I call you friend. Your family must give more heed to what you say, or be removed out of their places. Amen."

"Hearken, O ye people, saith the Lord; for mine anger is kindled. I, God, command and revoke as seemeth me good. Wherefore, I revoke the command given to my servant, E. Thomas, and give a new command, that he take up his journey to Missouri. And I revoke the command given to J. S. Griffin and N. Knight. I am Alpha and Omega. Yea, I am even he. Canst thou read this without rejoicing? Amen."

"Behold, thus saith the Lord to you, my servants, Sidney and Joseph. Behold, your families are pretty well. Amen."

"Verily, verily, I say unto you I am Alpha and Omega. Let Asa Dodds go West. Let Lyman Johnson and Orson Pratt go East, and unto my servants, Major N. Ashley and Burr Riggs, that they go to the South country. Amen."

"Behold and hearken. I, God, in the beginning, blessed the waters. Now, I curse them. And, now, concerning Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery, let them not journey on the waters, save it be on the canal. I was angry with you yesterday; but, to-day, I feel better."

"Behold, I, the Lord, utter my voice. I have sworn in my wrath. Wherefore, let my disciples in Kirtland arrange their temporal concerns which dwell upon the farm. I willesh that my saints shall be assembled on the land of Zion. Let Titus Billings have the care of the dispose of the land. Let my servant, Newel Whiting, retain his store; or, in other words, the store for a little season. Amen."

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, my friends. I give you counsel and command. Let my servant, Mahempson, have the lot of land which my servant got in exchange. And let Mahempson devote his money to the preaching of the word. And let my servant, Oliha, have the lot which is set off opposite the Laneshire house; in other words, lot number one. And let my servant, Alashda, have the lot where he now resides and also the corner lot, yea, verily, the whole establishment. So I willesh. I shineth in darkness [philological?]. Behold, I am not well pleased with Sidney Rigdon. Amen."

Enough. If a man were to talk as this god of Mormonism talks, we would have him in an idiot asylum within a week. If a man were to do a tithe of what he declares he is doing, an outraged

humanity would have him on the gallows as soon as a jury could meet. Suppose that a sober-minded man had read these volumes when they fell from the press and had seen that within the span of his life, from this gibberish would spring a Church of such power and vice that successive Presidents of the United States would call special attention to it in their annual messages, what would he have thought? If Humboldt had been the man who had read with such prevision, I could understand why he wrote such bitter words against the human race.

Two words must finish this most uncongenial task.

First, these Bibles never won a man or woman who did not believe in the infallibility of the Hebrew Bible. No sceptic ever became a Mormon. The converts have been and continue to be devoted worshippers of the *Old* and *New Testaments*, expending their resources of credulity chiefly on the *Old*.

Second, the converts sank rapidly in idiocy or knavery or both. The saints became like their Bibles. "I don't care," said Brigham, "whether Jo Smith was a liar or not. He might have been a liar and thief every day. I don't care, he had the true religion." It is a fact worthy of note that the Church, at the very first, was distinguished for crime. Smith and Rigdon were driven out of Kirtland for crimes. The saints then gathered in the Zion of Missouri. They were hunted from county to county, not as a religious sect, but as thieves and robbers and counterfeiters and murderers. A band of Thugs, settled in a town of New England, would not be more obnoxious to their neighbors than the Mormons were to every community which they touched. The governor of Missouri declared that they must be driven out of the State or exterminated. They were driven into Illinois, which received them hospitably as a persecuted sect. Land was given them in Hancock County, where they "gathered" again and built Nauvoo, which attained a population of fifteen thousand. The people of Hancock and adjoining counties organized an army to drive them from the State, if need be, at the point of the bayonet. You blame these men. Put yourself in their place. You are encompassed by a band of idiots and Thugs under a prophet whose very nod is law; and you know that there is not a man of them who would not, at the command of that prophet, assassinate you. What would you do? Jo Smith "prophecied" that Gov. Boggs would be "cut off." A few days after the prophecy, "Port" Rockwell, the chief of the church assassins, called Danites, left Nauvoo and Smith said he had gone "to fulfil prophecy." The governor was shot, but not killed and Smith and Rockwell were indicted. The officers who went to Nauvoo to arrest them were glad to escape with their own lives. How many Mormons were murdered by Mormons under the rule of "blood atonement," we may never know. How many Gentiles were murdered under church orders by the Danites,—shades who haunt the Mountain Meadow!—the archives of hell and the Endowment House may alone reveal. The fact is that polygamy has been the least of the crimes of Mormonism.

You are slow to believe. I ask your attention to a passage of Mormon history recorded in the careful pages of Gov. Ford, who, as the executive of Illinois, tried to protect the Mormons from the steel and lead of their outraged neighbors. Walker was the Whig candidate for Congress, and Hoge the Democratic. The Mormon vote was cast as one man. That man was the "revelator." Smith had pledged the vote to Walker; but, after giving the pledge, made better terms with Hoge.

The day before election, the entire voting population of Nauvoo, a town of fifteen thousand, assembled to hear from the Lord. Smith made a speech, in which he said that he had not seen God, and had no command from him. If God had wanted to talk with him, he could find him any time. God knows his office and his hours of business, and he had not called. "But," he went on to say, "my brother Hyrum has seen him, and has a command." Hyrum rose, and said that he had seen God, and that he commanded his saints to vote for Hoge, the Democrat. The next day, every vote in Nauvoo, save one, was cast for Hoge! What a Circe's wand is this Bible of Mormon to transform men into swine! Not a pig-headed saint who obeyed that command would have disobeyed a command to murder. Mormonism is the same to-day as in the beginning, wherever it dares to be.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

Editors of The Index:—

As the free thinkers of Providence have been listening to a discourse on this question, the orator claiming their sympathy for the Irish, and extolling both leaders in the contest for patriotism and statesmanship (see *Index* January 7), perhaps, as free thinkers, they may give some attention to another view of the question, which is truly a momentous one.

As Americans, it behooves us carefully to abstain from meddling in the internal discussions of foreign and friendly nations; and nothing could excuse our extending aid or sympathy toward either party in a matter that in no way concerns us directly, unless the case presents wrongs or abuses that shock humanity.

Does this Irish question present such, supported by specified fact? For fifty years, I have diligently sought in vain for any abuse or grievance that the Irish or English courts could not redress without further legislation, or what, under our laws and Constitution, would be held wrong or tyrannical. Still, "*the wrongs of Ireland*" have constantly rung in my ears; and, if I asked what they were, the answer would be, "Oh, everybody knows!" with a look that implied, "You must be a fool!" Well, if so, I still remain one. But I have continued to think, and have reached the conclusion that the "*wrong of Ireland*" have been confounded with the wants of Ireland. When "Pat" tells us of his great need of a few acres and fixity of tenure, and no money to buy, our hand may seek the pocket in sympathy; but, when he goes on to add, "Be the powers, I mane to have it, or somebody will get dynamite," our hand withdraws, and sympathy subsides.

Now, before we Americans gush with sympathy, let us at least have some specified charge of wrong done or suffered. It is only in the court of Billingsgate that fact is dispensed with. There, indeed, victory crowns the irate dame who has the largest vocabulary of abusive epithets, which she never thinks any one called upon to believe; and, when the talk subsides, she at once becomes amiable. Criminal charges, unsustained by fact, are libels, and by law punishable by fine and imprisonment, whether made against individuals or governments; and, if these Irish charges are found to be false and malicious, sympathy is due to the *wrong of England*.

Are we not too hasty in sending over annually a million dollars to employ agitators or demagogues in stirring an ignorant population to rebellion before we are sure there is cause for it? Are people here so stupid as not to know that a dozen open stores, unguarded, will as surely bring thieves as a heap of sugar will bring ants, and that so long as demagogues are kept in pay they will drum up complaints among the thriftless?

We may be glad to see money flow in relieving Irish distress and suffering; but what a blessing it would prove, if this contribution to swindlers and demagogues could be diverted to the only permanent relief,—to removing the needy to a new country, where the land they crave awaits them, and where every man can secure one hundred and sixty acres, only \$1.25 an acre, with fixity of tenure, secure to himself and his descendants forever, and with six

years to pay for it. Great honor is already claimed as due to Mr. Gladstone for benefits he has conferred on "*down-trodden*" Ireland. What are the facts?

Your orator says he has satisfied two of the three great grievances:—

1. The land question. But is that settled satisfactorily? We are daily hearing that he has unsettled it, that what he did was no good, and only a sham extorted from his fears; and Conservatives say that he has initiated war on England's venerable and much-lauded Constitution by profaning the sanctity of contracts between landlord and tenant, under the specious name of concession. *Concession!* What has a statesman or jurist to do with such a word in his vocabulary? What does it mean? Nothing less than robbing one man to give to another. We Americans, some forty years ago, had anti-renters, whose cry was, Down with landlordism! We had no talk of concession: we simply put our laws in force, and the cry subsided. But who knows how soon, under the evolution of social doctrines, we may again encounter the anti-renter? At present, however, he is not likely to be well received among us; and we free thinkers are certainly not prepared to indorse this measure as accreditable to Mr. Gladstone.

2. He put down the State Church, which is entirely in our line. "Every man to retain his own religious adviser." But, in dealing with that item of Irish complaint, it is well to remember that no moneys taken from the Church went into the pockets of the people to relieve their wants; and, if they thank Mr. Gladstone for that measure, they, as the Scotchman would say, are "thankful for sma' mercies."

3. Then the third and last Irish want is Home Rule,—"*repeal of the union*,"—or what we called secession, and put it down at a cost of some three thousand million and an ocean of our best blood. How can we be asked to help forward or sympathize with that? We ought to know pretty well by this time what kind of republic could be made out of Irish material. Mr. Gladstone cannot have failed to discover by this time that he has been sowing dragons' teeth.

The most amazing incident of the Gladstone administration next claims attention,—nothing less than the actual presence of Jack Cade directing the councils of the board of trade. It would seem that some witch, more potent than that of Endor, or some modern spiritual medium had raised and materialized him; for there he most certainly appeared in the flesh, and settled a question that had long puzzled philosophers, metaphysicians, and theologians, by demonstrating that intellectual development, whether toward good or evil purposes, is as active in the regions below as here. He gives us startling fundamental propositions, ingenious counterfeits of self-evident truth. "All capital," says he, "comes from labor; and, therefore, to labor all capital belongs." We cannot dispute that; but it next occurs to us that there are two kinds of labor, mental and physical, and, therefore, two kinds of owners of capital to share it. The mere muscular laborers would, to this day, if left to themselves, be savages. All capital existing in the forms of machinery, bridges, railroads, almost every article we now deem indispensable to civilized existence, is the product of mental labor, all but the work of making it. Moreover, among mental laborers, one man represents the force of an elephant, another that of a flea. To whom, then, does capital belong? Common sense answers, To the producers, thinkers, and operators, who have combined their forces and taken their shares under laws mutually agreed upon. We can find no such idiot among hod-carriers as one claiming equal share with the great engineer; no such fool among sailors as one putting his claims on a par with his captain, knowing, as he does, that his life constantly depends on the captain's skill. The man whose skill and labor, therefore, have enabled him to acquire more capital than he needs to consume lays it by for future need; and, by common consent, he becomes its rightful controller and distributor. And thus we have rich and poor, as always have been and ever will be. Were it otherwise, the best and noblest traits of humanity could never develop.

But should there be no limit set to the wealth that one man may acquire? None! The unconsumed products of labor can never be too great. The more wealth, the more powerful is the nation, however unevenly it has found owners. The man of billions personally consumes what gives him food, clothing, and

lodging; and, at the allotted time, he dies and leaves it. Does the rich man become a bloated aristocrat, eating like a pig and drinking like a sot (voices not peculiar to the rich)? Then he disgraces and grieves his family, but in no way injures the laborer except by bad example.

Does he launch into extravagant and ostentatious display of luxury? So much the worse for his family, but just so much the better for the workingmen, to whom all flows back in genial showers to fructify the fields of industry, giving employment to artisans and servants, and returning no inconsiderable portion in charity. Does he raise a family without intellectual culture, incapable of rendering any service to the community, yet most conspicuous as nuisances by dissipated habits? Then the sooner is the wealth he left released to stimulate industry; and the miserable spendthrift sinks into the most abject and hopeless poverty and suffering and humiliation known.

But does he raise a family carefully trained to become leaders of thought and distinguished as examples of integrity and high moral principles? Then what so desirable as plenty of such wealthy families, that count back generations of ancestors on whose record there is no blemish?

We must now notice another mock scientific principle claiming origin in natural rights. It is this:—

"All land belongs to the people who have made homes upon it." True: what then? What of individuals? The number of people changes every minute. Then is each man to squat on the first choice lot he finds, or is there to be some equitable distribution, if any can be devised? When our people framed their Constitution, they assumed the principle that all land belonged to the people, that part of the people then recognized as owners of land were recognized as lawful possessors, whether under grants from George III. or any of his tyrannical predecessors. It is true our legal gentry are always ready, "*for a consideration*," to look back into fraudulent titles; but the assumption is that our ancestors were satisfied with what had been done, and then the unappropriated millions of acres belonged and still belong to the people, and we sell them, and the proceeds go to the public treasury. Every man can buy all he wants; and the poor man can select one hundred and sixty acres at \$1.25 per acre, have it secured to him, and six years' time to pay for it. Thus, land becomes capital, and a *product of labor* as much as any other commodity. We are, therefore, quite satisfied with our land laws, desire no redistribution of land or capital, satisfied with our Constitution, and stand resolute and prepared as ever to deal with secessionists and rebels. Nothing could be more absurd than to deem the large contribution in aid of the Irish cause an exponent of American sentiment. It is the mere product, or at least nine-tenths of it, of American party scrambling for the Irish vote. Some prominent politician buys popularity by a large subscription to the rebel cause, and backs it with a column in his party organ of Billingsgate rhetoric, exciting hatred of the English.

As to natural rights, they may be defined as brute force, exemplified in a pack of wolves associated instinctively for mutual help. Human intellect, after such combination, advances a step further by discovering that all would benefit by a surrender of individual force to a consolidation of all force for the general good; i.e., to a government of law under a constitution circumscribing the boundaries of legislation so as to secure individual rights, and extinguishing natural rights, except the right of each individual to do his own thinking.

OCTOGENARIAS.

"THE AGE OF CONSENT."

Editors of The Index:—

As one of those specially interested in the change of the law relating to the "*age of consent*," I feel bound to reply to the strictures of Mr. T. W. Higginson in the last number of *The Index*.

To an intelligent comprehension of this important matter, three things are necessary: first, a knowledge of the laws as they actually exist, with their effect; second, an understanding of what the petitioners ask for, and why they ask it; and, third, a careful consideration of the whole question in the practical light of the actual dangers by which women are surrounded, as compared with the dangers morally and legally surrounding men.

As the laws now stand in our statutes, cases of violence (where the victim does not "consent") are punished by imprisonment in the State prison for life or for a term of years. This same penalty is prescribed when the offence is committed against a girl-child under ten, when she does "consent." When the girl is over ten, the offence becomes mutual, and is punished, in both parties, by a small fine or by three months' imprisonment in jail. In other words, no matter what the age of the man is, the girl, a victim at nine, becomes a criminal at ten; and for a sin to which it is very easy to claim that she "consents" (no matter how ignorant or unsuspecting she may be, till too late to save herself) is punished as a crime. The girl of ten years is therefore held equally guilty with the man of twenty, forty, or eighty years of age. This last is not an exaggeration, the present writer having learned of a case where the girl was twelve and the man eighty, with all the difference of knowledge and design on the one hand and ignorance and innocence on the other that this implies.

Since the issuing of the appeal to women by the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, scores of petitions,* representing thousands of the best men and women of the State (Mr. Samuel E. Sewall, who first called public attention to this wrong, being a good example), have been sent to the Senate, asking for more adequate penalty for seduction and for the better protection of girls. What these petitioners desire is that, in the law relating to violence, the age at which the girl may "consent" and still be legally held a victim, and not a criminal, shall be raised to at least thirteen. Also, in addition to this, that a new law shall be passed by which girls shall be protected from thirteen to eighteen (not to twenty-one), by making seduction a crime on the part of the man, with a lighter penalty than that for violence, but one which shall be sufficient to discourage the prostitution of children and the traffic, on the part of middle-aged and old men, in girls under eighteen. At present, seduction in itself is not a crime and is not punished. When the two "have sinned conjointly," the act itself becomes a crime, and is punished by equal penalties. But all that which comes before the act, and which makes the vast difference between the aggressor and the victim, is not taken into account in the law. The fact we want recognized is that, in the majority of cases of seduction, the girl is not a criminal, but a victim, and needs not punishment, but protection. The design of the petitioners is not to excuse girls of profligate habits, nor to protect them in their evil ways, but to protect children and young girls of pure lives from the many men whose chief pleasure it seems to be to go about, and with devilish insinuations, promises of marriage, and words of so-called "love," to persuade good girls to do wrong. There are too many of these men, married and single, right in our own circles of acquaintance, for the fact to be ignored even by the most fastidious.

This brings me to the third point necessary to be taken into account; and that is the vast difference in the case of the man on the one hand, and the case of the girl on the other. In the first place, it is well known that almost all girls are brought up in ignorance of the wiles of men; while almost all boys are fully equipped with knowledge, and in the majority of cases commit the sin with their eyes open. It is also well known that, while the social penalty for boys and men is almost nothing, that for girls and women is damning. Also, that the sorrow from and the effects of the sin fall almost entirely upon the woman; while, except in the sight of God and under the righteousness of his equal penalties, the man goes scot free.

Mr. Higginson urges that the boys also need protection; and to this no one can object, although a careful reading of the laws concerning houses of ill-fame and night-walking will show that men have quite well protected themselves in these matters. It may also be pointed out that the State, by its statutes, deals very gently with juvenile offenders. Still, if the legislature should think it necessary to enact a law protecting boys under eighteen from seduction,

the advocates of this movement would doubtless give it their indorsement. But, at present, this does not seem of such immediate importance. When old women of eighty and married and unmarried women of middle age, in good society and of fine social standing, go about ruining boys of ten and twelve and sixteen, it will be time to sound the alarm for boys as we are now sounding it for girls.

Let me repeat that it is not for the profligate of either sex that we ask protection, but for the poor ignorant girl, from the wealthy and respectable "gentleman." We want to make it less easy and safe for men to ruin young girls, by fixing a penalty for this sin which shall discourage it, and which shall go some little way toward making the punishment of this sin in men as great as it is now in women. At present, we see, on the one hand, habitual licentiousness, intention, age, full knowledge, no social ban; on the other, youth, ignorance, innocence, sorrow, and social damnation!

If, in some few cases, such a law as we desire would work unjustly toward very young men, it could not possibly be so unjust as the present law, which holds a girl of ten years old not only responsible, but also punishable, for an act to which in most cases she consents while knowing absolutely nothing about it or its consequences, physically, morally, or legally, of all of which the other party to the sin is, in the majority of cases, fully cognizant. As a "friend of woman and of woman suffrage," equally with Mr. Higginson, I ask that this traffic in young girls shall no longer be protected by the State.

HARRIETTE R. SHATTUCK.

"THE AGE OF CONSENT."

Editors of The Index:—

One who has heartily joined the "effort now being made to raise the so-called 'age of consent' to eighteen and even to twenty-one years" would like to say to your esteemed correspondent, Mr. Higginson, that he wholly misunderstands the "theory" on which "the attempt is based."

The law, as it now stands, screens the seducer of girl children, however mature in age he may be, from that adequate legal redress which parents or guardians of those children would naturally seek to obtain. There are too many cases frequently coming to light and already on record, where gray-haired men have enticed little girls to their ruin, for us to ignore the fact that a stringent law is needed to make these deliberate villains feel its sting as well as vindicate its own dignity. How many girls of ten or twelve or sixteen years, reared in homes of refinement, know what they "consent" to in these cases? We bring up our girls in the same ignorance, as far as this subject is concerned, as Oriental nations rear theirs, but fail to throw about their ignorance the restrictions which would save them from the dangers which attend ignorance in our larger freedom, and then make laws which connive with this ignorance to let the seducer of innocence go unpunished.

Mr. Higginson's protest against sending a boy to the State prison, while the girl is regarded merely as a victim, loses its effectiveness, when we consider the penalties which society and custom impose upon girls who, from whatever cause, swerve from a life of virtue. These penalties are never visited on boys or men. The girl is forever an outcast. A boy or man can be, and often is, the pet of society, even when his name has been connected with more than one case of such wrong-doing. Until society can agree to treat both parties alike, the laws should visit men with the heavier penalty. Even then, the woman criminal will be the greater sufferer; for it is upon her alone that Nature, as well as society, imposes her penalties.

The objection that the moral responsibility of the girl will be lessened by raising the age of consent is wholly without foundation; for the moral responsibility, whatever the age or law may be, is so great that, if she lapses once from virtue, she is damned for life. The writer would not lessen the measure of that responsibility by the slightest fraction, nor is it possible to do it. The difference in character between the chastity and unchastity of woman is irrevocably fixed. But virtuous parents of girl children, anxiously striving, with what wisdom they have, to rear those children aright, may reasonably plead for the assistance of stringent statutes and severe penalties against the crime of seduction. If their prayer

should be answered by our legislators, the writer utterly fails to perceive how the moral responsibility of parents or children is weakened in the slightest degree.

However much we may regret the fact, deplored by the writer equally with Mr. Higginson, the popular sentiment is averse to the early education of girls in matters belonging to the general subject under consideration; and, the fact being such, our legislators, our teachers, and our journalistic critics should adapt their wisdom to the situation as it is rather than to some ideal conception of the situation as it should be. We will join Mr. Higginson in reforming, as rapidly as possible, the popular sentiment in this regard, and, while doing so, shall confidently expect him to join us in the endeavor to build all possible safeguards around the chastity of our girls, the purity of our boys, and the sanctity of our homes.

S. E. BURTON.

THAT ADDRESS OF THANKS TO THE POPE.

Editors of The Index:—

An article appeared in your last week's issue criticizing the "women suffragists of New York" for the action recently taken by a few people calling themselves "The Woman Suffrage Party of New York State," in an address of thanks to Pope Leo XIII.

The large body of women suffragists of this State are entirely unconnected with this so-called "party," whose existence is in the imagination of a few persons, led by a man who claims for himself the credit of having originated most, if not all, the woman suffrage work done, not alone in this State, but in the nation. To our regret, a prominent woman suffragist, an old anti-slavery friend and co-worker of this man's father, lends her name and influence to his lucubrations, thus strengthening his various "addresses" with seeming authority.

The recognized working body of woman suffragists of New York State is known as the New York State Women Suffrage Association, of which Lillie Devereux Blake is president; Matilda Joslyn Gage and Susan B. Anthony, vice-presidents at large; Harriet Putnam Nowell, chairman executive committee; Mary Seymour Howell, corresponding secretary; Charlotte F. Daly, recording secretary; Jennie McAdam, treasurer.

Although the training of woman tends to her loss of self-respect in matters pertaining to religion, I am happy to say that no officer of the New York State Women's Suffrage Association would either write or sign such an address as the one referred to; and many of the most influential suffragists of the State stand by the side of Mrs. Stanton in their opposition to ecclesiastical domination.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

FAYETTEVILLE, N.Y., April 25, 1886.

[Mrs. E. C. Stanton writes: "Thank Mrs. Underwood for her timely word on 'Ecclesiastical Aid to Woman Suffrage.'" Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, President of the New York Woman Suffrage Association, referring to the same article, writes: "It criticises most sensibly the absurd letter to the pope, pretending to emanate from the so-called 'Woman Suffrage Party' of the State. It is to protest against the assumption that this 'party' is indorsed by the leading women of the State that I write in reply." Mrs. Blake states that the "party," in fact, consists really of one individual; and, although able to obtain the signatures of two others, he "is not even a member of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, which is directing the policies and carrying on the work here, and which includes all the active and energetic workers of the State." Mrs. Hester M. Poole, who edits the "Woman's Department" in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, writes, "That gushing missive to the pope was so execrable that I would not notice it in my columns, where a point is made of mentioning only what redounds to the credit of women." These extracts, with Mrs. Gage's communication printed above, show how sensible women regard the letter addressed to the pope in the name of the "Woman Suffrage Party."—B. F. U.]

MR. C. K. WHIPPLE writes: "Mr. Higginson's objection to placing the legal 'age of consent' higher than sixteen years seems to be a fear that boys will be corrupted and imposed upon by vicious girls. By all means, let the boys have all the protection that

* Senator Morse has presented petitions every day since this movement began. Over one hundred and fifty have already gone to the committee, and there are many more to be offered. One petition of three hundred signatures was headed by Mrs. Wendell Phillips, and this was probably the last time she wrote her name.

legal enactments, combined with good training, can give them; but, if statistics of such a matter could be gathered, I think it would be found that a great majority of the cases of seduction and depravation of young girls are accomplished by, or by procurement of, middle-aged and elderly men; and that this feature of the case is the chief one for which legal safeguards should be provided."

THE April number of the *Freethinkers' Magazine*, in an editorial on *The Index*, after referring to this paper as one of the most cultured, scholarly free-thought journals in the world, continues: "And this is the objection that many freethinkers bring against *The Index*, that it is too cultured, too scholarly; that it is above the comprehension of what is known as the 'common people,' and therefore that it fails to reach the masses, and consequently is not doing the good it would do, if it was less aristocratic and more democratic. . . . Then another objection that we have heard urged against *The Index* is that the articles are too long and heavy,—better adapted to some monthly or quarterly publication than to a weekly paper; for instance, such an article as appeared in the number for March 25 from the pen of Moncure D. Conway, entitled 'Our Armageddon.'" The first objection our contemporary thinks is well founded. In regard to the second, it says, "We can indorse this objection only so far as this: that we think there are possibly too many such articles published in *The Index* for the interest of the paper; but, on the other hand, we are extremely glad to know that there is a free-thought journal in this country that can number among its regular correspondents the names of such distinguished persons as Mr. Conway, Felix Adler, T. W. Higginson, D. A. Wasson, John W. Chadwick, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, George Jacob Holyoake, F. M. Holland, Felix L. Oswald, Robert C. Adams, and others of like reputation in the literary world." It is "well that we are able to say truthfully that we have published in this country a free-thought journal that, by its character and culture, commands the support of writers and subscribers who are the foremost people of this nation and of the world. Then, again, there is a want for just such a journal as *The Index*. It reaches a class of people, especially in New England, who never could be reached by such democratic papers as the *Boston Investigator*, the *Truth-seeker*, and *Iron-clad Age*." "There is much in *The Index* of great value that can be found nowhere else," and readers of other liberal papers are told that it would be greatly to their advantage to read this journal; "and many who only take *The Index*," our contemporary thinks, "would have their ideas broadened, and would imbibe more democratic views and become better acquainted with the freethought movement, by reading more of the kind of literature that is published in freethought papers of less culture than *The Index*." The entire article is extremely complimentary to the journal; but we do not see the justice of applying to it the word *aristocratic*, when it is probably as democratic as any of the journals with which it is put in contrast.

BOOK NOTICES.

SALAMMO of Gustave Flaubert. Englished by M. French Sheldon. London and New York: Saxon & Co., Tribune Building. 1885. pp. 421. Price \$1.50.

"This story," says the *London Times*, "has long been regarded as an untranslatable work," and adds that this translation "has been accomplished in such a subtle manner as to preserve all the vigor, natural realism, and idyllic style of the original." Certainly, the original could not well be more vivid in coloring, more strongly graphic in description, nor more intense in tone than this translation, which is almost Homeric in its description of battle scenes and war times. M. Flaubert seems, through some magic power, to have become transformed into an actual and sympathetic eye-witness of the life and times which he so glowingly depicts. The time of which the story treats is during the siege of Carthage, more than two centuries previous to the Christian era. Among its prominent characters is Hamilcar Barca, the father of the great Hannibal, who, by making his son swear eternal hatred to Rome, made that son's era an epoch in history. Salammbô, the heroine, is an elder sister of Hannibal, for love of whom

many of the wars of that period are supposed, by the author, to be undertaken. She is depicted as a singular composition of saintliness and sensuality; while her most earnest lover is painted as a cruel, strong, brave, yet treacherous barbarian. It is not a pleasant book, in spite of its many wonderful word paintings, which are vivid as nightmare dreams, and about as delightful. The particularity with which every detail of the differing tableaux is drawn gives evidence of careful study on the part of the writer, and consequently of the probable truthfulness of his delineation. Flaubert is said to be the founder of that realistic school of literature of which Zola is a too faithful follower,—a coarse school, which, we are sorry to observe, seems of late years to fill a demand of the French reading public, and of a certain English public as well. But, however willing we may be to confess the power of realistic genius in such works, it is not a power that works for good, save perhaps in the recoil such works are sure to give a thinking brain and sensitive heart from such phases of man's nature in real life,—a recoil which makes the reader shudderingly search for some higher, purer, more satisfying ideals toward which to aspire, and earnest in his efforts to make such nobler ideals longed for and realizable to our common humanity.

This translation has the exclusive authorization by Flaubert's heirs, to whom royalty is paid by the publishers, Messrs. Saxon & Co. S. A. U.

A WINTER IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO. By Helen J. Sanborn. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. pp. 321. Price \$1.50.

The journey the events and scenes of which this unpretentious writer describes in this interesting volume was undertaken by her as a companion and interpreter of the Spanish language to her father, a coffee merchant of Boston, who went in the interest of his trade. The journey was a difficult and toilsome one; but she seems to have borne all its hardships in a most amiable and philosophic spirit, and to have kept her eyes and ears open to good purpose. She says of the country through which she travelled: "There is fine scenery for the traveller; rich mines, valuable woods, and tropical fruits for the speculator; rare plants, birds, and animals for the naturalist; wonderful ruins for the antiquarian; and a curious and interesting people for all. But these can be reached only by toilsome journeys on mule back, and by a most decided experience in 'roughing it.'" She tells the story of their travels in a modest, straightforward, sincere style, which brings the things described vividly before the reader's mind. The book is not only a mere description of travel, but there are also many pages of real instruction. Her description of the state of affairs in Guatemala, just previous to the death of President Barrios, is very interesting; and a long interview which the travellers held with him is described in a way which throws much light upon the character of that intrepid leader. A chapter is devoted to a description of coffee culture, and the way in which the trade in it is carried on. Indeed, all through the book much information is given on this subject, since coffee was the object of the trip; and a picture of the coffee plant and berry appropriately adorns the outside cover. The manners and customs of the natives, the early history of the white settlements, the state of politics, are all touched upon; and a graphic description of a bull-fight and other incidents of her visit are given in a way which cannot fail to interest. S. A. U.

THE May number of the *North American Review* is one of unusual interest. Gen. Beauregard's first of two articles gives an account of his famous defence of Charleston in 1862, 1863, and 1864. Frederick Douglass, in "The Future of the Colored Race," expresses the opinion that the negro will be absorbed, and "appear finally, as the Phœnicians now appear on the shores of the Shannon, in the features of a blended race." The articles that follow are: "Letter to Judge Thurman," by Arthur Richmond; facsimile of the order for "The Removal of McClellan"; "Our House of Lords," one of the "No Name Series"; "Edwin M. Stanton," Don Piatt; "Ship-building vs. Ship-owning," by Capt. John Codman; "The American Dramatist," by Augustin Daly; "Statesmanship, Old and New," by Gail Hamilton; "Strikes and Arbitration," by T. V. Powderly; and "The Hours of Labor," by Edward Atkinson.

THE *Forum* is taking its place among the ablest and best of our monthlies. The May number contains several very readable articles. We can give only their titles: "The Experiment of Popular Government," by C. T. Congdon; "How I was Educated," by President F. A. P. Barnard; "Would We Do It Again?" by Edward Cary; "The Future of Arctic Exploration," by Lieut. A. W. Greely; "Do we need a Metallic Currency?" by John F. Hume; "Cremation Nevertheless," by John W. Chadwick; "Contemporary Supernaturalism," by Moncure D. Conway; "What Rights have Laborers?" by W. A. Croffut and L. T. Post. New York: Forum Publishing Company.

In the *Andover Review* for April, Dr. William W. Smith continues his papers on "The Spiritual Problem of the Manufacturing Towns." Prof. James M. Garnett writes on "The Elective System of the University of Virginia." "The Possibilities of Religious Reform in Italy," by Dr. William Chauncy Langdon, "The Bible a Theme for the Pulpit," and "The Negotiations between France and Madagascar" (editorials), together with "Biblical and Historical Criticism" and "Book Reviews and Notices," are among the attractions of this number of the scholarly representative organ of Progressive Orthodoxy. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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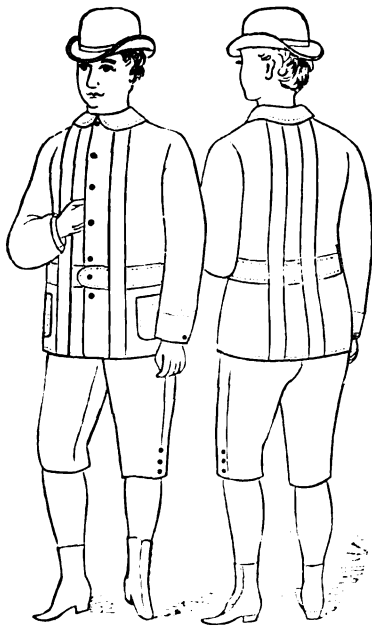
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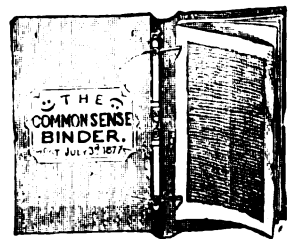
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

WHEN men cry, "Burn!" "Plunder!" "Lynch!" they go beyond the reasonable limits of freedom of speech, and must be regarded by all sane and right-minded men as the enemies of society. When they incite to such acts as those committed in Chicago last week, they should be treated as desperadoes and murderers. Anarchists, socialists, or men by whatever names called or with whatever professed object in view, who murder policemen by means of dynamite bombs, should be dealt with in a manner to give no encouragement to others of like murderous disposition, and to leave in the public mind no sense of insecurity from danger to life and property by violence. For the red flag, we have no use in this republic; and, with those who carry it or march under it, it is hardly worth while to waste time in arguing. We do not argue with murderers and incendiaries, but protect our lives and our property from violence at their hands.

Mrs. E. L. WATSON, a prominent representative of Spiritualism, thus writes in the spiritualistic paper, the *Golden Gate*: "We are all compelled to sorrowfully admit that great wrongs are being done in the name of Spiritualism. I know of no greater infamy than that involved in a mediumistic fraud. The perpetrators may be counted by the hundreds, their victims number thousands. Every sacred feeling of the human heart has been trifled with, for gain and notoriety; the moral aspect of the whole movement has been smirched, our grand facts discredited, and an immense retard suffered, through the multiplicity of these unconscionable frauds, and, I may add, the ready defence made and strongholds built up for them by a class of minds incapable of a doubt as regards the genuineness of any medium or spiritualistic marvel." Mrs. Watson, in the article from which this extract is taken, says that Spiritualists are divided into two sects, "the orthodox and heterodox." By the orthodox, she means those willing to "condone and cover up fraud 'that good may come,' and regard any attempt to put mediumship to an actual test as hostile to Spiritualism." "The heterodox wing of Spiritualism,"

she says, requires solid grounds of belief, wants investigations conducted by methods which will preclude the possibility of deception, genuine mediums protected, and the frauds exposed, "to relieve mediumship of a vast load of obloquy with which, through charlatanism, it has been so long weighed down."

THE editor of the *Golden Gate*, in reply to Mrs. Watson, admits that there is more or less "fraud in mediumship," but does not favor Mrs. Watson's view of vigorous opposition to it by Spiritualists. The editor's own words are as follows: "If we have a medium of whose fraudulent acts we are satisfied, we should keep away from him or her,—leave them severely alone,—and not talk about the wrong they do; for we thereby virtually aid them in their fraudulent work. The mediums who have been the most 'exposed' are the ones who are reaping the richest harvest of dollars to-day. We should let our thoughts dwell upon the heavenly delights of genuine mediumship and upon the higher and better things of life. That is the only way of spiritual growth. There are those who, thoroughly honest and conscientious themselves, think no wrong or deception possible with any medium. Knowing the fact of materialization to be true, they take it all in. They are not looking for fraud. In their eyes, all mediums are honest. And, in this simple faith and trust, they live and are happy. If they are deceived in some instances, as they probably are, they are surely not the ones that suffer by the deception." This attitude toward the acknowledged frauds of Spiritualism, practically that of many of the Spiritualistic papers, is continually increasing the evil of which Mrs. Watson complains. The fact that "the most 'exposed' are the ones who are reaping the richest harvest of dollars to-day" gives them great advantages; and those who, like Col. Bundy and Mrs. Watson, insist upon "fraud-proof conditions" find more opposition, public and private, than co-operation and support.

THE editor of the *Investigator*, who was personally acquainted with Frances Wright, after quoting the extract from a letter relating to her which was recently printed in *The Index*, adds: "Frances Wright, as the above writer truly says, was a remarkable woman as a reformer, an author, and an orator. Wherever she lectured, she drew great crowds; and the police were oftentimes present to protect her from violence, such was the prejudice of religious bigotry against her opinions. She wrote and published several books besides the one to which allusion is made [*A Few Days in Athens*]. Among them were two large volumes entitled *First Impressions of America and England* and *The Civilizer*. Besides these, she wrote a tragedy, a number of poems, a social reform system, a book of the orations she delivered; and, fifty years ago, she was associated with Abner Kneeland in editing the *Investigator*."

REFERRING to the affirmation bill which passed the Canadian House and was sent to the Senate last week, the *Ottawa Free Press* says: "It may be said in this connection that the action of one or

two Protestants Liberals from Ontario standing alone in voting against this bill is a blot upon otherwise splendid careers as liberal politicians. It is impossible to understand the state of mind in a Liberal which prompts him to vote against a bill which applies in practice one of the cardinal principles of Liberalism; namely, that religious belief or the absence of religious belief shall carry with it no implied civil or religious disabilities. That a member of the great traditional liberal party which removed the civil and political disabilities from Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestant dissenters, should have voted against completing the great work of Liberalism in this country, by removing one of the few remaining disabilities based upon speculative views of religious questions, is an astonishing circumstance." Whether the Senate is liberal enough to place this bill upon the statute-books of the Dominion remains to be seen.

A LITTLE girl was recently sent home from the public school at Pelham, Mass., because she refused, by the direction of her mother, to take part in the Bible-reading exercise. The *Boston Pilot* advises the mother to bring the case before the Pelham school committee. "It may be," it says, "that the Catholic minority is so small in Pelham that the protest will be overruled, and the teacher upheld in her intolerant conduct. It is probable that she had consulted the committee before expelling the child. But such action of the board will compel public attention, and public opinion will condemn the bigotry of the petty magnates of Pelham." Referring to this case, the *Springfield Republican* remarks: "There is no doubt but that the wishes of the Roman Catholic parent in this matter must be deferred to. Whatever the opinion of the school committee or the teacher may be, it is a religious scruple; and our common-school system does not comprise the enforcement of any religious observance against the conscience of the pupil or the parent."

COMMENTING upon the movement headed by Christian preachers to stop the publication of Sunday papers, the *Banner of Light* says: "This movement is only the beginning of other bigoted movements to crush out the liberties of the people. Should they succeed in stopping by law the publication of newspapers on Sunday,—as they can stop them in no other way, although their present object seems to be to get their congregations to agree not to patronize such papers, thus boycotting them,—they will turn their attention to stopping the railways and steamboats on Sunday, thus seeking to debar the people from exercising their God-given right to healthful recreation one day in the week, when they have the time to spare for that purpose. But these over-zealous clergymen will not succeed, as the people of this country are too well educated and hold too liberal views upon religious matters to allow any class of men to dictate to them what they shall do or not do on Sunday. The age of 'blue laws' is past, never to be re-enacted, thanks to the liberalizing tendencies of the present generation."

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

The Committee of the Free Religious Association have presented their programme for the approaching Annual Meeting. It is a programme that will specially interest the members and the public, and that promises to make the nineteenth annual convention of the Association as attractive and valuable as any of its predecessors. It seemed last year as if the high-water mark of conventions was reached, such an enthusiasm was infused through all the proceedings by the presence and hearty sympathetic words of Dr. Heber Newton. But we are not sure that any success in the past measures the possibilities of what the Free Religious Association may be able to achieve in the shape of a convention. We are sure that the bill of mental fare and of social entertainment presented by the committee for the meeting this month at least deserves to draw together an unusually large body of people. We believe that it will do so, and that any friends of the Association who allow slight reasons to interfere with their attendance will afterwards regret it.

Last October, Mr. Conway was the welcomed and honored guest of the Association on his return from England. Now, he takes his place among the chief workers. Not only will he give the principal address—the one written paper—at the morning session of the convention, but he has kindly consented to preside at the festival in the evening. The subject he announces for his morning essay particularly excites mental curiosity. Students of the religious aspects of the evolution doctrine, as applied to material laws and forces, have not failed to observe that there are features of it that may be used to sustain some of the old dogmas of Calvinism; and they have been so used. The laws of heredity, for instance, it has been claimed, furnish a scientific argument for the doctrine of original sin and its imputation. "Natural Selection" is made a buttress of Calvinistic "Predestination." And the cosmic energy, so far as concerns the material universe, if identified with divine power, evidently gives a deity that works, like the Calvinistic Jehovah, according to a law of its own pleasure, regardless of considerations of human reason or benefit. In announcing his topic as "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism," it is probable that Mr. Conway has in mind these features of the evolution theory, yet not exclusively as stated by orthodox theologians. If we are not mistaken, he has quite as much in mind the idea of Deity conveyed by John Fiske in his latest published book and by other liberal thinkers of kindred views. For this reason, it is greatly to be hoped that the effort which the committee are making to secure Mr. Fiske for one of the subsequent speakers may be successful. We fear, however, that Prof. Fiske's lecture engagements at St. Louis will not permit this brilliant addition to the programme. But there will be none the less eager interest to see how Mr. Conway is going to meet these views to which his subject points.

In the afternoon, the Social Problem, and more especially the Labor Movement, will claim consideration. This subject, as handled by Mr. Newton last year, drew a crowded audience and wide attention. The matter is to be brought up again because it has become by recent events the one subject which above all others now has the public ear. Mr. Brooks, who is to introduce the topic, is not so generally known as Mr. Newton; but he has been making a special study of social themes in Germany, and, since his return, he has given, with great acceptance, a course of lectures

in Cambridge on the subject, which are spoken of in the highest terms. Mr. Brooks left a pulpit considered one of the most desirable in the country,—that so long held by Dr. Putnam in Roxbury,—in order that he might go abroad for further study of sociology; and now, after two or three years of such study, he has come back to take his chances with a new and comparatively weak society in Brockton, where he may have abundant opportunity for practical work in the same direction. What such a man may have to say on the all-absorbing question of the hour will be worth not a little pains to hear. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, known everywhere for work already done and doing, is also to speak on the same question.

Other speakers are expected at both the morning and afternoon sessions; and quite a host of brief speeches—coruscating firearms after the heavy cannonading of the day—will enliven the evening. We think it pretty sure that Frederick Douglass will be heard from in both ways. A great multitude of old friends, and a generation that knew nothing of the old anti-slavery platform, will welcome him to the various platforms of Boston's Anniversary Week which are still working for human liberty and amelioration. And not least among the attractive features of the coming convention will be the presence and speech of Mr. and Mrs. Joshee, from India. Both of them are accomplished speakers of the English tongue, as so many of the educated Hindus are; and the latter has just graduated with high distinction from a medical college in Philadelphia. Both of them adhere to the ancient Hindu religion, but they will be none the less cordially welcomed to the Free Religious gathering.

Whether the proposed amendment to the constitution of the Association (printed in this and every issue of *The Index* for the current month) will arouse much interest and call out a large attendance at the business meeting, it is difficult to foretell. On the introduction of the resolution last year, out of which this amendment has developed, quite an animated debate arose. It was finally voted that the amendment then suggested and any others which might be offered should be referred to the executive committee for consideration and for such action as should appear to them most judicious. To the amendment then proposed, another was added; and, in due time, the two were sent together in a printed circular to all members of the Association, with the request that they would express their opinion upon them, and offer also any suggestions of their own as to what amendments, if any, were required in the constitution, according to their judgment. (It may be said here that, in the second of the two amendments sent out in the circular, it was discovered afterward that a misplaced comma had somewhat confused the sense.)

When the committee met to consider the responses to the circular, so evenly divided were the opinions between the two amendments and so various the additional suggestions that, at first, it did not seem possible to frame anything that would be so generally satisfactory as to make the attempt worth while. But, on further consideration, the amendment as now proposed and published was evolved, making good and even improving upon the old adage that two heads are better than one; for, in this case, several heads proved better than two. The form finally fixed upon appears to us to obviate objections that had been made to the two other forms. It incorporates the most important of the new suggestions made in the answers of members, and harmonizes in a good measure the various views expressed, at the same time that it removes the obstacles to a hearty acceptance of

the constitution which a few minds, otherwise drawn to the Association, have found in the First Article as it now stands. The more we consider the new form proposed, the more does it seem to us to have been a specially happy hour of mental inspiration that gave birth to it; and we shall be surprised if it does not meet with general acceptance. It should be added that the committee thought it better that the amendment should be proposed on its own merits, and not with any official recommendation from the executive committee. Not all of the members of the committee were present at the consideration of it, and it is possible that not all may favor it. This article speaks only for a single member of the Association; but, unless objections now overlooked arise, that member will give the amendment proposed his cordial and entire approval.

WM. J. POTTER.

OF LABOR AGAIN.

Imagining myself talking with a member of some trades union, I will ask some questions, and answer them as I suppose we both should answer, till I come to one where we shall differ.

Has the wage-worker received hitherto his share of the product of his labor? No. Does he receive now his due share? No. Has he the right to refuse to work,—that is, to strike,—when his due share is withheld from him? Yes. Has he then the right to argue with other men, to persuade them to strike also or not to take the places of those who have struck? Yes. Have wage-workers a right to combine, the better to discuss and to decide the share which they should have, and to aid each other in refusing to work—that is, in striking—until they be paid duly? Yes. When wage-workers thus have combined, have they a right to refuse to work under any employment where other men work who will not combine or join the union? Yes. But, if so they strike, have they the right, then, to injure or cripple a business or to destroy property or material used therein, because non-union men are employed? To this, I answer, No. All measures to injure or cripple business, as by the boycotting, under such conditions or for such causes, I hold to be a tyrannous conspiracy, and all destruction of property or forcible interference with business a criminal violence. Now, here I may assume that the union wage-worker with whom I suppose myself conversing differs with me; for, at least, I will conclude that he does not these things, if he disapprove of them, yet that he is doing them in matter of plain sight and notoriety the country over. I will not discuss this difference between us at present, but say only that, so far as I can judge, every workman and every employer ought to be left free of dictation. If every wage-worker is to be held obliged to become a member of a trade union, I cannot conceive who is the authority so to compel him; and, if the employer has not the right plainly to give work to men who liked not to be union men, I cannot conceive how he was deprived of that authority or who took it away. And, if he has this right, then who may interfere with him rightly for the simple exercise of it? With this, I say I will rest for the present, because I wish simply to tell a story illustrative of what seems to me the odious tyranny of boycotts, and still more of violent actions against employers of non-union men or against the non-unionists employed.

A little while ago, I gave in my pulpit a sermon on one small part of the great labor question, in which I spoke plainly my conviction that the laboring man has great wrongs to be righted, and

that this subject must be approached by the holders of capital with a very large supply of humane love, if we are to solve the problem justly and wisely. The discourse occasioned some comment and discussion among my people; and, to one of them, of whom I may have more to say in another article, I gave *The Index* containing Mr. Underwood's account of the profit-sharing experiment of an Eastern manufacturer. My parishioner, who is a large manufacturer and an inventor, who was bred a mechanic and worked by the day like others, read the article with interest, and returned it to me, saying that he approved of it highly, if it could be done; that he had himself lain awake of nights, forming similar plans for his own workmen since his business relations had grown up to that point, and had formed some plans even more advantageous for them than the method given in Mr. Underwood's article. But he added that his own plans and the plan in the article and every other possible plan he believed to be frustrated at present and made impossible by one tyrannous fact,—namely, the boycott. "For," said my friend, "suppose I enter on any co-operative plan whatever with my men, who are unionists, Knights of Labor, or what not, and there comes a general order to strike, or suppose that my men are not unionists, and they are approached with persuasions, or, as now seems to be done, with requests tantamount to commands, to join the union; and, in either case, my men refuse,—refuse to strike, because of their agreement with me and their content with it, and refuse to join the union, because of their co-operative, profit-sharing relations with me, which they wish not to bring under other criticism or control. In such a case, my men will not be permitted to do as they please; but my business will be boycotted by the Union, the Assembly, the Knights of Labor, or whatever it may be. For this reason, no plan for mutual benefit between me and my men is possible, safe, or wise, because the first condition of such an enterprise must be the entire autonomy and self-control of all persons who are parties to it; and this is exactly what is destroyed by the tyrannous claim of the union to cripple or kill the business of all employers who have wholly or in part non-union men, or to regulate the acts of the workmen by the votes of a body which have no part and no rights whatever in the joint enterprise which might be formed between me and my workmen." This friend of mine, be it observed, disputes not in the least the right of the workmen to form unions for better co-operation, mutual help, and mutual defence, in any just way. Neither would he grudge them in the least any benefits or pleasures therefrom accruing. But he says that, if these unions will hinder and harm an employer's business, and at any period how critical soever, simply because he has men in his employ who have not combined and wish not to, then their action is as gross a tyranny on labor itself as it is on capital, and necessarily destroys, or at least threatens and makes unsafe, all joint enterprises, however equitable.

Let no one pretend that this is a man of straw, "set up to be knocked down"; for in the present rage for strikes, which seems to have reached the magnitude of an epidemic disease, no day passes without record of workmen leaving their situations for no better reason than that some men, as industrious as themselves and as good workmen, are employed by their side, who will not join their union, or who having taken vacated places are hated forever after, and stigmatized as "scabs." This moment, half a hundred switchmen are on strike in Chicago for no better reason than that six or eight men are employed in the same capacity by

the railroad, who thus took vacated places over five years ago, and with whom the present strikers have been working in quiet for this interval; and this ridiculous tyranny they enforce by violent proceedings against the property of the railroad, and against the freight, perishable in some cases, belonging to parties who never injured them in the least. I am a lover of labor; and nothing is more deep seated in me than my respect for the man who works well with his hands, and my conviction that wage-workers, as they are called, *have a cause*,—that is, a rightful complaint as to the past and certain just claims for the future. But such action as I have described I hold to be tyranny no less gross though more ignorant and less harmful than the selfish crimes and corrupt practices of manipulators of corporations and of legislatures. That it is as outrageous a despotism on the workingman himself as on the employer will appear from such a fact as the following, which occurred in another strike in Chicago lately, that at the McCormick Works. A workman employed there—at, I believe, somewhat higher pay than his associates, owing to special skill and responsibility—wished to continue to work, but was compelled to go out with the rest. Then he wished to return, but was informed by the others that, if he were seen to approach the factory, he would be shot down. This man kept his house for several days, especially at night, as the most prudent course, and then informed the woman whom he was to marry, employed at the time as a cook in a private family, that, if such was the boasted liberty of this country, he desired to return to Sweden.

J. V. BLAKE.

PROF. RUSKIN'S GUILD OF ST. GEORGE.

The fascination exerted upon our imaginations by the romantic features of St. George's Guild does not spring from the novelty of the idea of such an institution (there have been many other organizations for the testing of socialistic crotchets and hobbies), but from the *bizarre* and poetical nature of the founder, the astonishingly visionary character of many of his schemes, and the large financial sacrifices he has made for their realization.

The prime object of the Guild is "the general medicining, enriching, and preserving in political strength of the population of Great Britain." This is to be accomplished by purchasing some pieces of ground to cultivate, subjecting the cultivators to certain rules, and educating both them and their children. There is no colony, or community, localized in a central place; but the members still follow their own business, wherever they are, merely subscribing to the rules of the Guild and contributing a small fraction of their incomes for the expenses thereof. One of the chief objects of Mr. Ruskin was to show whether refined education were not possible to persons maintaining themselves by agriculture or other useful labor, and to convince some portion of the upper classes of society of the superiority of such occupations to their favorite profession of war.

It was Mr. Ruskin's (Biblical) idea at first that every member should pay to the Guild one-tenth of his or her income; but, later, this idea had to be abandoned. The central plan, always kept in view, has been the agricultural one, the intention being not merely to cultivate ordinary land, but to recover barren, rocky, or marshy districts, and bring them into good bearing condition. No matter on how small a scale the thing is begun, said the founder. Better try the experiment in two or three poor men's gardens than not at all.

But, supposing some pieces of land of respectable size were secured, then, said he, we will ascertain the absolutely best that can be made of every acre,—flowers native to the soil shall be sown in the wild places, fruit trees planted, cottages built, pasturage extended, and every foot of the land developed to its utmost.

We are prepared, of course, to hear that in these little paradises there are to be no steam-engines, no railroads, no idleness, no equality, and "no liberty," and that laborers shall be paid fixed wages; children to be educated compulsorily in agricultural and naval schools,—the boys to learn swimming or sailing; the girls, spinning, weaving, sewing, and cooking; both sexes to be taught botany, dancing, music, and art, also instructed in gentleness, finished courtesy, truth-speaking, obedience. As they grow older, they are to learn the natural history of the place they live in, to know Latin, and the history of Athens, Rome, Venice, Florence, and London. Young men who deserve higher education are to receive that of a Greek gentleman of the Periclean age, plus Christianity. Boys are to be taught "thoroughly, and with awe," the physical laws relating to their bodies.

The Guild was founded in 1871, and duly registered as a limited liability company, Ruskin, as first Master, making over to it a tenth of his income. He was worth at that time about \$550,000. Up to July, 1876, after five years of existence, the membership of St. George's Guild numbered only thirty persons, some of them young ladies. It curiously marks the unpopular nature of the enterprise that the Master, in making his list of names, dared to give at first only the initials, and, afterwards, the first and last names of such Guildsmen and Guildswomen as he thought would not blame him for so doing.

Up to July, 1877, the Guild had available cash to the amount of £3,487 12s. The title was changed from "Company" to "Guild" in 1877, owing to the ideas of fraudulency connected with so many companies of England (curious reason for changing). About the same time, also, the requirement of a tithe was dropped, as it had proved a grievous stumbling-block to the rich. It was now announced that anybody would be received as a Companion who, complying with the principles and methods of the association, would contribute one per cent. of his or her income, up to £10 on incomes reaching a thousand a year, the understanding being that, above that amount, nothing would be asked. At the same time, the word "Companions" was reserved as the appellation of a superior order of the association, the members of which would be willing to give one-tenth of their income, while ordinary Guildsmen gave only one per cent. thereof. Yet, in spite of small membership and languid progress of work, it cannot be said that the Master's reform movement has borne no fruit. If proof were needed, it is afforded, for one thing, by the establishment, in 1879, of the "Ruskin Society of Great Britain," with head-quarters at Manchester and branch societies at Aberdeen and Glasgow, the chief aims being to promote the study and circulation of Mr. Ruskin's writings, to exemplify his teachings, and to aid his practical efforts for social improvement.

The work done for St. George has been not only of an interesting nature, but of considerable extent. The first piece of actual work performed seems to have been a bit of road-making at Oxford by the students. The first interest from St. George's fund Mr. Ruskin spent in the vain attempt to keep perfectly clean a bit of London street; a cloth mill has been erected in the Isle of Man, for weaving the wool of the Manx sheep: various plots of ground have been purchased, and

at least one of them has been put under cultivation; Mr. Ruskin restored, at a cost of \$2,500, a beautiful pool* at Carshalton, near the home of his boyhood (Herne Hill, by London); he has done a good deal of expensive terracing at his own residence,—Brantwood, in the Lake District,—where, however, the wood hyacinths and heather seem to outweigh in value the hay and strawberries. One of the most amusing projects of the Master was the establishment of a tea-shop at 29 Paddington Street, London. Here, the patient idealist installed two of his mother's aged servants as clerks. The idea was to sell good tea in as small packets as people chose to buy, without charging a profit on the subdivision. But the absence of illumination by gas and the eschewing of the rhetoric of advertisements, as well as the increase in the consumption of spirits throughout the neighborhood, made sales slow. The chief check, however, on the trade of "Mr. Ruskin's Tea-shop," he thinks, was his delay in painting his sign. He could not for months determine whether the said sign should be of a Chinese character,—black upon gold; or of a Japanese,—blue upon white; or of pleasant English,—rose-color on green; and still less how far legible scale of letters could be compatible, on a board only a foot broad, with lengthy enough elucidation of the peculiar offices of the establishment. Meanwhile, rent and taxes ate up the profits, and something in addition.

But all these experiments have been only subsidiary to the main enterprise of founding a great educational museum in Sheffield. The Master intends to make his Museum of St. George the practical embodiment of all that he has taught in his writings on art and natural history. A beginning has been made; and such collections as have been got together are exhibited in a temporary museum in Upper Walkley, a hill suburb of Sheffield, inhabited chiefly by poor artisans.

The constitution of St. George's Guild has been described as that of an aristocracy, which elects an absolute chief, or doge. The members, in the order of their rank, consist of (1) the master, (2) the marshals, (3) landlords, (4) the tenantry, craftsmen, and hired laborers. Without going into details as to the respective functions of these ranks, let it be said that labor and the laborer hold the place of chief honor. All measures have reference to the laborer's well-being, and the authority of the Master and the superior officers is derived from him.

The first maxim of the Guildsmen is "to do good work, whether they live or die." Marriages are to be regulated by the Guild. As to courtship, the sum and substance of Mr. Ruskin's ideas is this: No girl should reject a lover at once nor accept him at once. A girl worth anything ought to have half a dozen suitors; and she is to put them all on probation, requiring of them as many lions' skins and giants' heads as she thinks she is worth. If a lover is absolutely disliked by her, "she may send him away for seven years or so, he vowing to live on cresses and wear sackcloth meanwhile," or do something of the kind to show his worthiness. When we read such funny things as this in Mr. Ruskin's books, we begin to understand the meaning of that quizzing, mischievous look in the eyes which he is reported occasionally to show.

The members are to use no machines, except

*The following piece of superb English and of exquisite sentiment Mr. Ruskin had carved on the fountain:—

"IN OBEDIENCE TO THE GIVER OF LIFE, OF THE BROOKS AND FRUITS THAT FEED IT, OF THE PEACE THAT ENDS IT, MAY THIS WELL BE KEPT SACRED FOR THE SERVICE OF MEN, FLOCKS, AND FLOWERS, AND BE BY KINDNESS CALLED MARGARET'S WELL."

for very heavy work, and no railroads, except for speed of travel on main lines of communication.

The rents levied by St. George will differ from common rents in respect of being lowered instead of raised in proportion to every improvement made by the tenant. Furthermore, the rents will be employed in making improvements on the estates of the tenants, landlords not being allowed to take any money, except what they earn by their personal labor. (This is surely a socialistic measure which would go far toward establishing the equality which Ruskin says he detests.)

There is to be a national store of wealth (idea seems to have been taken from Proudhon) instead of a national debt,—the store, or reserve fund, to consist of food, clothes, books, and works of art. The government will always have enough of these in its possession to meet the entire demand of its currency in circulation. "Government!" "Currency!" thinks the reader. "Why, we shall then have a government within a government." Even so. But the creed, or constitution, of St. George demands, in its seventh article, entire loyalty to the existing administration, unless it be proved to be contrary to the laws of God. In this respect (loyalty), it exactly resembles the constitution drawn up by John Brown for his anticipated republic of blacks. John Brown suffered martyrdom. But I suppose no better proof could be asked of the visionary nature of the English John's similar movement for the liberation of the white slaves of labor than the complete indifference of the existing government to this bold little rebel flag of St. George, run up by a sick and despairing prophet in the very heart of the vast empire of Great Britain.

The only use to which the Guild will put its precious metals will be to employ them for currency and in the arts. The Guildsmen are to eat out of delft and drink out of pewter (idea taken from More's *Utopia*. Ruskin has clearly studied all the Utopias, from Plato down to Brook Farm). There will also be paper money; but it will be a matter of financial indifference what part of the circulating medium is in coin and what in paper, since the power of each is but that of a government receipt for goods delivered into the general store.

In dress, everybody will have to look to it that he be clean as wax, and no ragged garments allowed. The dress of the superior orders and officers always to be plainer than that of the "peasants," as Ruskin calls them (this idea about dress also taken from Sir Thomas More). Hereditary nobles entering the Guild are kindly permitted to retain the insignia of their rank; but they must all promise to wear uncut jewels, if they wear any at all!

Prof. Ruskin's cardinal idea of obedience is to be practically enforced with a vengeance in the government of which he is *ῥιππᾶρος*. He, at one time, actually entertained the idea of ruling his peasant-slaves (I will justify the phrase immediately) by the iron rod of the military order! He states that in early life he had known so many good and wise soldiers, and had observed so constantly in his historical reading (notice how always and always he falls back for justification upon precedent, upon the past) the beneficence of military rule in time of peace, that he had seriously thought of choosing the commandants of the Guild from veteran soldiers. It was also his intention to select the laborers from such domestics and retainers of old families as had been thrown out of employment by modern social changes (these persons attractive to him because of their habits of unquestioning obedience). Well, when he had thus provided for discipline, let us see how he

would crack his whip over his coffles of peasant slaves (*Fors*, I., Letter 37). The laboring Guildsmen are compelled:—

(1) To rent their land temporarily of the Master; and they can be ejected, if they prove intractable.*

(2) To pay over one per cent. of their incomes for St. George's Benevolent Fund.

(3) To cultivate their land as the overseer may direct.

(4) To build their houses with prescribed materials, and to a fixed degree of strength.

(5) To send their children to the schools where Mr. Ruskin's ideas on education will be carried out.

(6) To take no newspaper except the one to be published by the Master, and to read no books but those published, edited, or selected for the Guild's library by him.

(7) Each and all to render "unreasoning obedience," solemn and constant, to the officers set over them.

(8) To use only such machinery as the Master may direct.

(9) To obey, in general, the laws of Plato, Christ, Lord Bacon, Sir Thomas More, and the Florentines of Dante's time.

(10) Every tradesman's books must be open to inspection on the Master's order, and his entire business affairs, including the percentages paid to clerks and producers, known to everybody.

(11) "And, finally," says Ruskin, "people whom I catch doing as they like will generally have to leave the estate!" †

At this point, I make no doubt my readers are rubbing their eyes, and asking themselves just where about in time they really are, and if they are in possession of their senses. Don't tremble or get alarmed, dear friends. Our liberties are still safe: there is no danger of Prof. Ruskin being intrusted with autocratic power. He is only dreaming, after all. Will you examine a specimen law of our ideal government? It is only six hundred years old, and comes from Florence. The law away back there was that no citizen should buy fish to sell again to middlemen. In this way, you get fresh fish, do you see? Now, we must have this law in St. George's Guild. But how to get our fish to their proper market and sold? Why, what else have the sons of the fishermen to do, and what else have idle clergymen to do, better than to peddle good fish? The day must come (says Ruskin, in all seriousness) when gentlemen will turn fish-mongers, and, hiring themselves out to the fishermen, take dripping basket on back, and cry their finny wares through the cities!

"They may stagger on," perhaps, a year or two more in their vain ways; but the day must come when your poor, little, honest puppy, whom his people have been wanting to dress up in a surplice, and call 'The to be Feared,' that he might have pay enough, by tithe or tax, to marry a pretty girl, and live in a parsonage,—some poor, little, honest wretch of a puppy, I say, will eventually get it into his glossy head that he would be incomparably more reverend to mortals, and acceptable to St. Peter and all saints, as a true monger of sweet fish than a false fisher for rotten souls; and that

*All of these conditions may be found in various parts of *Fors Clavigera* and *Time and Tide*, whence I have culled them forth.

†So Carlyle, in "Shooting Niagara," suggests that the English lords might form their estates into miniature model communities, drilling and disciplining their tenants and banishing the refractory. How all this arrogance of Ruskin and Carlyle contrasts with the spirit of gentle Walter Scott, who, though ostensibly as conservative as his two countrymen, yet, when he was settling a few families at Abbotsford, made only two conditions: first, that they should keep their cottages and doorways first, and little gardens tolerably neat; and, second, that the men should keep their guns from the game, and the boys their hands from the birds' nests and the new-planted woods! (*Lockhart's Life*, vol. v., p. 288, original edition.)

his wife would be incomparably more 'ladylike,' not to say madonna-like, marching beside him in purple stockings and sabots, or even frankly barefoot, with her creel full of caller herring on her back, than in administering any quantity of ecclesiastical scholarship to her Sunday-schools.

"How dreadful, how atrocious!" thinks the tender clerical lover. 'My wife walk with a fish-basket on her back!'

"Yes, you young scamp, you. You were going to lie to the Holy Ghost, then, were you, only that she might wear satin slippers, and be called 'a lady'?"

WM. SLOANE KENNEDY.

THOMAS PAINE AND UNITARIANISM.

Once or twice, we have in these columns called attention to the fact that Thomas Paine has more claim upon the recognition and gratitude of Unitarians than he has ever received from them. His religious views were substantially those now preached, if we mistake not, from many, if not the majority, of Unitarian pulpits. If he went further than do some of the Unitarians of to-day in rejecting the Bible as an authority, on the other hand it can be said that he had no sympathy with the pantheism and agnosticism of the more radical of the Unitarian ministers.

Some months ago, a Southern Unitarian published his own creed. Rev. George L. Chaney quoted it, and called especial attention to it as an admirable statement of the Unitarian belief. He did not then know, and has perhaps not yet learned, what we pointed out, that the statement was taken, word for word, from the *Age of Reason*, and that it was written and published nearly a century ago by "Tom Paine, the deist," as his religious creed. But such was the fact.

In presenting his religious views to the public, in days less enlightened, less liberal, and less tolerant than these, Paine excited the wrath of the clergy, and became an object of religious bigotry and abuse, and a victim of pious slanders and lies. The ingratitude shown him, the wrong done him in impugning his motives, misrepresenting his views, and blackening his reputation, is the price paid for the frank and vigorous expression of his "thoughts on religion." Now, these thoughts, freely expressed by Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Savage, or Mr. Barrows, are accepted by multitudes; and they who utter them incur no odium, and know nothing from personal experience about social ostracism, not to speak of outrageous calumny and violent abuse.

Is it not true that many, that the great mass of, Unitarians are to a considerable extent under the influence of that prejudice against Paine, and that aversion to his name, which the fearless avowal and defence of views they now hold and may express with impunity originated and have perpetuated through nearly a century? It is not uncommon in Unitarian books and papers to see Jefferson mentioned as a Unitarian; and yet it can easily be shown that Paine and Jefferson agreed almost entirely in their religious views,—that, in so far as they differed, Jefferson was the more heterodox. Neither, of course, enjoyed the advantage of acquaintance with the results of the last fifty years of research. Neither had attained to that conception of evolution which in the province of religious thought and ethics, as well as in biology, has so profoundly modified the views and methods of thinkers. Each had his "limitations," and the religious writings of both contain passages that are crude in thought, viewed in the light of to-day; but the fact remains that they both, far in advance of their age, opposed the

orthodox theology, and affirmed the right to judge the Bible on its own merits, at the same time holding firmly to the belief in a Supreme Intelligence and in the immortality of the soul, and eulogizing Jesus as one of the purest and noblest moral teachers that ever lived.

Why, then, we ask, do the Unitarians ignore Thomas Paine as one of the early and advanced thinkers who contributed powerfully to diffuse their views?

Since the Unitarian Association has published a volume made up of selections from Theodore Parker's works, may we not hope yet that they will recognize the value of Paine's religious work by publishing a volume of selections from his *Age of Reason* and from his other theological writings?

These thoughts have been suggested by an inquiry in the London *Inquirer* by a correspondent as to what fundamental difference there is between the teachings of Paine and those of Unitarians. "Paine," he says, "emphatically asserted his belief in the existence of one God, the Father Almighty, and that he was most truly served by devotion to the welfare of humanity. He believed in a future state, the happiness or misery of which depends on conduct here. He regarded Jesus as a noble example. His religion stood for the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. What else is Unitarianism?" "Our correspondent adds," says the editor,—"and we are strongly inclined to agree with him,—that something more than we have generally admitted is due from us to the memory of Thomas Paine for his efforts in the cause of freedom, justice, and universal progress."

The editor concludes thus: "So, if 'Tom Paine' had lived in these days, when most of his opinions are held by dignitaries of the Church, he would have been Mr. Thomas Paine, a scholarly gentleman holding somewhat heterodox opinions. On the nationalization of the Church after Mr. Albert Grey's model, he would have taken orders, and become the Rev. Thomas Paine, M.A., and with his fine scholarly abilities would successfully have become the Venerable Archdeacon Paine, Bampton Lecturer; and, finally, the Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Paine, Bishop in *partibus infidelium*, a redoubtable *malleus hereticorum*,—that is, of agnostics, positivists, and all who held opinions contrary to his enlightened Christian theism. But, seriously, Paine was a man before his age, whose remarkable life and distinguished career may well serve as a fitting theme for a lecture, even by a Unitarian minister. We should like to see a really good and trustworthy memoir of this remarkable man."

Paine was a hundred years ahead of the Unitarians of his time; but this fact should make the Unitarians of to-day who have reached the position he so clearly stated and so stoutly maintained the more ready to give him credit for his work and influence as a Unitarian,—a layman who, with his pen, did what no Unitarian pulpit had the genius and the courage to do, presented Unitarianism as it was to be after a hundred years of discussion and growth, as it was to be defined and defended by the leading organs and by popular ministers of the denomination in England and America near the close of the next century, but a few of the earliest years of which he was to see. The fact that the great Unitarian was so far in advance of his brethren in religious matters that they joined the orthodox sects in denouncing him as an "infidel" and an enemy of religion and morality, little thinking that the dogmas he was assailing would come to be regarded by Unitarians as false and mischievous and that the propositions in which he stated his religious belief would be repeated substantially from Unitarian pulpits and

in Unitarian books as the essentials of the Unitarian faith, should entitle Paine not only to recognition by Unitarians, but to grateful honors for his heroic pioneer efforts, made in the most unsectarian spirit, to promote their faith.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

THE PARKER MEMORIAL SCIENCE CLASS.

On Sunday last, Mr. David N. Holway gave the concluding lecture for the season before the Parker Memorial Science Class, on "The Science of Life Assurance,"—a subject which, as treated by this very instructive lecturer, proved of fascinating interest. The Class voted to hold a picnic, on the first Sunday in June, at Lily's Grove, near Waltham; and the Parker Memorial Society was invited to join the Class on the occasion. The regular sessions will be resumed in October. During the season just closed, the lectures have been largely attended, and the interest sustained to the last. Many of the addresses have been by persons engaged as professors or teachers in scientific instruction, some of them distinguished authorities in regard to the subject presented. Harvard College, Tufts, and the Institute of Technology have all been laid under contribution. Not a few of the lectures have been illustrated by diagrams, photographs, and specimens pertaining to the subject discussed. The Class is especially indebted to Dr. Samuel Kneeland, who is well known as a traveller and scientific investigator, for his kindly interest in its behalf, and for services generously rendered, including a Sunday evening lecture apart from the regular course, on Thorwaldsen's Sculpture, illustrated with stereopticon, for which tickets were sold, and which attracted a large audience. Much credit is due Mr. D. H. Clark, of the Executive Committee, for his energetic and valuable service. The Class has a paying membership of sixty persons. The outlook for the next season is very promising. We give the names of the speakers, with the subjects of the lectures, for the season just closed: B. F. Underwood, on "The So-called Mind-cure Method"; Mr. Edward P. Adams, on "Ventilation"; Prof. Charles G. Fay, of Tufts College, on "The Love of Nature among Americans"; Dr. Mary J. Safford, on "Consumption as influenced by Climate and Occupation"; Mr. Hapgood, on "A Study in Embryology"; Mr. S. H. Roper, on "Oceanic Currents as Factors in Climate"; Prof. G. H. Barton, on "Classification of Rocks and Minerals"; Dr. Paul Carus, on "German Universities"; Mr. John Ritchie, Jr., on "How Some People Think"; M. Anagnos, on "Education of the Deaf"; Prof. Samuel Garman, on "Reptiles and Batrachians"; Dr. Samuel Kneeland, on "A Norwegian Family of Lapps and their Herd of Reindeer"; Mr. Walter Crane, on "Sleep"; Miss A. L. Page, on "Froebel: The Man and his Work"; Mr. Samuel Wells, on "Microscopy"; Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, on "Marriages of Genius"; Prof. A. E. Dolbeare, on "Electricity"; Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, on "The Eastern Question and its Possible Outcome"; Mr. S. W. Hathaway, on "The Uncertainties of the Theories of Physics"; Prof. S. C. Chandler, on "The Variability of the Stars"; Dr. Morton Prince, on "The Brain and the Mind"; Mr. S. H. Roper, on "What the Sun does for us"; Dr. Samuel Kneeland, on "Six Weeks in Japan"; Dr. Jane P. Culver, on "Philosophical Old Age"; Mr. John Ritchie, on "What our Astronomers are doing"; Mr. F. M. Holland, on "Francis Bacon, and the Authority of Facts as Tests of Truth"; Miss Isabel L. Johnson, on "A Talk about the Lobster"; Prof. S. P. Sharpley, on "Some Applications of Chemistry to Modern Civilization"; B. F.

Underwood, on "The Scientific Study of Nature"; Mr. David N. Holway, on "The Science of Life Assurance." On one Sunday, the Class visited the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, by invitation. B. F. U.

"A FEW DAYS IN ATHENS," by Frances Wright, embellished with the author's portrait, is published by Mr. J. P. Mendum, and is for sale at *The Index* office, at 75 cents per copy. As an eloquent exposition of the Epicurean philosophy, it is unequalled by any work in the English language.

THE Society for Ethical Culture, New York, so ably led by Dr. Adler, is to celebrate its Tenth Anniversary next Sunday. The Ethical Societies of Chicago and Philadelphia are to be represented in the exercises of congratulation, and a number of speakers will add their word of appreciation of the successful work which Prof. Adler and his society have done in New York during these first ten years.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will open on Thursday evening, May 27, with a business session in Fraternity Hall, Parker Memorial Building, corner Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston, at 7.45, for hearing reports, electing officers, and considering any resolutions that may be offered. The executive committee authorize the presentation for rejection or adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, according to which present Article I. would be divided into two Articles, which would read thus:—

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

The other articles to remain as now, but to be numbered respectively III., IV., V., and VI.

The public convention will be held as usual in Parker Memorial Hall, Friday morning and afternoon, May 28. The opening address, at 10.30 A.M., will be made by the President, Mr. William J. Potter. Mr. Moncure D. Conway will then give an address on "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism." Mr. B. F. Underwood will speak on "An Unclerical and Untheological View of Religion." One or two brief speeches will follow, and probably a letter from Dr. Edmund Montgomery.

In the afternoon, a discussion of the Labor Movement will be opened at 3 P.M. by Rev. J. G. Brooks, of Brockton, Mass., who will speak on "Ideals and Realities in the Social Question," and be followed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright and other speakers. All interested in these subjects are invited cordially.

The Meionaon will be open for our festival on Friday, the 29th, at 6 P.M. Supper will be ready at 6.30, and Mr. Moncure D. Conway will take the chair as presiding officer at 8 P.M. Among other speakers engaged for this occasion are Rabbi Solomon Schindler, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Mr. William J. Potter, and Mr. Gopal Venayak Joshee, of India. Rev. M. J. Savage, Col. T. W. Higginson, Mr. John A. Wyman, and Mr. Frederick Douglass are also expected. Quartette singing. Tickets \$1. Reserved seats may be obtained at this office, at the Convention on May 28, of Messrs. O. Ditson & Co., 451 Washington Street, and of Messrs. D. G. Crandon & Co., 11 Hanover Street.

F. M. HOLLAND, Sec'y.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 13, 1886.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

SCIENCE AND SIN.

BY JOHN COTTON DANA.

I.

The dogma of the sinfulness of man abides. It sits fast in the minds of many who have long since rejected the superstitions on which it rests. A lingering belief in it affects the outlook on the world of numbers of those who deny one of its fundamental conditions,—free will, as expounded in the Christian theology,—and who have given up their allegiance to the personal God of the Bible. It continues sadly to warp the minds of the great majority even of those who deny explicitly any belief in it, when they are confronted with its bald, unmodified statement.

However lamentable these facts may be, they are scarcely strange. In some form or other, the doctrine of the sinfulness of the human heart has been employed through many centuries as an explanation of man's want of harmony with himself, with man, and with nature. We may believe that no sooner did evil deeds begin to leave bitter memories in the minds of the doers of them than there was given a name to the impulse which prompted the deeds, and there arose the question whence that impulse came. Then, with advancing ages, the recollection of the wrong done became yet more sharp, and the reflection that it was a wrong yet more bitter; the feeling that only a heart out of tune with the world could so often strike a note not in harmony therewith grew stronger and stronger; and the questions, Whence and what the cause of all this discord? more and more urgently demanded an answer. In the native wickedness of the human heart was at length found a key to these problems, and mankind has long been content with the solution that key gave. It was a solution which harmonized well with man's religious beliefs; for, in large part, it grew up with and out of those beliefs. It harmonized, furthermore, with his convictions as to the origin

of moral impulses and moral laws, that they were the whispered counsels and the explicit commands of a God manlike in his love and hate. Still, another fact has assisted this explanation of human weakness and human misery in retaining its place in men's minds. It has been of value in life. With its natural corollaries of a future of pleasures or of pains, this belief has temporarily added new force to the better impulses and has checked the baser. This, with other good effects, has, no doubt, atoned in a measure for its evil influences. But the belief has outlived its usefulness. It is in accord to-day, not with the persuasions of the thoughtful and the truth-seeking, but with the creeds of the unthinking, of the dogmatic, of the timorous-minded. It brings now little but evil in its train. In our daily life, it nips in the bud the blooms of the sweet plant of charity; for it tends to give a false notion of what responsibility truly is, and leads us to regard a tendency to evil conduct as something which might be entirely repressed by those who are moved by it, even though their parentage, their training, and their surroundings have yielded them naught but impulses to evil. It vitiates our judgment of human kind at large; for it provokes in us the thought that all good men are godlike and all evil men devil-like, and tempts us to forget that the former are as much the outcome of character and training and motives as are the latter. It gives a wrong bias to our criminal legislation, and makes impossible a rational treatment alike of the petty law-breaker and of the congenitally vicious; for, the false idea of responsibility embodied in our creeds and in our statute-books and decisions once established, we are compelled to the belief that transgression of the laws, within the statutory definition, comes all from a love for that which is wicked simply because it is wicked. It clouds our apprehension of the truth as to sanity and insanity, and leads us into endless and futile discussions as to the boundary lines of responsibility and the beginnings of criminality; for it would persuade us to believe that there is a hard and fast line between the normal man of Christian theology, whose desires, as he thinks, are all evil, and who knows that they are so, and the abnormal man of the statute-books, whose desires are all evil, but who knows not that they are so.

This doctrine of sin would fain persuade us to accept these half sights and these erroneous views of life; but, happily, it succeeds in thus persuading us only in part. The most of those who hold the doctrine as a verbal statement never accept, if they ever see, the far-reaching conclusions to which it logically leads. It is true here, as in many other cases, that the convictions on which we base the most of our daily conduct are at variance with the statements in our creeds. Happy inconsistency! which permits man to embrace, in words, dogmas destructive of all happiness, almost of human society, and to live, in conduct, doctrines in harmony with charity, sympathy, and all the virtues which make life with our fellows possible.

Happily inconsistency! yet not to be praised; for it takes form in that mental disease which, in the break-up of religious ideas,—let us say in the fall of ancient superstitions,—threatens to be the disease of the age,—compromise. Beginning in an unconscious inconsistency, we pass gradually into a conscious compromise, then, perchance, into a voluntary self-deception, and even into an intellectual duplicity. First, we have not the courage of our new convictions in the face of our old beliefs; and then we think to hide our cowardice from others and from ourselves by praising

the moderation, the good judgment, and the safe conservatism of those who worship expediency, and who pretend allegiance to the old. We keep our early adherence to beliefs which have proved false in the light of our later knowledge, but we no longer guide our conduct by those beliefs. We accept the new in fact, as is evidenced by our deeds; but, in our professions, we cling to the old.

A tendency toward such inconsistency, we may even say duplicity, exists to-day in many lines of thought. Such is especially the tendency in religious thought. It is not alone those who are so ill-versed in theology's rudiments as to declare that, if there is no sin, then all conduct must be good, who cry, Hush! when the truth, that sin is not, because law everywhere reigns, promises to be spoken. Others, too, filled with the spirit of that compromise which comes from looking only at what seems expedient in the light of their old beliefs, urge that the destruction of hell and the death of the devil, the father of sin, be not proclaimed abroad, lest those not so high-souled as themselves lose the last or the only efficient restraint to their evil desires. And the same wise men, hopeless of human goodness by their own theory, not seeing that in the light of nobler doctrines there may be confidence in human goodness,—these same men will say that, though the dogma of sin be as false as hell itself, it should be retained to terrify the ignorant: otherwise, those ignorant may fall into new ways of looking at life and into evil imaginings.

How far they who urge that the teaching of dead doctrines be continued for the benefit of the ignorant and the lowly may be actuated by a selfish desire to keep those whom they profess to wish to aid thus ignorant and lowly, this is not the place to inquire. Certain it is that they preach that which promises to advantage themselves by keeping up the distinction and the barrier between the wise and the ignorant, the competent and the incompetent, the wealthy and the poor. For they seem to say, Keep the thoughts of each one on the necessity of a future salvation for himself alone and by himself alone, and he will gain no glimpse of that more assured salvation for himself and his fellows from earthly ills, which awaits but the taking. True, so long as such advice prevails, so long as the machinery of a false theology is sustained by those who see its falsity, so long as things thus continue, both those who uphold the doctrine they know to be false and those who accept from them the false doctrine as the true can gain but a faint view of the true salvation,—the elevation of humanity here on earth to the highest physical well-being and to the loftiest intellectual and moral plane. But, to such as think proper any expedient which keeps the world as it is, it seems the part of wisdom to lose not one motive to a peaceful acceptance of the present order of things or to a patient ignoring of better possibilities. And such, again, would urge that the Church of the present should be retained, though it preach false doctrines, so long as those doctrines tend to keep men in the old ways.

But, to those who believe that a first condition of man's progress is that he drop the old error and embrace the new truth, the false doctrine is a thing to be hated and expelled, never fostered or even endured. However conservative these enemies of error may be, when they come to consider the immediate destruction of old institutions, they believe that the errors, if errors they be, on which old institutions may rest, should be proclaimed as errors before all men. Only thus, not by upholding the false, however indirectly, and not by concealing the truth, with however good inten-

tions, can the new, the truer, and so the better doctrine come in, and bring with it the wider and the happier life.

Not too often, then, can it be repeated that sin is not, that the devil is dead, and that hell has been erased from all charts of the universe. These dogmas of sin, of the devil, and of hell, once destroyed, the teachings which they bring with them once deprived of their hold on human thought, and man will attempt a solution of the grand problems of life and progress with fresh and reasonable courage. Each new height won will then be accepted as a safe and enduring stand-point whence to mount to the next. The element of reason will enter more deeply and more permanently into the conduct of all men. Slowly, but surely, there will spread the truth that, while we are in and of the vast stream of tendency, which bears unconscious life along as the river bears the flood-wood on its bosom, we conscious beings—"born in a ship on the breast of the river of time"—can so guide that ship as to escape many a stranding and many a hurt in the shoals and rapids of life's stream, and can so control it as to push it on out of the eddies wherein unguided, helpless, unknowing beings whirl and toss for ages, unprogressing.

Believing thus that only by the spread of the new truth can we conquer the old error, with its train of ills, I would repeat the old attempt to show the falsity of this doctrine, that men hate the moral law of a good and loving God, by telling briefly, once again, how there has come to man this deep-rooted belief in his depravity. Could it be seen by all that this belief has no more foundation in fact than had the superstition that an eclipse was the withdrawal of a wrathful God's countenance from his unruly subjects, the belief would vanish as that superstition has vanished. An attempt, however humble, to show that man is not at enmity with nature or with nature's God, and that the vileness of his character is a doctrine which comes but from his half-sight of the methods of an unfolding universe,—such an attempt would not be in vain, if it gains but one of these ends: if it give to but one person a hope that the human heart can be uplifted to a loftier plane; if it weaken in one mind the conviction that each developing soul is strengthening, as it develops, a hatred of the moral law, of the right and of the true; if it make yet clearer to one eye the vision of a humanity gaining in each new generation a firmer grasp on a morality of experience and of reason; if it banish from one mind the thought of this same humanity forever fast in the depths of unreasoning wickedness.

A sin, the sin of Christian theology, may be defined as a voluntary violation of a moral law of God. A voluntary violation is one following the impulse or motion or choice of a free will. A moral law of God may be defined as a rule of conduct laid down for man's guidance by a Being outside of and above both man and nature. A sinner, then, is one who, having come to a point where a decision is to be made between two lines of conduct,—one, as he believes, forbidden by God, and the other commanded,—chooses the former. This choice must be originated by the individual himself. He must determine it—if by reference to anything at all—by reference to his belief as to God's command, and to nothing else. Or one may say that, in making the decision to disobey God, he must be influenced only by his desire—an inherent, ever-present desire, according to the creeds—to displease him. Did he yield to a desire to please, he would not disobey. Were he determined in his choice by that part of his nature which marks him out from other men,—that is, by

his character or by his nurture or training or by his then surroundings,—his choice would not be voluntary; and for it not he, but his ancestors, his circumstances, and, indeed, all past events, would be responsible. The word "responsible," to define again, is here used as having application simply to an originating cause. Plainly, the burden of responsibility, in that sense of the word, cannot attach to a person who has made a God-forbidden choice, unless that choice have its ultimate origin within that person's own mind and heart.

"The aim of scientific thought," as has been well said, "is to apply past experience to new circumstances." This application it cannot make, except as it uses the "instrument of scientific thought," which is "an observed uniformity in the course of events." Science,—using the word even in its broadest sense, as that generalized knowledge which makes life possible,—science, then, both declares the uniformity of nature, and can have existence only as there is such uniformity. But if nature is uniform, if it goes nowhere by leaps and jumps, if it extends its uniformity to the conduct of man, as a study of the statistics of society shows plainly that it does, then is there no such thing possible as that a choice should originate or should be originated in the mind of man, regardless of his character and of the motives brought to bear upon him. Were such self-originating choices possible, were they ever made, there would be an end of that orderly sequence of events on which rests science, and the myriad intentioned acts which constitute life. Science says, in effect, of each man's conduct, of the expression of his choices, what it says of every other movement of the world of nature,—that it is the outcome of the past, that every simplest act is done as it is done because the universe is what it is.

This being so, man is not to be, cannot be, held blameworthy for his conduct or for his determinations by a Power which is over and above that nature of which he himself but forms a part. To consider himself as thus blameworthy is as if some part of a machine of human invention and construction, endowed with self-consciousness, should think itself in fault, because it failed through want of proper adjustment to perform rightly its function.

The question of an originating will within every man, in whatever form it arises, is a simple one. Either nature is uniform, and such creative first cause in man is impossible, or it is not uniform, and such creative first cause is possible. In the former case, science is possible; in the latter, it is impossible. In the former case, nature's problems may rightly occupy our attention, and may justly promise us many a helpful solution: in the latter case, those problems are problems no longer, but mysteries, and to be forever such. In the former case, man is a being, the study of which may reward us with principles, fit guides for us in our attempt to elevate his character, and to make nobler the race in each new generation: in the latter case, man is a being whose future conduct no motives can influence, whose character no teachings can mould, and whose elevation is an impossible dream.

No: man's conduct, be it good or bad, returning again to the teachings of science, is as inevitably what it is as is the coming forth of the rose and the thorn from the rose-bush. To science there is in conduct no such thing as sinfulness: for the Power in and behind Nature and man, from which all things proceed, there can be none of that difference in the quality of human conduct which is essential to make certain acts sinful and certain others good.

With the belief that "through the ages one in-

creasing purpose runs," these propositions have nothing to do. Here I am concerned only to show that man in all his differing natures—physical, mental, spiritual, if differing natures these be—is, in his progress through the ages, such a part of universal nature as is the flower, the crystal, or the mote that dances in the sunlight.

But, to millions of mankind, the belief in sin has been through many centuries one of the most constant and enduring of conceptions. How comes it, then, returning to our question, that this conception has gained so strong a hold on man, if sin has in truth no existence? Let us see.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS.

Editors of The Index:—

An elaborate critical review of *Scientific Theism* has appeared in *The Index* by a gentleman of great scientific genius and attainments, whose researches in certain branches of science have been of the most important and meritorious character, and whose trenchant criticisms of the foundations of our prevailing scientific creeds and theories (some of which have been published in *The Index*) must exert a world-wide influence, and assist in revolutionizing the basis of modern scientific thought. But the validity of the arguments adduced in this critical review depends upon the scientific data upon which they are based. It assails the doctrine of the mutual convertibility of mental and physical forces, and argues that, as each would cease to exist on its transmutation into the other, the idea would, when consistently carried out, "exterminate at one fell swoop both science and philosophy," and he denies that physical forces can be originated through mental agency. As against the prevailing idea in modern science, that all correlation of forces is merely the transmutation of motion, this criticism is valid and impossible to refute; for, as Dr. Montgomery contends, the transformation of one form of motion into another would be the annihilation of the former. But may not science be mistaken in assuming that the "correlation of forces" consists in the mere transmutability of motion? If we regard "force" as the innate tendency of the substance of all phenomena expressed in motion, in exact accordance with its conditions, it puts altogether a different aspect on the problem. Why should not the substance of things exert a static force, as we see so constantly exemplified where opposing forces are existing in a state of equilibrium, which static tendency becomes dynamic on any change from a perfect equilibrium by the interposition of another force? Is it not one of the plainest things in the world that this is the process in every act of nature and life? The forces that move the world, build up its organisms, and evolve all its phenomena, are the interactions of its different conditions; and these conditions are not mere motions among its constituent particles, but states of tension of their very substance. Nature will ever remain a sealed book to science, and philosophy will flounder about in a state of chaos, so long as it is held that all force is the effect of the mere motion of something which, but for the motion, would be entirely inert. No philosophic writer has dealt this scientific assumption such effective blows and shown its utterly fallacy as has Dr. Montgomery in his trenchant and masterly criticism published in *The Index* in the latter part of last year. Indeed, he has fought this dogma almost single-handed against the combined opposition of the scientific thought of the world.

The condition upon which mental and physical forces are correlated in every interaction between the two is a state of equilibrated tension of opposed forces. When this state of sentient equilibrium is broken in upon by an external force (as in our sense-impressions), forthwith a change is initiated in the collocation of balanced forces that constitute our mental status; and, if this disturbance is of a kind to affect any of our sentient tendencies, it stimulates them to action in the form of Will, and, through the medium of our organic machinery, acts upon external physical conditions or forces. In this way, our consciousness is a cause and a force in the produc-

tion of physical effects; and mental and physical forces interact upon each other's conditions. No writer has so graphically delineated this universal process as Dr. Montgomery himself, in an essay in the *Popular Science Monthly* of 1878,—"*All forms of matter [of course, including living and sentient organisms] are essentially magazines of equilibrated energies, inert against such other energies as have no power to disturb their equilibrium, but seething with incalculable commotion against such other energies as have power to disturb their equilibrium.*" That we have the conscious power to cause physical effects is an ineradicable conviction in human thought, and our whole system of conscious practical experience rests upon the truth of this idea. That the essence of consciousness is force and tendency, and hence a cause, is confirmed by all metaphysical as well as objective inquiry. Indeed, in a last analysis and ultimate generalization, all physical as well as mental phenomena are resolved into conditions of force, as has been so masterly and lucidly shown by Herbert Spencer. Though this truth has no connection with his metaphysical dictum of an ultimate "Unknowable"; for, if consciousness is force, then, in knowing consciousness, we know force, and the conditions of force are all there is to know.

The basic statement that consciousness and force are identical strikes many minds as dishonoring the principle that realizes all that is felt or known, but a little reflection will show that this is not the case. One of the two great attributes of all consciousness is love or desire; and what is this but tendency? and what is all tendency but force? which is the principle of all conscious as well as unconscious processes. But still further confirmation is to be found in the fact that all conscious operations, all emotions, are comprehended in love and justice, which together constitute the great ideal passion of sentient human beings. Answering perfectly to these attributes, all physical operations generalize into tendency and balance, which are only other names for their sentient correlatives.

But it is claimed in this critical review, in opposition to *Scientific Theism*, that "the immanent relational constitution of things is utterly unintelligible to us." When we reduce all things and phenomena to their last and lowest terms, we find, as our ultimate generalization, forces, forms, and motions. The something which we realize resolves itself into force or resistance: its forms are conditions of space, its movements are conditions in time. Forces determined by conditions of space and expressed in conditions of time constitute the ultimate subject-matter of all positive scientific thought. It is true that our present science has been able to reduce only the more palpable phenomena, coming to some extent within the scope of our senses, to these primary conditions. But these are sufficient to warrant the inference that the same ultimate conditions determine qualities not yet brought within the scope of our scientific knowledge. Science shows that all the marvellous qualities in our experience of music are so many timal differentiations and co-ordinations of sound, and different timal conditions express all the various colors. Does it not, then, seem highly probable, inasmuch as all the qualities manifested to our senses are determined by these ultimate conditions, that all qualities are determined by them, especially when we bear in mind that these spatial and timal conditions of forces are necessarily infinite,—infinite in their minuteness and in their largeness, and hence no limit to their possibilities? Our consciousness can reach neither their *minima* nor their *maxima*.

But this review also claims that science consists wholly in "knowing from experience what changes things will undergo in whatever situations they may be placed." Science, according to this view, consists simply in a knowledge of motions. Then causes of these changes we can never scientifically know. Dr. Montgomery has written several essays, showing that the basis of our present scientific thought is both fallacious and inadequate, and that "to fix our attention merely on changes and their relation to each other is to grasp at the shadow of reality. That which changes is, in every respect, the substance, the potentiality, and actuality in the case; and it is essentially its specific constitution which determines the nature of the change qualitatively and quantitatively." If "the constitution of things determines their potentiality and actuality," then, to the extent

we can know these, we are encroaching on the domain of unintelligibility.

There is an intuition deep seated in our intelligence that the universe is a unity, that the same principles constitute the world of matter and mind. To comprehend these principles in their modes of operation in these diverse realms is the main spring and animating power of science, and the basis and ground of scientific effort is this intuition. If, in the realm of matter, its forces are determined in conditions of space and time, the same is true in the realm of mind, as has been abundantly shown by Shadworth Hodgson, one of the most thorough and penetrating metaphysical thinkers of our time, in his works. Our sense-impressions vary as vary the spatial and timal conditions of the external and internal forces which reciprocally cause and constitute them. All the qualitative differences in our sensations are the conditions of the sentient forces in which they occur, and respond and change in musical accord with the forces of their environment.

The bearing of the foregoing views upon the question of "Scientific Theism" will be apparent. If space and time are the infinite conditions of essential being, which determine all its *differentia*,—infinite in subtlety and minuteness as its absolute conditions,—then science includes the vast whole in its universal sweep. But, if this is not the case, and the germinal Essence of All Being has its existence apart from and independent of these spatial and timal conditions, then the disciples of the "Unknowable" are right; the cause of things is unintelligible, and any such science is an impossibility. But the affirmative is confirmed by both our rational intuitions and the deepest convictions of our conscious experience, as well as by experimental science. Because we cannot bring empirically all objective and subjective reality within these conditions, as known by our senses, is no proof that they do not determine this reality. Empirical science has shown that what appears to our senses to be momentary includes an apparently infinite number of events in time, as exemplified in the inconceivable number of separate pulsations in a second that constitute the different colors of light; five hundred and forty-two millions of millions of pulsations constituting our impression of yellow light, and each and every one of these myriads of pulsations occurring in a second, which it would take our sense millions of years to count, constitutes a definite period of time. In view of this infinity which confronts us on every hand, it becomes a question whether the Original Cause can be properly considered as a personality in any sense apprehensible by our minds. But of one thing we may be certain, that the Essential Origin embosoms every sentient attribute within its infinite folds.

DEDHAM, MASS.

FRANKLIN SMITH.

SIGNS OF THE COMING CONFLICT.

Editors of The Index:—

I have looked long and longingly for an editorial expression in the dear old *Index* on the issues of the labor problem; and it has at last come, under the title of "The Industrial Trouble," April 22. It is important to know where a leading organ of Liberalism stands. I shall therefore try to extract the essence of these views, to see where *The Index* stands in these troublous and perilous times.

The editorial in question begins in this manner: "Between the two extremes, of Labor with its grievances, real or imagined, on one side, and of Capital with its enormous power complained of, justly or unjustly, on the other, there stands the great body of American citizens, who are both laborers and capitalists, who have not partisan interest on either side, and who will judge the issue fairly, when it is presented to them." This is assuring and comforting, if true; but is it not assuming a great deal to say, "This class of citizens have it in their power to decide, legally and peacefully, the conflict which has now culminated in so much violent disturbance of the industries of the country"? A class, mind you, that thus far has had little to say or do of a direct nature concerning this great matter, and a class which is not wholly unmixed; for it includes within itself very many who are neutral because of mere temperament, external surroundings, or even lack of principle, whose opinions are colorless, whose lives are aimless, selfish, vacillating. And, then, is it not asserted with rather too much confidence that

the conflict has reached its culmination point? How any one can get such an impression as that is a mystery. The trouble has but just begun. But let us look more closely at the views of this specimen of the citizen who is free from prejudice and partisan bias. The article's attitude toward labor is critical and toward capital sympathetic, dwelling at length on the misdoings of the one and only faintly alluding to the misdeeds of the other. "Frenzied acts" and "wild speech" are attributed to the one without hesitation, though labor organizations are complimented for coming to realize the necessity of clearing themselves from responsibility for these things. And, though the writer says, "It is reported that it was the Knights who prevented at East St. Louis a bloody retaliation upon the deputy sheriffs," he fails to intimate what he thinks of the sheriffs, or their masters, the capitalists, whose hirelings they were, but goes on to say that organized workingmen "will have to do many such deeds meet for repentance before they can win the full confidence of the great body of citizens." Now, I am a member of more than one labor organization, and do not see any need of repentance of that sort, and believe that the "full confidence" of that class of citizens already mentioned would mean the defeat of the labor movement.

The boycott is denounced as "a species of despotism to which no free and self-respecting people can be expected long to submit." That is the talk for capitalism, and sounds well in the absence of definition. But it is plain that the editorial wrath is vented not against the boycott, but its abuses; for he admits it may be right "against one who has committed a gross wrong," but not when extended "to third and innocent parties," or when "dictating to an employer of labor whom he shall employ." To begin with, one's estimate of the boycott depends on his view of the situation as a whole, of the nature and extent of labor's grievance, the character and amount of capitalistic oppression, or, in a word, what the true relation between capital and labor is. It is pretty clear men are not agreed as to what is a "gross wrong" in an employer, nor as to what constitutes innocence in "third parties." I cannot but express my astonishment at the writer's looking upon concerted action among the workingmen of the country as tyranny. It is necessary to success, for the enemy is hydra-headed and iron-limbed; and it is a carrying out of the maxim, "An injury to one is the concern of all." If it is right to withdraw patronage from a newspaper, it is right to withdraw patronage from a firm who advertises in it. If it is right to strike on the Missouri Pacific, it is right to strike on the St. Louis bridge, over which all trains pass, but which is owned by another corporation; and, by analogous reasoning, strikes might be extended from one system of roads to another. I do not know of a single organization that denies to "an employer the right to engage such laborers as he may desire" or to "the workingman the right to dispose of his labor to whom and where he may choose," unless it be the State itself, which has had something to say of late about child labor, convict labor, and pauper labor, which interference with individual rights may be credited, it is true, to the labor agitation. The intimidation and compulsion in the world's past history have been almost altogether on the side of capital, and they have received sanction from both law and custom. The doctrine of the freedom of contract has been the excuse for oppression in its myriad forms. That the workingman should not use his newly acquired power in the wisest manner possible goes without saying, and that he should imitate the capitalist in some of his ways need not surprise any one. Two evils do not make a right; but let us strike at the root of the evil, and at the biggest root.

"Let arbitration come, and the boycott and the strike must go." That sounds well; but the truth would have been better served to have said that, but for the strike and the boycott, arbitration never would have come. But we are given no idea what arbitration is to accomplish. Are those who are busy now lauding this method for the settlement of our difficulties not aware that, as a rule, the employé has been willing to arbitrate, and the employer has not? Nothing but the strike and the boycott have been able to bring the capitalist to terms, and any symptom of arbitration which he now shows is not apt to spring from a principle of justice.

The writer, speaking of men employed in the running of railroad trains, says, "They have intelligence

enough to understand that they are not merely in the employ of certain corporations, but that they are paid for rendering certain services to the public," etc., and adds that they should be treated with "special magnanimity" and be "well paid." Of course, they have "intelligence enough" to know this, and a good deal more, if we did but know it. They have the intelligence which has enabled them to discover these things for themselves. Why is it that those who pretend to know more than these men only echo what they have already thought out? But they know, as things are, their treatment and wages are not determined by the public ("The public be damned"), but by the corporations. A law should be passed, it is said, requiring these men not to leave their posts "without giving reasonable warning to the managers of the road"; but the managers, it appears, are to be left to their own conscience (which is their distinguishing characteristic!) how they shall deal with their men. Not a word is said about the public owning the railroads. Oh, no! That would be socialistic or too advanced a doctrine for our time.

Toward the close of his article, the writer becomes bold, and dares to say that "the remedy of the industrial trouble, in our opinion, lies in the direction of the co-operative principle." Now, who can tell how much that means? He says, "For the full financial success of that principle, the time may not be ripe. But, if only its humane and moral features were put into effect, even this much would go a long way toward allaying the disorder." True, and a pity it is true that anything could be considered "humane and moral" that robs the workingman of half his earnings or any portion of them. No doubt, proprietors are in favor of enterprises "where the obligations and services are mutual and the ends identical" in every sense but the financial. I am amazed that charity, and not justice, should be advocated by liberal editors as a solution of our present troubles. The few attempts at co-operation in New England at the present time are a mere make-believe, a blind. The junior editor of *The Index*, in speaking of one of these, says, "It will be watched with profound interest by thousands," when a nicer scheme for the perpetuation of capitalistic greed could not well be gotten up. When will "cultured Liberalism" cease to watch and pray, and lead in something beside theorizing? Co-operation would be as easy as standing an egg on end, if we but made up our minds to it. But how can we co-operate with wealth or capital in the hands of the few? In 1870, I joined some workingmen in New York City in trying to start a co-operative community in Colorado. We went to work in real earnest, but our means failed. The papers did report our meetings, but that was the extent of the help received from that rich metropolis.

Very consoling it is to have it said in conclusion that "it is not too much to ask that all capitalists and business men whatever should strive after some measure of philanthropy, should remember at least that there is a law of justice and a Golden Rule." No, no! Some measure will not do, however philanthropic; for what we want is science. As for the Golden Rule, what does it mean but the Rule of Gold? Tell us what is right and what is true, and don't put forward palliatives and makeshifts as the decrees of righteousness. The editor of the leading Republican daily of New Haven said to me, the other day, that he had no principle for the solution of these labor troubles excepting the Golden Rule, and proposed only to deal with each case as it came up. Yet the bulletin board of this paper is an invitation to riot, a goad to rebellion, because of the spirit or style of its announcements, which is wholly one-sided. All this talk about capital and labor being friends and allies is baby talk. The relation of the two is infinitely closer than friend or ally. Wealth is the child of labor. The title-deeds of this, as of past ages, stand for nothing.

T. W. CURTIS.

[Mr. Curtis's article contains some extraordinary statements, but it needs no other reply than the accidental one made by Mr. Blake in another column. —Ed.]

Says the Boston *Sunday Herald*: "When *The Index* and the *Congregationalist* agree that the Sunday newspaper has come to stay, it seems as if the friend and the enemy of the paper had become reconciled; but the illusion is dispelled the moment the two parties begin to say what they think. *The Index* suggests that there is a better way of maintaining public mor-

als than by boycotting it, and in this opinion the *Congregationalist* coincides; but here the two papers part company. *The Index* would have the clergy, if the Sunday sheet has come to stay, give recognition to the better class of these journals, and thus encourage them to become stronger teachers of social and personal morality. The *Congregationalist* has not a good word to say for any of them. The Sunday journal is classed with other things that are common and unclean. It is one of the evils that all good Christians must shun as they would avoid any other evil that is in the world. It does not like the boycotting that has been adopted at the West, because that is not effective. Neither is it in favor of legislation. It would have all decent people simply avoid the paper, and ignore it as they would any other evil. But, with the admission that it has come to stay, and that it has not been put down in England after fifty years of constant opposition, it seems like an impotent conclusion for the guardians of public morals to growl at it from afar, as a whipped dog slinks away from his enemy with a waning bark. If the paper is the evil that these parties claim that it is, it is their duty to do one of two things,—to wage active war against it or to make it useful in the moral education of the community. The *Congregationalist* proposes to do neither. It stands still, and simply barks at the Sunday paper with the same intelligence that a hound bays at the moon. It knows nothing of Sunday journalism, and doesn't want to know anything."

BOOK NOTICES.

POETS AND PROBLEMS. By George Willis Cooke. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886. pp. 332.

To the lovers and students of those three living master minds, Alfred Tennyson, John Ruskin, and Robert Browning, whose lives and works are made a careful study of by Mr. Cooke, this book will be read with much interest and pleasure. In his preface, the author disclaims all intention to play the critic in regard to these writers, because, he says (seeming to think that true criticism means fault-finding only), "I have found them true companions and guides, and the best of friends. I have written of them in a sympathetic spirit and with a desire to find that in them which is most worthy and most characteristic of their genius"; yet, in spite of this declaration, there is much genuine criticism, even to the extent of fault-seeing. One hundred and sixty-nine pages are devoted to Tennyson, ninety-three to Ruskin, and one hundred and twenty-one to Browning. In considering the characters of each of these, one section is given to a brief biographical sketch. Incidentally, also, the merits and demerits of many other poets and writers are dwelt upon and critically examined, such as Wordsworth, Keats, Swinburne, Rousseau, Goethe, Emerson, Carlyle, Mrs. Browning, and others. While Mr. Cooke treats in detail of the various works of the three principal writers, he does not quote extensively from them, thus wisely guiding readers to turn to the works themselves for corroboration or refutation of his views.

He defends Tennyson from the accusations of pantheism and of agnosticism, although he confesses that "too vague, perhaps, is the form Tennyson gives to his faith." "Science he knows in its large and truth-seeking spirit, but its mockery and its spirit of destruction he will not heed." He says he "has the gift of pathos and sympathy, but not the gift of humor," and that "he is the incarnate voice of cultured and refined England in his time."

Of Ruskin, he writes: "In the history of the art revival in England, the name of one man will appear as among the greatest of the causes leading to it. The greatest of art critics, John Ruskin, has taught the English the serious meaning of art, and in what manner it may contribute to the elevation and advancement of the noblest human interests." "To the revolutionary period Ruskin does not belong, either with his head or with his heart. . . . Even less is he to be ranked with the men of the present time of scientific enthusiasm, for at all points is he the critic and opponent of science in its evolutionary and agnostic tendencies." And he says, further, "No other religious teacher of this century has taught more that is wholesomely inspiring and intrinsically religious."

Browning he classifies, with Emerson and Carlyle, as an idealist of the highest type, and makes interesting comparisons between these three great thinkers. Browning, he says, "finds the soul to be that which

transcends all other facts and laws. To him, it is the one supreme fact." That is the one phenomenon he desires to study. To an investigation of it in all its many phases, he has devoted his life. Mr. Cooke is an ardent admirer of Browning: his greatest characteristic, he declares, is "light." "We accept him as a master." "He is an original force in literature, never an imitator, but one to arouse and stimulate all who come after him. He stands apart by himself as a poet. He had no forerunner, and he is likely to have no successor." "No English poet, unless it is Shakspeare, will yield so much of thought for the attentive reader as Browning." We have not space to quote further. In these days of "Browning" and other "societies," Mr. Cooke's book will be found full of interest to those interested in the writers whom he criticises. S. A. U.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS: Work and Culture in the Household and the Schoolmaster's Trunk, containing Papers on Home Life in Tweenit. By Mrs. A. M. Diaz. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 1884. pp. 236. Price \$1.

Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz—the President and one of the originators of that excellent institution, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union—is, as an author, best known as the writer of such charming children's books as "The William Henry" and "Lucy Maria" Series, of *The Jimmy-Johns, Polly Cologne*, etc.; but, in this book, she has brought her bright wit and practical common sense to bear on the domestic problems which puzzle so many thinking housekeepers and would-be educators,—problems of everyday life, manners, and morals. The chief of these problems is thus stated in the opening words of the first chapter: "How may woman enjoy the delights of culture and at the same time fulfil her duties to family and household?" This question is not asked or answered in the interests of some few exceptional women. It is for the benefit of all classes of women alike, from the woman who takes in washing to the mistresses of large establishments. Mrs. Diaz does not treat these questions of woman's misdirected energies in housework, of ignorance in child-training, of economy in strength expenditure, etc., from a mere theoretical stand-point. Every page of her spicy book shows thorough practical acquaintance with all the details of housekeeping, and a sympathetic knowledge of all the impediments in the way of changing the present order of things. She wages a lively war against useless sewing, the too elaborate cooking of rich and unhealthful food, and especially denounces pie and cake making, one paper in "The Schoolmaster's Trunk" being devoted to a consideration of the woes of "The Slaves of the Rolling-pin."

This is, eminently, a woman's rights book; and Mrs. Diaz' caustic pen administers many a stinging rebuke to masculine ignorance or indifference to the needs of the women of their households, in helping them to overwork, in overlooking their intellectual cravings, or omissions in supplying them with equal opportunities with themselves for necessary recreation. Every reader will recognize the truthfulness of the many anecdotes with which she illustrates her points in the first of these papers, and the character-drawing in the schoolmaster's story will be recognized by every New Englander as being true to life. We wish this bright, breezy, common-sense book—with its many practical hints, suggestions, directions, for lessening home cares and enlarging woman's opportunities for culture—could be placed in the hands of every house-mother in the country,—yes, and of every young girl and every man as well. It could not fail to be productive of a more general thoughtful consideration of the woman question than has ever yet been given to it. S. A. U.

ALDEN'S CYCLOPEDIA OF UNIVERSAL LITERATURE. Volume II. New York: John B. Alden. 1886. pp. 478. Price 60 cts.

This second volume gives us short sketches of the lives and brief specimens of the style of over one hundred authors whose names begin with A. and B., nine of whom are women. In addition to the information given concerning noted writers in these volumes, the frequently choice extracts from their writings which accompany the sketches give an added value to the work. They are bound in cloth, in the convenient narrow form in which so many of Mr. Alden's publications appear.

The *Library Magazine* issued by the same publisher, which has hitherto been published monthly, now ap-

pears weekly in smaller form, but giving in its four numbers more reading matter of the same superior quality than it did in its larger sized monthly edition.

"MIND," the English quarterly review of psychology and philosophy, for April, contains a variety of essays of interest. The first is on "Psychology as Philosophic Method," by John Dewey; Prof. C. Lloyd Morgan has one "On the Study of Animal Intelligence"; Prof. G. S. Fullerton, on "Conceivability and the Infinite"; Prof. H. Sidgwick treats upon "The Historical Method"; J. M. Cothell has an interesting essay on "The Time taken up by Cerebral Operations"; Alfred W. Benn treats of "Habit and Progress," and discusses the views of Sir Henry Maine put forth in a recent work on Popular Government. There are several critical notices of recent works: J. C. Murray's "Handbook of Psychology," by Prof. R. Adamson; one on the peculiar philosophic and ethical views of a remarkable thinker, the late James Hinton, as elucidated in "The Larger Life"; "Studies in Hinton's Ethics," by Caroline Haddon, by Shadworth H. Hodgson; W. R. Sorley "On the Ethics of Naturalism," by T. Whittaker; A. Seth on "Scottish Philosophy," by the editor; and others on foreign works. There are many notices of new books and "Notes" and "Correspondence." Williams & Norgate, London, publishers.

THE contents of the *Freethinkers' Magazine* for April are as follows: "Thomas Paine," by Thaddeus B. Wakeman; "The Fall and Eternal Punishment," by A. B. Bradford; "Hon. Elizabeth Wright," by L. K. Washburn; "Religion," by J. William Lloyd; "A Modern Queen of Reason," by Uncle Lute; Extracts from Letters; "An Easter Rhapsody," original poem, by Courtlandt Palmer; "Atheism and Atheists," editorial; "The Nineteenth Century Club," editorial; "The Index," editorial; "Book Reviews"; advertising pages.

For *The Index*.

HUGO TO THE ROMAN PRIESTS.

King for king and man for man,
We have fought the noble fight:
Ye, the spectres of the night,
Ye, the foemen of the light,—
Here we put ye under ban!

Linked with prophecy and dream,
Sworn to think of ye as foes,
We defy your threatened woes,
Bear the thorns and pluck the rose,
Venture grateful on the stream!

King for king and heart for heart,
We have faced the curse of Rome:
In the name of love and home,
We have done with priest and dome,
And in freedom stand apart!

Spare, oh, spare the idle blow!
We have wandered now so far
Words of treaty are no bar,
And the subtle pleadings are
Lost within the distant flow!

Not from loss of faith we seek,
But from faith of faith; and trust
Lifts us from the blinding dust:
Deep is duty that is thrust
Into hearts that are not weak!

Every day must have its end,
Every battle once is done;
Yet hath life forever won,
Though the mists may hide the sun
For the moment while we bend!

Ye have said your better line:
Cease—oh, save—the broken strain!
We have championed ye in pain,
And we strike ye to regain
Freedom to the sacred shrine!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

WANTED, during the months of June, July, and August, the office of private secretary.
Address C. F. B., care of THE INDEX.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

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All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MRS. CARRIE B. KILGORE, of Philadelphia, has been admitted by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to full fellowship at the bar. She can now practise before all the tribunals of the State.

A BALTIMORE paper states that a movement has been set afoot to establish in that city a Society for Ethical Culture, similar in its aim and purposes to the organizations in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

A LARGE meeting of pit-brow women was recently held at Brynn, a colliery village near Wigan, to resist the proposed legislation to prevent the employment of women at pits. Sympathetic letters were read from a large number of people. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, alluding to the objections to the clothing worn by pit girls, said they might be dismissed without scruple as the "senseless clamor of ignorant prudes, who, if left alone, would probably put a frill round the ankles of their kitchen table."

GRANT ALLEN has this to say of Boston in his novel, *Babylon*: "Boston has worn itself out. The artificial centre of an unnatural, sickly, exotic culture, ever alien to the American soil, it has gone on studying, criticising, analyzing, till all the vigor and spontaneity it may ever have possessed have utterly died out of it from pure inanition. The Nemesis of sterility has fallen upon its head in the second generation. It has cultivated men, fastidious critics, receptive and appreciative intellects by the thousand; but of thinkers, workers, originalities, hardly now a single one." Too bad!

ACCORDING to the *Woman's Journal*, the vote for the municipal woman suffrage bill in the House of Representatives this year is the most favorable to suffrage since 1879, being 77 yeas to 132 nays, including pairs. In 1884, for the same bill, it was 61 yeas and 155 nays, including pairs. In 1885, for the same bill, it was 68 yeas and 137

nays, including pairs. This is a gain in the affirmative vote of 9 votes over 1885, and of 16 votes over 1884. It is a falling off in the negative vote of 5 votes since 1885, and of 23 votes since 1884. A further change of 28 votes from nay to yea would be a majority. This change the suffragists hope soon to accomplish by holding suffrage meetings and organizing suffrage leagues in the representative districts. There is slow but steady gain from year to year. Woman suffrage, as a rule, is strongest in the country towns. In view of these facts, the woman suffragists naturally feel cheerful and confident.

THE Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the San Francisco laundry ordinance, prohibiting the carrying on of a laundry in a wooden building without the consent of the Board of Supervisors, is invalid under the fourteenth amendment and the treaty with the Chinese government, made in 1881. It seems that the anti-Chinese party in the city made use of the supervisors to hasten the expulsion of the Chinese. The two hundred Chinese who applied for permits were refused; while, to the eighty white men who so applied, laundry licenses were granted. Chinamen were arrested for violating the ordinance. Then the Chinese brought suit against the sheriff of the city for their arrest. The State courts refused a *habeas corpus* motion in behalf of one of the arrested Chinamen, who then appealed to the federal courts. The United States Supreme Court, in declaring the discrimination against the Chinese illegal, says, "The conclusion cannot be resisted that no reason for it exists except prejudice and hostility to the race and nationality to which the petitioners belong."

THE popular belief that snakes have the power to charm birds is evidently without foundation in fact. When encounters are seen between snakes and birds, the bird is generally trying to frighten the snake from her nest, or to punish it for its trespass and larceny. A writer in the *Scientific American* declares that a snake "has no more power to charm a bird than a rabbit has to play the fiddle." After referring to the courage of birds in defending their nests, this writer says: "A bird's confidence of flight makes her rash in regard to snakes. She sees a rattlesnake near her nest, and at first takes wing, but, on observing the lethargic quality of her opponent, proceeds to sit on a convenient twig and scold. Meanwhile, the snake has lazily invaded the nest. Having exhausted all the profanity she knows, and emboldened by the snake's sluggishness, the bird comes nearer, wings outstretched and quivering, feathers ruffled, and beak open,—all symptoms of anger, not fear. The snake slowly gathers for a spring, and remains perfectly still. Each moment of his inaction serves to make the bird more aggressive, and tempts her nearer. At last, the dead-line is reached. There is a lightning-like straightening of the hideous folds, and the poor little misguided warrior feels the stab of those dreadful needles whose touch is death. If she had had as much horse-sense as pluck in her pretty pate, she would

have taken the matter philosophically, and gone off and laid more eggs, and laid them in a high tree, instead of staying for a row. But ladies are the same the world over, whether in feathers or not. One thing is certain: when a snake captures a bird, he does it less by his own prowess than by the natural tomfoolery of the bird; and he certainly effects nothing by 'charming.'"

"THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE, an Introductory Handbook to the Preparation and Use of Nitro-glycerine, Dynamite, Gun-cotton, Bombs, Poison, etc.," is the title of a little work of seventy-four pages written by Herr Most, printed in German, and issued by "The International Zeitungs-Verein," New York. "As to the importance of explosives for the social revolution," Most says, "nothing needs to be said in these days." Directions are given how to construct a dynamite cartridge, "when the purpose sought is the shattering of a wall against the base of which the bomb may be laid," and also "when there is an intention to cause a destructive action all round, as inside a house or in the midst of a large number of persons." After describing a bomb which blew a large stone block resting on it into twenty pieces, and the pieces from ten to fifteen feet in the air, Most exclaims, "What a glorious result such an explosion as this would have had, supposing it had taken place under the table of a banqueting party, or supposing the bomb had been thrown through the window upon that table!" Various appliances are described as effective in causing incendiary fires. "A hundred men provided with these weapons," says the author, "and scattered in different parts of a city, could do more in time of a rising than twenty batteries of regular artillery." Attention is also given to poisoned weapons. The best poison known to him he says is "curari," with which the South American Indians tip their arrows. He recommends that daggers be dipped in oleander, since, introduced into the system, it produces blood-poisoning. "The best of all poison," he says, "is the poison of the dead human body." He appeals to workmen everywhere to arm for the struggle which is imminent. "Good revolvers, daggers, poison, and conflagrations are destined to render important services in the moment of rebellion. But above all are nitro-glycerine, dynamite, hand grenades, and explosive missiles of all kinds adapted to stand to the proletariat in the stead of artillery, and to spread astonishment, confusion, and panic in the ranks of the enemy." The last number of Most's paper, *Freiheit*, in an article on "The Bomb in Chicago," says that five hundred revolutionists, each provided with half a dozen bombs and working in concert, could produce such panic in a great city that a small number of determined men might get possession of all commanding points. "The bomb in Chicago," this anarchistic sheet continues, "was legally justified, and in a military sense excellent. All honor to him who produced and made use of it!" A man who can write in this style must be a moral monster and needs to be carefully watched.

RELIGION FOR HARVARD.

In a recent number of the *Boston Advertiser*, which has long been recognized popularly as a sort of semi-official organ of Harvard College, there was a sketch of the new plan which the Overseers are said to have concocted for improving the religion of the Harvard students. The plan has at least one merit: it is a courageous innovation upon time-honored customs. Assuming the *Advertiser's* sketch to be correct, the first feature of the plan that will strike attention is that it puts the religious care of the students into the hands of a syndicate, representing various religious denominations. At the head of this body is to be placed the Plummer Professor of Morals and Resident Preacher of the College, to which office, vacant since Dr. A. P. Peabody's resignation, it is proposed to appoint Rev. Francis G. Peabody, one of the professors of the Divinity School. He is to be vested "with functions resembling those of a university dean in England." The other members of the syndicate are to be "five well-known ministers of the gospel," who will be assistant preachers and pastors, and each of whom, in turn, is to reside six weeks at the college for conducting religious services. Among those named for these places are "Rev. Drs. Phillips Brooks, E. E. Hale, Alexander McKenzie, and Bishop Huntington." The *Advertiser* continues:—

They, together with the Resident Professor, will have charge not only of the daily chapel service, but also of the Sunday service. They will have frequent conferences, and, it is understood, will have charge of the whole direction of the religious education of the students. All questions of attendance and of instruction in such matters will be determined by them. . . . The chapel service is under examination, and it is hoped to make the new service a great change in such worship in this country by throwing the chapel open to the public and by expending a great amount of money.

The prayer petition is in the hands of a committee of three, of whom the Rev. Drs. Brooks and Hale are members; and these will decide on the various plans submitted, among them one to have the requirements of each undergraduate consist of fourteen hours per week, prayers to count as a two hours' elective. It is hoped to make the chapel service as attractive as the famous Christ Church service at Oxford.

Provided that the college is under obligation to furnish any religious services for the students, it is certainly only fair that there should be a wider representation of religious views than heretofore among those chosen to conduct the services. But this representation, certainly, should not be limited to the three sects of which the preachers above named are members. If the design is to consider the denominational connections and religious views of the students, it may be just that Unitarian and Episcopalian preachers should be given the larger part of the time, since it appears that these two sects have a considerable majority of the students. But this reasoning makes it also only just that other denominations should have their proper apportionment in the Sunday preaching, and that lecturers outside of all the Christian sects, like Dr. Felix Adler, William M. Salter, Moncure D. Conway, should be occasionally invited to address the students. If the religious beliefs of the students or their parents are to be regarded, the proposed syndicate is not large enough to cover the demand of the argument. To make it large enough may, perhaps, be impracticable. And this line of reflection may lead to the conclusion that the innovation, if made perfectly just, would be unnecessary. All kinds of religious beliefs are now represented by societies in Cambridge or Boston; and why is it not wiser to let the students connect themselves for the satisfaction of their religious wants with

any of these societies, according to their own or parents' preferences?

Two other points have attracted our attention in this new scheme for reviving religion at Harvard. First, the chapel service is to be made apparently very ornate and costly; not costly to the students,—it is to be free, of course, to them,—but costly to the college. It is said that "a great amount of money" is to be spent upon it. Now, without doubt, by spending a great amount of money, the college can furnish a very fine musical service that shall daily draw a large audience. To those having musical taste or appreciation, such a service would present great attractions. To those void of the musical temperament, it would not mean much. But we doubt the wisdom of thus identifying to the minds of any of these young men a service of so-called worship as a costly luxury. That is not the kind of religious service which the greater part of them will be called to have anything to do with in after life. Religion has one aspect in which it appears as a fine art, entrancing the æsthetic sensibilities. It is an expensive art; and the bane of religion, where wealth and culture are combined, is that it tends strongly to this kind of expression, and hence to separation from the common experiences and duties of life. Young men in colleges need a stronger religious diet than fine music and chanted prayers will give them. Let them rather be instructed in the working religion of simplicity, truth, purity, devotion to right and duty. The remark that the new chapel service is to cost "a great deal of money" is, indeed, humorously suggestive of the old college phrase, when students were planning a specially fine entertainment of any sort, that they were going into it "utterly regardless."

But another point, and the most novel of all, in the proposed scheme of religious service for the college, is the idea of making attendance at daily prayers count on the scale of college work the same as an elective study of two hours each week. This feature is not very clearly elucidated, and has not yet been reported upon by the committee of the Overseers. But, as we understand it, it means that compulsory attendance at prayers is to be abolished. This much (if this part of the plan is adopted) will be conceded to the petition of the students and to a rational and serious view of the significance of the service. Yet there seems to be a fear that, if it be left entirely to their own free option, not many students will attend the prayers; and, therefore, the proposition is that something in the nature of a bribe shall be offered them to induce attendance. Every student is required to make up a list of studies which shall give a certain number of hours in the recitation room each week. Some of the studies are called "easy electives,"—that is, they demand little preparation, or the instructors in them are easy with their classes; and some of the students tend to this kind of electives, not having come to college for the special purpose of study. Now, it is proposed that "prayers" shall be regarded as a two hours' elective, which a student may choose at the beginning of a year as he chooses mathematics or Greek or chemistry; and, as no preparation at all is required for "prayers," it will be a particularly "easy" elective, and thereby, it appears to be assumed, will attract a large number of students. Only those studious-minded young men who go to college for work or are conscientiously opposed to set times for prayer would be likely to choose mathematics or German instead of "prayers"; and these, probably, have least need of the prayers, and so there is no occasion to ensnare their attendance: some of them may attend even without the

bribe, and take the studies besides. But, if they were to choose to study the calculus or Sanskrit while their fellows go to pray, why, let them do it! They would doubtless be few, and little harm would come of their studious zeal. It must be in some such way as this that those who have proposed this solution to the college prayer-problem have reasoned. It is a shrewd device; but we much question whether people who have been educated with the old fashioned notion that religion covers all studies and all conditions of life, and is not an elective pursuit to be adopted, say, instead of physics or the languages or algebra, will be satisfied with it.

While the Overseers are considering this matter of religion at Harvard, and are arranging for an attractive, æsthetic chapel service regardless of cost, we would earnestly commend to their attention, and to the attention of the distinguished body of clergymen who are to have charge of the religious education of the students, whether something may not be done to break up the habit of gambling, which is said to be growing to alarming proportions in the college, and for reducing other vices there to more moderate limits. A conspicuously painful illustration of the gambling evil has lately been brought to light. A beautiful chapel service may draw a crowd, but the religious revival that is to tell must be on the moral side.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY.

I.

The German university is fairly agreed upon as being the standard university; and its plan has been imitated or partly adopted in more than one instance in other countries, especially here in America, yet with apparently less success than was hoped for. I will try to explain the merits of a German university, give at least in outline its historic origin, and point out its conditions in the present age. This done, you will see at once how far it will be desirable to introduce a similar system into this country, and what basis is needed for such an institution to rest upon.

The first German university was founded in 1348, by the Emperor Charles IV., King of Bohemia, in Prague, after the model of Italian universities. The name "university" designated collectively the scholars or professors and students (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*). It was first adopted in the thirteenth century, and was not till later interpreted as university in the sense of universality of knowledge. The Italian universities grew out of scientific schools such as were founded in the eleventh century in Italy. There was a medical school in Salerno, and juridical ones in Ravenna, Padua, and Bologna (Lat. Bononia). Simultaneously, a famous theological school flourished in Paris. The latter was the prototype of the English universities. Accordingly, the sciences then flourishing were three,—(1) Theology, (2) Jurisprudence, (3) Medicine. Instruction in each science was given by a number of professors, who, as a body, were called a faculty; and each faculty had the right of creating any one whom they considered worthy of the honor a doctor of their faculty. A kind of annex was formed by those who devoted themselves to the Liberal Arts. Under this heading, all kinds of studies were comprised, the foremost among which was Philosophy. So long as the members of the Liberal Arts were not yet fully recognized as equal to the others, they had no right of creating doctors. The degree they conferred was that of Master of the Liberal Arts (*Magister Liberalium Artium*). Philosophy, however, was by and by accepted as the general name of a fourth faculty, equal in right with the

others; and when, in the era of the Renaissance, the Greek classics were revived, Classical Philology, or, as it was usually called, *humaniora* (soil. *studia*), remained its chief branch until the growth of natural science made other subjects, as Chemistry, Physics, etc., equally prominent, and led in some universities (for instance, in Tübingen) to a division of the philosophical faculty.

Each faculty chose annually a dean, or *Decan*, who had to preside, and take care of the faculty interests. All four faculties together formed the university, and a senate of all ordinary professors elected the rector of the university. An imperial charter granted to the University of Prague the rights of a community in such a way as to bestow upon the rector, during the time of his magistracy, the dignity of Prince (his official title was and is still "Your Magnificence"), and allowed their members to be subjected exclusively to a judiciary of their own. The same rights, with now and then very slight modifications, were conceded to all other universities which, in the course of the following centuries, were founded in different German States: Vienna, in 1365; Heidelberg, 1386; Cologne, 1388; Erfurt, 1393; Leipzig, 1409; Rostock, 1416; Löwen, 1426; Greifswald, 1456; Freiburg in Baden, 1457; Basel, 1460; Ingolstadt, 1472; Mayence and Tübingen, 1477; Wittenberg, 1502; Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, 1506; Marburg, 1527; Königsberg, 1544; Jena, 1558; Helmstädt, 1575; Altdorf, 1578. Those founded in the sixteenth century were strongly biassed by the spirit of the Reformation. Independent of the authority of the pope, they influenced also the older Catholic universities to such an extent that all ecclesiastical ascendancy was ousted; and the Jesuits, in the hope of Romanizing science, were obliged to found new universities in Bamberg, 1648; in Innsbruck, 1672; and Breslau, 1702. Their effort to regain for the Catholic Church the lost positions was fruitless.

The rights of the universities, as granted in the fourteenth century, have been handed down and faithfully preserved from generation to generation, until recently most of the privileges, especially that of a special judiciary, have been abolished. Yet still, to-day, the Rector Magnificus, at least in some universities (for instance, Leipzig), enjoys, during the time of his office, the dignity of Prince, equal in rank with the German sovereign sires. And, on festival occasions, you may, even in our present time, see him clothed in his princely robe of red purple, fringed with royal ermine.

The Italian high schools, the prototype of German universities, were founded in the most glorious time of modern Italy, when, in the league of the free cities of Lombardy, for the first time liberty dawned in even a fairer prime than it had appeared in the era of the Scipios of yore. Unfortunately, it was for too short a time. And, with the political liberty, the glory of the Italian universities dwindled. Nevertheless, the work they had begun was taken up by their descendant institutes in Germany; and the most precious heirloom which they inherited was their so-called "academic liberty,"—i.e., freedom to teach and to learn,—a fair and valuable reminiscence of the republican communities in which the first universities were founded. The German universities accordingly have been *de facto*, and were always considered, scientific republics; and, although there was much political oppression in Germany, no emperor or prince or bishop ever dared to infringe the academic liberties of German universities. There are only a few contrary instances, which occurred under rather exceptional conditions. And we are sorry to state that most of them happened in the nineteenth century. I refer to the removal of the

seven professors in Göttingen, among whom was W. Grimm, during the time of the so-called demagogic movement, and the expulsion of the German professors in Kiel, who had taken an active part in the attempt to free Holstein from the Danish yoke.

The practical consequence of this freedom was the Reformation, which would have been forever impossible but for academic liberty. It was at the University of Wittenberg, in Saxony, that Luther boldly preached and for the first time successfully attacked the abuses of the Roman Church. The students, or, as they then were also called, the academic citizens, were the first to hail the brave declaration of the frank monk who dared to utter the truth. Luther was a professor at the university, and his students clove to him. And, when he publicly burned the papal bull of excommunication, they led him in triumph to the pyre, and gladly kindled the fagots. It was a brave deed in an age when, in Spain and other countries, autos-da-fé in *majorem Dei gloriam* were burning; and such a thing was possible only in a republic,—in the scientific democracy whose members were proud of their academic liberty. It was in this bracing air that religious freedom thrived; and it, in turn, was the seed of political freedom, which, if not yet fully gained, will undoubtedly in its season spring from it.

When Germany was at the mercy of a formidable conqueror,—I mean when Napoleon I. had broken the military power of both Prussia and Austria,—the spirit of independence began to stir first in the German universities. It was a German professor, the philosopher Fichte, who in the auditory of the University of Berlin, under the very bayonets of the French enemies, dared to deliver his orations addressed to the German nation (*Reden an die deutsche Nation*). His audience consisted chiefly of students, but his words were loudly echoed throughout Germany; and, in this time of humiliation and dejection, he succeeded in elevating and strengthening the discouraged minds of his countrymen. The Germans became conscious of the treasure which is hoarded in their nationality like a spiritual *Nibelungenhort*,—a treasure which cannot be consumed by either moth or rust, and will never be taken by any foreign usurper or domestic tyrant. And, when Germany thus became aware of her mission in history, she regained strength and confidence. This was the way to conjure up the dormant spirit of liberty. And the nation recovered, in spite of all difficulties and odds, her political independence. Fichte's orations to the German nation are a classical work of the highest standard, and deserve a place beside Demosthenes' *Philippica* and *Oratio pro Corona*. They are a grand appeal to the idealism of a downtrodden people, and prove how powerful an agent the ideal is. And this purest expression of a warm and deep-felt love of liberty was spoken—how could it be otherwise?—in the hall of a university. On the altar of academic liberty, Germany kindled the torch of war for her political freedom.

The grand idea of a free and united Germany was started for the first time in the universities. But the German princes became alarmed at the enthusiasm which threatened to shake their thrones, and thus, for the first time, interfered with the academic liberty. All the hopeful blossoms were nipped in the bud, and many youths either suffered for their idealism in dungeons or were exiled. Some of them found a new home here in this country. Let me only remind you of a man like Franz Lieber, and you will confess that America reaped the advantages of the persecutions in Europe. In the year 1848, the sparks that had smouldered so long in the ashes blazed forth in

the flame of a Revolution. The universities remained all the while centres of these movements, which, although suppressed by violence, could never be entirely extirpated. The triumph of the reactionary powers only served to lead other heroes of liberty to America, among whom you find names like Carl Schurz, Friedrich Kapp, and Carl Heinzen. The universities were always the last stronghold of liberty, a kind of redoubt from which again and again the genius of independence aspired to conquer the whole field. We are well aware that Germany is far from having attained the ideal; and, at present, things seem to be worse than ever before. Nevertheless, the holy flame is not yet extinguished; and academic liberty is still respected.

PAUL CARUS.

PAPAL INDULGENCES REVIVED.

We are verging toward the close of the nineteenth century, and a glorious century for material and mental progress it undoubtedly has been. There is no better evidence of this than the almost universal uneasiness and dissatisfaction with social affairs that prevail, together with the general disposition to look forward for amelioration, to be desirous *novarum rerum* instead of sighing for imaginary "good old times." Still, there exist appalling incongruities, the presence of which might well shake the philosophy of an optimist. I have just put aside a publication which has engaged my attention for a good part of the morning. It is called the *Homeless Child and Messenger of St. Joseph's Union*. I have noticed the advent of this annual for several years, but have not given it much attention before to-day.

It has long been the proud but most unholy boast of the Roman Church that she never changes. Now, I had been led by some articles from the pen of Cardinal Newman, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* two or three years ago, to think that this boast of haughty ignorance was no longer true; but, so far as any conscious change is concerned, I was probably mistaken. Papal indulgence was the rock on which the Christian Church split three hundred and fifty years ago; yet, on this same question of indulgence, Rome has not altered one jot or tittle of her pretensions, as the extracts given below, from the *Messenger of St. Joseph's Union*, whose forty-eight columns are filled with similar stuff, disgusting to the freely thinking mind, abundantly prove:—

Papal indulgence granted by Pope Leo XIII. to all the members of St. Joseph's Union: Our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., in a brief dated Feb. 27, 1883 (and which, by a happy coincidence, reached the office of St. Joseph's Union through the ordinary mail on March 19, the feast of St. Joseph), graciously grants, *exclusively and forever*, to the members of St. Joseph's Union, established by Father Drumgoole in the year 1876, an indulgence of four hundred days, which may be gained daily by the member who shall recite twice a day, with at least contrite heart and devotion, the following prayer. [Then follows a prayer of thirty-five words to Sts. Mary and Joseph. The brief also states that two hundred days' indulgence may be gained by members who recite, with at least contrite heart and devotion, the prayer but once a day.]

We hope that the members will never forget to pray most fervently for our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., in return for this distinguished mark of his approval and sanction of St. Joseph's Union, and for granting to them *forever* the proof of his truly paternal solicitude for the increase of charity toward homeless and destitute children, and for the spiritual welfare of all the members of St. Joseph's Union, living or dead.

Such is the leader, well displayed with sub-heads and black-letter type. It reminds one of

Tetzel's harangues,—not so loud in rhetoric, but hardly less presumptuous in matter.

On the next page, the edifying statement is made that, during the ensuing year, 7,872 masses will be said for the members of the Union according to the "intention" of each; and the members are exhorted to remember, in forming their intention, the poor souls in purgatory. Apropos of this new world discovered by the priests in the gloom of the Dark Ages, the readers of the *Messenger* are informed that "the duration of the period of confinement in purgatory is probably much longer than we are inclined to think." We find by the revelations of Sister Francisca, of Pampeluna, that the majority of the souls in purgatory, with whose sufferings she was made acquainted, were detained there for a period extending from thirty to sixty years; and, as many of those of whom she speaks were holy Carmelites, many of whom had even wrought miracles on earth, what must be the fate of poor worldlings (!), who seldom think of gaining an indulgence for themselves or their departed friends?

"As the silver jingles in the box,
Lo! the soul from Purgatory pops,"

or like, were the catchwords used at Jutterbock.

To call Father Drumgoole a modern Tetzel would be an injustice. The goldsmith's son, who deluged the German States with papal passports to heaven in 1517, was a ribald harlequin; while Father Drumgoole is a pure and right-intentioned man. It is, however, the simple fact that he assumes to traffic in the grace of God. Therefore, he cannot escape being associated by the informed mind with his infamous predecessor.

The masses are divided into groups ranging from two hundred to two thousand, well calculated to meet the various "intentions" of the members. Five hundred are said for the solicitors of the Union "and for each one of those who aid them to obtain subscribers." As the price of a mass is one dollar, for those who value that kind of stock, it is a paying business. Be sure every good Catholic will be anxious to solicit at least one subscriber: one is as good as a thousand for the purpose of obtaining the indulgence.

The longer I contemplate the prospectus of St. Joseph's Union, the more profound becomes my admiration for the genius of its founder. Some one has said that, if the first Napoleon were alive now, he would be a great railroad king. If Ignatius Loyola were alive now, he might well employ his genius in emulating Father Drumgoole. St. Joseph's Union is in its infancy, yet its ramifications are already world-wide. Among its members are the present pope, the hierarchy of Ireland, Canada, and the United States, and priests in all parts of the world, as well as hundreds of thousands of lay members. "The object of St. Joseph's Union is the temporal and spiritual welfare of the subscribers of the *Homeless Child*," so says its organ; but this is the language of disguise, as appears from perusal of the paper itself. The feature, *ad captandum vulgus*, is the proposed rescue of the poor souls in purgatory; and these beneficiaries cannot be subscribers to the *Homeless Child*. The head of the household receives a copy of the *Messenger*; but, in sending his membership fee, he remits for his household, the absent and the dead. To illustrate, a gentleman of my acquaintance renews his subscription every spring; and, at the same time, he sends in a long list of names,—his family, friends, and dead relatives,—with the money necessary to secure for them all the benefit of the indulgence.

When we consider the value the pious Catholic attaches to a single mass as a means of salvation,

—it often being the first provision of his will that one or more masses be said for the "repose of his soul,"—we may realize how great the patronage of St. Joseph's Union.

The maintenance of homes for destitute children is in itself a most worthy object, although it is deplorable to think what moral deformities will be turned out by the institutions under the patronage of St. Joseph's Union. But it is the manner of obtaining it, not the charity, that we now regard. It will be remarked that the object of Tetzel's advent was the raising of funds to defray the building expenses of the splendid Basilica of St. Peter's,—not an unworthy notion. Unfortunately for its promoters, the temporal importance of the scheme was too apparent.

It would hardly be fair to call the protection of homeless children the ostensible object of St. Joseph's Union, when the following periods occur in the *Messenger*:—

Most of the masses mentioned above (except the masses said by Father Drumgoole himself) are said by poor bishops and priests in the United States and Canada or by missionaries in Africa and many other places throughout the world, all of whom are dependent more or less on *Intentions* for their support. Our Most Rev., Right Rev., and Rev. friends every year acknowledge, in the kindest terms, the receipt of our *honorarium* of one dollar for each Mass, and we hereby return them our very sincere thanks for their warm wishes and prayers for the success of St. Joseph's Union; and we feel deeply grateful to those good missionary priests who have from time to time said extra Masses for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the subscribers to the *Homeless Child* and for the most needy souls in Purgatory. Indeed, hundreds of Masses have been said in this way during the past year.

Exalted author of "Armageddon," iconoclasm "summa ope niti decet."

H. F. BARNARD.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY'S CELEBRATION.

The Society for Ethical Culture in New York has just had a three days' celebration of the tenth anniversary of its founding, and may well congratulate itself on the interest manifested and the good exhibit made of its work. The series of exercises, which were finely planned and most successfully executed, began on Saturday, the 15th inst., with an exhibition of the work done in the Kindergarten and the Workingman's School. As is well known, these two departments make together a carefully planned system of industrial education, in which, however, the material product of the labor is always subordinated to the development and training of mental faculty. There are about three hundred and fifty pupils in the aggregate, their ages grading from three to fourteen. This is wholly an institution of charity, the boys and girls coming from the families of the poor. The exhibition on Saturday must have been very satisfactory to the benevolent sustainers of the work.

On Sunday, the 16th, at 10.30 A.M., the society and its friends convened in a grand assembly in Chickering Hall. Every seat was occupied, and many persons stood through the entire programme. Excellent music gave variety and spirit to the occasion. Delegates were present from the sister societies in Chicago and Philadelphia; and these, with other invited guests, sat upon the platform. Addresses were made by Mr. Salter of Chicago, Dr. Frances Emily White of Philadelphia, Mr. W. L. Sheldon (who may be said to represent an Ethical Society soon to be formed at St. Louis), and by the senior editor of *The Index*, who endeavored to voice the cordial sympathy and appreciation felt for the Ethical Movement outside of

its immediate ranks. Mr. O. B. Frothingham also sent by letter a brief word of hearty sympathy. A very clear and interesting statement of the origin and steady growth of the New York society was read by its secretary; and, lastly, the honored leader and inspirer of the movement, Dr. Adler, made a burning speech right from his heart and conscience in response to all that had been said and done. He disclaimed, however interesting and delightful was the occasion, that it was a time for "self-laudation or self-congratulation," and declared rather that the significance of the celebration to him and the society was encouragement and incentive to larger and more consecrated efforts and higher achievements. Only a beginning had been made, of which the distant end could not yet be seen.

But the most effective and picturesque part of these Sunday morning exercises was, toward the close, the filing in and grouping upon the platform of a large portion of the boys and girls of the school, their singing and presentation to Dr. Adler of a wreath inscribed with the word "Gratitude." These children, with their faces and garments neat, but indicating the homes from which they had come, told the story.

In the evening, a banquet was held at Lieder kranz Hall, in which social intercourse and brief speeches in response to "toasts" enlivened the hours. Our friend, Mr. Conway, had just made a brilliant speech and the enthusiasm of the occasion was at the boiling point, when the present writer was obliged to tear himself away for the sharp contrast of that misstyled modern luxury and practical abomination called a "sleeping-car."

On Monday, a convention of delegates from the several Ethical Societies was held, in which it was proposed to organize a union association among them for the better promotion of their common work. And this organization, we suppose, was effected, making the best of landmarks for showing the progress of the Ethical Movement at the beginning of its second decade.

W. J. F.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE DECLARATION.

A friend, referring to a recent mention in *The Index* of Thomas Paine's services, writes, "You might have gone farther, and claimed that Paine wrote the Declaration of Independence; for this is pretty well proved now, I believe." That Paine wrote the Declaration of Independence is certainly not "pretty well proved." On the contrary, the evidence that it was written by Jefferson is so strong as to leave no room for reasonable doubt. That Jefferson made use of expressions as well as of ideas that were then current, including some that had appeared in *Common Sense* in January, 1776, is indisputable; but the fact of Jefferson's authorship is sufficiently established to satisfy anybody who will take the pains to examine the evidence.

In an address given in Boston, Aug. 2, 1826, Daniel Webster said: "The original draft, as brought by him from his study and submitted to the other members of the committee, with interlineation in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin, and others in that of Mr. Adams, was in Mr. Jefferson's possession at the time of his death. The merit of this paper is Jefferson's. Some changes were made in it on the suggestion of the other members of the committee, and others by Congress, while it was under discussion; but none of them altered the tone, the form, the arrangement, or the general character of the instrument. As a composition, the Declaration is Mr. Jefferson's. It is the projection of his mind, and the high

honor of it belongs to him clearly and absolutely."

After mentioning the friendly contention between Adams and Jefferson as to which of them should compose the document, William Wirt, in his eulogy on these men, Oct. 19, 1826, said, "Of this transaction, Mr. Adams is himself the historian; and the authorship of the Declaration, though once disputed, is thus placed forever beyond the reach of question." In the same year, Hon. Caleb Cushing, in an address at Newburyport, spoke to the same effect. "It was," he says, "reserved for Adams to do full justice to the pre-eminent merits of his compatriot, no longer viewed as his successful competitor for the palm of political distinction. That proud performance is now known to be the work of Jefferson." To these extracts, we will add one from the Centennial Oration of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop: "As often as has been observed by me the original draft of that paper, still extant in the archives of the State department at Washington, and I have observed how very few changes were made or were suggested by the illustrious men associated with its author on the committee for its preparation, it has seemed to me to be as marvellous a composition of its kind and for its purpose as the annals of mankind can show. The earliest honors of this day certainly may well be paid here and throughout the country to the young Virginian of the 'masterly pen.'"

John Adams distinctly states that Jefferson drafted the paper, that he urged him to do so, that they "conned the paper over" before it was reported, that he was "delighted with its high tone and the flights of oratory with which it abounded," and that "the instrument was reported, as I believe, in Jefferson's handwriting as he first drew it" (Adams' Works, vol. ii., pp. 412-415). In a letter to Madison, Thomas Jefferson says that the committee urged him "to undertake the draft," and adds: "I consented, I drew it; but, before I reported it to the committee, I communicated it separately to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, requesting their corrections, because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit before presenting it to the committee. And you have seen the original paper now in my hands, with the corrections of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams interlined in their own handwritings. Their alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then wrote a fair copy, reported it to the committee, and from them unaltered to Congress." (Jefferson's Works, vol. vii., pp. 304-306.) In addition to these testimonies we quote the autograph inscription on the face of a mahogany writing-case which Jefferson, a few months before his death, gave to a friend. It is dated Monticello, Nov. 18, 1825: "Thomas Jefferson gives this writing-desk to Joseph Coolidge, Jr., as a memorial of his affection. The desk was made from a drawing of his own by Ben Randall, cabinet-maker of Philadelphia, with whom he lodged on his first arrival in that city in May, 1776, and is the identical one on which he wrote the Declaration of Independence."

B. F. U.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will open on Thursday evening, May 27, with a business session in Fraternity Hall, Parker Memorial Building, corner Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston, at 7.45, for hearing reports, electing officers, and considering any resolutions that may be offered. The executive committee authorize the presentation for rejection or adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, according to which present Article I. would be divided into two Articles, which would read thus:—

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

The other articles to remain as now, but to be numbered respectively III., IV., V., and VI.

The public convention will be held as usual in Parker Memorial Hall, Friday morning and afternoon, May 28. The opening address, at 10.30 A.M., will be made by the President, Mr. William J. Potter. Mr. Moncure D. Conway will then give an address on "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism." Mr. B. F. Underwood will speak on "An Unclerical and Untheological View of Religion." Brief speeches by Mr. Frederick Douglass, Dr. Paul Carus, and Mr. Gopal Venayak Joshee, of India, will follow, and probably a letter from Dr. Edmund Montgomery.

In the afternoon, a discussion of the Labor Movement will be opened at 3 P.M. by Rev. J. G. Brooks, of Brockton, Mass., who will speak on "Ideals and Realities in the Social Question," and be followed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, and other speakers. All interested in these subjects are invited cordially.

The Meisonaon will be open for our festival on Friday, the 29th, at 6 P.M. Supper will be ready at 6.30, and Mr. Moncure D. Conway will take the chair as presiding officer at 8 P.M. Among the speakers expected on this occasion are Rabbi Solomon Schindler, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Mr. William J. Potter, Mrs. Anandibai Joshee, of India, Rev. M. J. Savage, Col. T. W. Higginson, Mr. John A. Wyman, and Mr. Frederick Douglass. Quartette singing. Tickets \$1. Reserved seats may be obtained at this office, at the Convention on May 28, of Messrs. O. Ditson & Co., 451 Washington Street, and of Messrs. D. G. Crandon & Co., 11 Hanover Street.

F. M. HOLLAND, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"WHAT IS LACKING IN CHRISTIANITY" will be the subject of Mr. Joshee's speech before the Free Religious Association this month.

MR. G. B. PURDY, of Salem, Ohio, a prominent and earnest Liberal and a friend of every good cause, died at his home on April 25.

R. C. SPENCER, of Milwaukee, writes: "I intend to bring the religious usurpations and abuses in our State normal schools to the notice of the State Board of Normal Regents, at its next meeting in July, and hope to have them prohibited by rule of that board."

THE Institute of Heredity announces its sixth annual meeting to be in Chapel Hall, Tremont Temple, May 27, at 2 o'clock and 7.30 o'clock P.M. The President, Hon. Daniel Needham, it is stated, will preside, and make the opening address. Mr. C. D. Sherman, Dr. Aurelia E. Gilbert, Dr. J. R. Buchanan, and Rev. Jesse H. Jones will be among the speakers.

THE real and legitimate bore is a distinct and indelible species in himself. Even Darwin admits that he remains the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, with characteristics that undergo no variation from age to age. The people the genuine article wearies to death are precisely those who have something vitally important to do, and he will not let them do it; who crave intelligence, variety, and charm, and he is dead level of monotony. On and on, he bores his slow winding augur

into their time, their patience, their longing to be at work, their leisure, their diversions, their everything. The greater the forbearance and the courtesy they mistakenly show him, the sooner he promises to come again. He has plenty of time, and stands ready to place it all at their disposal.—*Boston Herald.*

In the latest number of *The Present Day*, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake thus announces a change in the editorial management of that paper: "As we have already intimated, this journal will be continued by one who has been long and actively connected with questions of public progress, Mr. Thomas Barrett, a member of the Royal Historical Society, the Anthropological Institute, and other public bodies. Mr. Barrett is Honorable Secretary of the London Dialectical Society, of which during eighteen years he has been a member. His views coincide with those lines of secular and considerate advocacy which the readers of *The Present Day* have approved. Mr. Barrett is the author of *An Examination of W. H. Gillespie's Argument a priori for a First Cause* (1869), *New View of Causation* (1871), and *Introduction to the Study of Logic and Metaphysics* (1875). The wider range of subjects which the new editor will be able to introduce in *The Present Day* will interest many new readers, and I hope not fail to retain its present ones." Mr. Barrett's address is 26 Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

AN intelligent gentleman of high character writes: "I am glad to see 'The Age of Consent'—a disagreeable title to a painful subject—so plainly discussed in your columns. But as yet it has been only half discussed, it seems to me. Were I a lawyer, well informed on the history of legislation on this subject and skilful in drawing bills in good shape, I should be eager to put in my 'say.' The present condition of the law is a disgrace to our civilization. But multitudes of men—i.e., male bipeds without feathers—have no idea of what is due to women in the way of protective legislation in various directions. But a young girl's chief protection from seduction must lie in her moral education. This is so inadequately given in the majority of homes, I fear, that it seems to me it would be a good thing for our public schools to be visited by wise and skilful matrons, carefully selected for their competency, who should address the girls by themselves in companies graded according to their supposed knowledge, and tell them plainly the truths they need to know, and forcibly impress the great moral lesson. This should be done three or four times, at least, every year. And, if the boys could receive lessons on the same topic from judicious gentlemen and impressive speakers quite as often, it would do good. Ignorance here, as elsewhere, is the fruitful mother of vice; and there is much ignorance here."

THE Philadelphia Society for Ethical Culture has just issued its first annual report, from which we learn that the Society has a membership of seventy, nearly three times the number with which it started a year ago. Twenty-two lectures, sixteen of them by Mr. Weston, have been given before the Society. Two sections have been organized for the study of the Ethics of Business and Home Life, which have had papers and discussions of a pertinent character. Mr. Weston has had an ethical class for children, meeting every Sunday afternoon. "Early in the season," the report says, "a number of street boys invaded this class; and, finding them interested, Mr. Weston, with the help of some members of the Society, formed a working-boys' club, which has met regularly two evenings in the week and Sunday afternoons. An appeal

to the Society brought the needed funds. A room was rented, and books and games were given. A class in brass-work and one in modelling have interested the boys." The committee hope in another year to have classes, reading and play rooms, open every evening. It is the intention also to establish a school similar to the workingman's school of the New York Society, to be opened next September. Mr. Weston writes us in regard to the school: "We intend to make it a school where children can be *rational*ly educated in every particular. It will be the centre around which the practical work of the Society will concentrate. One or two of the rooms of the building—we have rented a whole house—will be used for evening classes for street boys; i.e., for the meetings of our working-boys' club.... I feel that we close our first year with a very hopeful outlook. New members are coming in, and people of the very best kind. We have had no music this year at our Sunday morning meetings, but we shall have it next year."

VILLANELLE. *For The Index.*

If within the rose's heart still were clinging odors sweet,
Odors of the summer time,—were its petals wasted, brown,
Would you lift its folded leaves from the darkness at your feet?

Oh, the June that once was ours,—that around us thrilled
and beat!

Would you mourn its vanished bloom, from its green
boughs drifting down,

If within the rose's heart still were clinging odors sweet?

Ah! I think my longing eyes never dawn so fair will greet!
Though you kissed it, ere you set its soft splendor 'gainst
my gown,

Would you lift its folded leaves from the darkness at your feet?

But I have no skill to make my deep meaning all complete:
Would you hold this Jaqueminot yet the summer's peer-
less crown,

If within the rose's heart still were clinging odors sweet?

Nay, believe me, my own fate is this rose's, I repeat,
That you, careless, cast aside. From the stain of field or
town,

Would you lift its folded leaves from the darkness at your feet?

Therefore leave me. See my soul shining from this quaint
conceit,

Pure as unplucked flower smiles 'mid the thorns that
round it frown:

Would you lift its folded leaves from the darkness at your feet,

If within the rose's heart still were clinging odors sweet?

ADA LONGWORTHY COLLIER.

For The Index.
REPLY TO VILLANELLE.

If "the rose" were like yourself, or like any heart so sweet,
I would "mourn its vanished bloom" and its "wasted
petals, brown";

But I'd know that aught thus fair, fairer summer time
must greet!

For the "odor" of a *soul*, though its petals fade and fleet,
With the ripening of age shall be rich and richer grown;
And I'd hold you still forever but my Peerless and my
Sweet!

Yes! I see your snow-white "soul shining from this quaint
conceit"!

Ah, forgive a moment's daze! and I lay my laurels down
Beneath the very verdure that makes carpet for your feet.

"Field and town" could never "stain"! With its fragrance
can compete

Not another living blossom in Eterné's cherished crown,
Which I pray to win and welcome, and its majesty com-
plete!

For the heart that knows but beauty's *form*, in human
petals sweet,

In poverty shall languish, till, to greater wisdom grown,
It shall strive by lowly penance *all* its loveliness to greet.

And the flower-leaves that droop in the summer's quick
retreat

But enclose a promised fruitage that is Conqueror and
Crown,—

That shall rise into the Higher Life in Perfectness replete!
And I'll hold thee still forever but my Peerless and my
Sweet!

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

May, 1886.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 20, 1886.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

SCIENCE AND SIN.

BY JOHN COTTON DANA.

II.

Man has long had faith in a Supreme Being to whom he owes obedience. How he has come by that faith we cannot here pause to inquire. He believes that the moral laws, which are in fact the products of his own experience, are the "thou shalt" and the "thou shalt not" of this Supreme Being, the one God. He further believes, being misled in his ignorance of psychology by his remembrance of his feelings at the time of making a choice, that he could have made at that time and can always make a choice without regard either to his character or to the motives brought to bear upon him. As a result of this false apprehension of his powers, he believes that, did nothing outside his own arbitrary will interfere, he could always obey or disobey the divine commands at pleasure. Thus believing, he naturally thinks that his transgressions of God's commands are purely wilful, and have their ultimate origin in his own mind. He is strengthened in this belief by the accompanying conviction that the unhappy feeling, the sense of dissatisfaction with himself, which follows those transgressions, is the voice of God rebuking him. Naturally, he comes so to believe in the wilful nature of his desires; for he has not yet extended his belief in the uniformity of nature to his own conduct. He does not perceive that that conduct is as inevitable and as wanting in moral character in the eyes of the Maker of all things as the tossing of the branches of a tree or the waving of a blade of grass in the passing breeze. He believes himself the ruler of his own thoughts, the uninfluenced maker, in their final character, of his own decisions.

But he notes also a fact inconsistent with this belief as to his power over his own thoughts. His daily experience shows him that his thoughts and his decisions are not in harmony with what he con-

siders the divine laws. In desire and in conduct, he is constantly transgressing those laws, although he is at the same time convinced that he could obey them if he would, and feels that his natural choice would be to obey them. Here, then, is the dilemma: man can conform to God's laws, if he will; for he is free to originate his choices. He wishes to conform to them, for he knows them to be the commands of a God of love who promises him abundant reward for his conformity and dire punishment for his disobedience; yet, with every motive impelling him to obey, and with full liberty to obey, he straightway disobeys.

Into this contradiction of an utter depravity or an irresistible sinful tendency in man, compelling him to do what he would not, existing side by side with a free will by virtue of which he can do what he would, it is useless here to enter farther. It is enough to say that the Church has explained, or rather has deceived itself with the thought that it has explained, this inconsistency between what man would do and what he does in fact do. It has accounted for this vast difference between the better things which he sees and the worse things which he follows by saying that man is a sinful being; that he is at enmity with a loving, paternal God; that into him and into all his fellows is born a desire to do that which will grieve the heart of a Being who, above all other beings, loves and benefits him. The logic of the illogical once established in the union of these doctrines of free will and depravity, in the simultaneous acceptance of the dogma of man's entire freedom to determine his conduct as he will, and of the fact that he does choose what he would not, the theologian attempts more fully to explain his philosophy thus: If God, he says, is my kind and loving father, and if I could obey him if I but chose, my violations of his commands must surely come from the promptings of an inherent wickedness. This evil tendency within me, since it leads me to do what neither my own welfare nor my better nature would dictate, yet which, in spite of my freedom, I do obey, must be something which I neither choose for myself nor can remove if I would. It came without my bidding, and to rid myself of it calls for a power outside myself and above myself.

This evil nature, this irresistible tendency to do the things the natural man would not do, man calls sin. He has related its origin in mythical tales, telling therein of the fall of man from a state of primitive purity. His belief in its existence follows naturally, as we have seen, from his religious ideas and from his vague conceptions of his own nature. And, with his general tendency to look on the past as the golden age, he came to the conception of a time when sin was not, and when every impulse was good.

And so out of a misapprehension of the teachings of experience and of the movements and development of our moral nature there has grown up a hideous theology, in which a God, vengeful and jealous, a human heart full of native hatred to that God's decrees, a devil, the instigator of that hatred, and a Being reconciling God to man by his own self-abasement, are the startling, the appalling first essentials. Under the incubus of such a theology, under the heavy burden of a belief in a native vileness in the human heart, which, however much it is striven against or however completely it is eradicated in one generation, renews itself with all its old force in the next, and will do so for all time,—under such burdens, who could rise into any hope for humanity? Who could venture even to dream of a time when selfish desires shall not be the stronger, and when, the love of man being first in all hearts, the poor we shall not have with us? And who, dwelling in

the black cloud of such a belief, would not sit with folded hands, watching gloomily the swift recurring tides of a filthy humanity, and waiting with poor patience for the summons to enter the world of those few chosen who are washed pure in blood?

But conscience is a living fact, it may be said; and, if there be conscience, how is it that there is no sin? True, conscience is a living fact; but scientific thought tells us whence conscience comes and how it has come, as it tells us whence and how the human hand has come, and whence and how has come the belief in sin. And it is as clearly to be seen that conscience does not depend upon man's sinfulness for its existence, is not an outcome of that sinfulness, and was not given him because of it, as it is to see that sinfulness itself has no existence save in the imagination.

Primitive men became united into groups through the influence, chiefly, of family ties, and through the feeling that they must be united in their action, if they would make successful their efforts to guard themselves against other clans and tribes, to protect themselves from the attacks of wild beasts, and to hunt the animals essential for food. Harmonious association and concert of action were found, probably, by long and bitter experience, to be possible only when the conduct of each individual was directed in some measure to the welfare of the whole group. There developed gradually, as an outcome of this long experience, an apprehension of the fact that certain actions, like theft and false speaking, produced contests and divisions within the group, and so made it less ready to unite against a common foe; that certain other actions, like treachery or open insubordination, were still more detrimental to the carrying on of warfare or to the successful guarding against enemies. There thus grew up what has aptly been called a "tribal conscience," a standard of conduct that is, more or less, well established in every mind, and distinguishing all acts as good or bad according as they did or did not conform to it. By this standard, every child was more or less rigorously trained, and to it every person was expected to adhere. This tribal conscience, this indwelling moral code, once established, it gained strength and permanence, as it was handed down from generation to generation, and as the impulse to conform to it became, in the mind of the average man, more constant and more enduring. Respect and reverence for dead ancestors and national heroes gradually developed into worship of them as gods; and, at the same time, this code of conduct, this tribal conscience, which they had handed down, came to be considered as having been appointed by them arbitrarily. Hence there became attached to it the divine sanction. The approbation of this code, moreover, which was found to exist in nearly every mature mind, mainly through education, in part, perhaps, by inheritance, was taken to be a voice from the gods, speaking their wisdom to the heart of every individual. This moral code, and the general approbation of it, being established, a most persistent tendency of every one was to conform to it. That manner of life of which all approved, which was inculcated at every point in the education of youth, would be the one to which all would be the most desirous of conforming. Following it, the individual would receive the praise of his fellows and the approbation of his own mind; diverging from it, their blame and his own mind's censure. But diverge from it he would. At times, more or less frequent as the selfish desires and passions might be more or less strong, individuals in the group would pursue their own inclination, and violate the tribal code. The mo-

mentary flash of desire or passion having passed, there would return the normal apprehension of the relation of his act to the tribal welfare, and of its want of conformity to his own more persistent feelings. To the blame of his fellows would then be added the reproach of his past by his present self. This reproach he called, and still calls, the voice of conscience.

I quote here Mr. Darwin's brief but lucid statement of the manner of development of this highest and noblest of human characteristics,—the moral sense, or conscience.

"A moral being is one who is capable of reflecting on his past actions and their motives,—of approving of some and disapproving of others; and the fact that man is the one being who certainly deserves this designation is the greatest of all distinctions between him and the lower animals. But I have endeavored to show that the moral sense follows, firstly, from the enduring and ever-present nature of the social instincts; secondly, from man's appreciation of the approbation and disapprobation of his fellows; and, thirdly, from the high activity of his mental faculties, with past impressions extremely vivid. And, in these latter respects, he differs from the lower animals. Owing to this condition of mind, man cannot avoid looking both backward and forward, and comparing past impressions. Hence, after some temporary desire or passion has mastered his social instincts [those approved of by what Prof. Clifford calls the tribal conscience], he reflects, and compares the now weakened impression of such past impulses with the ever-present social instincts; and he then feels that sense of dissatisfaction which all unsatisfied instincts leave behind them. He therefore resolves to act differently for the future,—and this is conscience."*

The relation of this conscience to the development of moral precepts, to the early perception of what was and what was not for the common advantage, primitive man did not see; and the man of to-day sees it but rarely and dimly. Only with difficulty can man note and understand the steps in the growth of his own mind; nor can he grasp readily the fact that, like all other products of this unfolding universe, he is himself but imperfectly fitted to the surroundings in which he finds himself. In truth, were he perfectly fitted, the conduct good for himself and the race would be the only conduct possible to him. As it is, the rules of conduct established by the experience of the race are such as the nature of the individual, with its jets of overruling passion and desire, cannot always conform to. The demands of the conscience of man are greater than the character of men can fill. The slowly developed but persistent instinct, which compels to a respect for the welfare of the group, is the more enduring, and is commonly the more powerful; but selfish instincts and desires may now and again overcome it. When this happens, the selfish instinct is not recalled with its old force in moments of after reflection; while the instinct for the general welfare is, and man reproaches himself with having yielded to a motive which was in truth the baser, and which then seems the weaker as well as the baser.

Conscience, then, is the result of development. Conduct is inevitable, and there is no sin. Sin is not; its monstrous offspring, the devil, has no power, save in the imaginings of the ignorant and superstitious, and no existence, save in the minds of the foolish and the teachings of the deluded and the crafty. No jealous God is watching for irreverence in his subjects' conduct and for rebel-

lion in their hearts. No being has appeased that God's wrath by his own abasement, or is quieting that rebellion by preaching submission and by promising rewards or threatening punishments.

To such, and they are many, as see the uniformity of nature, to such as believe that through all things is the reign of law,—to them, sin, the devil, a vengeful God, and a blood-bought immunity are but fables of the past. Would that they might more boldly speak that which they believe, and aid in lifting from the world the burden of an accursed superstition,—a superstition which falls short of the evils it would be ever waking, only because it is too monstrous to be received in all its import into healthy minds!

We cannot say that God is good, that he is love, that all his ways are just; for the world we see does not so proclaim him. But we can see that all the movements of the universe which come within our ken are toward a greater harmony, and that from that increased harmony come more of pleasure, less of pain, more of happiness, less of misery. What though the life of the world we see is a long tale of suffering? What though Nature reaches her ends, brings forth her higher forms, without thought of the suffering she leaves in her train, "absolutely without ruth"? If the end be a higher, fuller, fairer life, we can be content, can we not, with the faint glimpses of beneficent purpose given us by the knowledge that the struggle is toward that end? And we conscious beings, having once gained a sight of the harmony between all things to which all things so mercilessly tend, how can we but lend our hands to the task of tempering with mercy the mercilessness of nature's course?

The thoughts, the desires, the passions of men, are not all good. That they should be all good is the end, if we cannot say it is the aim, toward which Nature is moving in the unceasing strife she has called forth between man and nature, between man and man, between nation and nation. Surely, to soften the relentlessness of her methods is a noble task.

Men's desires are evil,—not because they wish them to be evil, as the reigning theology would teach us, but because they see not and feel not the value of the good. Uplift them, then; set them on a higher plane, whence they can see the bearing of their every act on all their life and on the life of all humanity. That would be a nobler, a more enduring deed than to prove to them by an illogical logic, based on unsupported assumptions and on the fables of man's childhood, that every human heart is, beyond all hope of cleansing, sinful and vile.

(Concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SISTERS OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

Editors of The Index:—

All reaction from better to worse, whether of the individual or the nation, is necessarily the result of rawness and ignorance; for no man would knowingly abandon that which was most conducive to his true happiness for that which is less so. Clearness, therefore, is the preventive of retrogression. We have frequently been told of late years that it is time to abandon the work of destruction, the day having come, it is alleged, for construction. The author from whom I translate the following extract—one of those splendid intellects whose writings have given a new lustre to French literature during the present century—is by far too sagacious to be misled into this tempting view. The day for erecting the magnificent temple of the future has not arrived, while the ground is still encumbered with the wretched huts and rubbish of a falling superstition.

There are, doubtless, many readers of *The Index*

* *Descent of Man*, p. 610.

who are familiar with the facts here presented, but there are also some who are not; and, when we reflect that this is only one of numberless preposterous fictions through which the people are stultified and enchained, its presentation, at this seemingly late day, cannot be regarded as superfluous. These things are not of a past age, as many reformers, even, keep telling us. They exist now, and in full activity. Yet the Rev. Dr. Hedge, only a few years ago, publicly declared that he would greatly prefer that Christians should return to this degrading cult than that they should progress to free thinking. And he is by no means alone among the orthodox Protestant clergy; nor are abundant examples of the same preference wanting even among the laity, of which fact the daily desertions to the popish ranks furnish ample proof.

Mrs. Underwood's excellent criticism of the action of the New York advocates of womanhood suffrage was thoroughly deserved and perfectly satisfactory. There seems to be no adequate epithet for this kind of work but *toadyism*. It reminds me forcibly of a very common conclusion of the retail shopkeeper's advertisement: "The smallest favors thankfully received."

Dean Stanley, when in this country, made a proposal for a union of all the evangelical sects,—including, of course, the Roman Catholic,—for the purpose of resisting the inroads of free thinking. Mrs. Underwood's quotation from the Brooklyn journal reminded me of the similar reception which it met with from a popish journal in New York. A few of the introductory words of the editor will suffice to show its spirit: "A person calling himself 'Dean Stanley' preached, a few days ago, in an edifice on Broadway, called 'Trinity Church,' etc. I must say it gives me a genuine satisfaction to see these super-serviceable people snubbed in this unmerciful manner." It is worthy of remark that these overtures never emanate from "the Mother Church." What she demands is submission. The only reply the New York people can make to Mrs. Underwood is to stigmatize her as a Bourbon. Here is the extract. The passage quoted by the author is from the *Life of the Saint*, by the Bishop of Soissons.

"Finally, after all these imposing preliminaries, the time was accomplished. It was in 1678 that Jesus Christ revealed to Sister Alacoque the cult of the Sacred Heart. At the same time, he explained to her its meaning and symbolism. 'Love is its object; love is its end; love is its motive. Now, the heart and love are synonyms among men.' The heart was, therefore, chosen as the object of adoration,—not the ideal heart with which the poets personify the human soul, but the very muscle, a piece of the bleeding flesh, pierced with several wounds and spitted on a little poniard. Jesus Christ tore it from his own heart, and presented it to her; and he demanded that she should give her own heart as the price of the gift which he had just made. The sister gave it to him with all the ardor of which she was capable. The Son of God really took it, and placed it in his own.' . . .

"Thus, the words of a poor idiot, evidently affected with disease, took form, and became a symbol offered for the adoration of the nations. Thus, the people adored it. A lesson truly humiliating for our pride! Eternal denial inflicted by the facts of the presumptuous calculations of our politics. Ah! let the historians for whom all history is in the barracks or the ante-chamber see therein, if they will, nothing but events of no consequence, details unworthy of their attention. For ourselves, we will recall to them without ceasing the attention of this indifferent generation, which has not yet finished the expiation of its frivolities. What! these monstrosities, dishonoring human nature, are possible to-day as they were yesterday, and you talk of equality, progress, civilization! Build, build, your ideal republics, ye dreamers; and, the day when you search around you for citizens, you will find the sectaries of Marie Alacoque and the conjurors of table-turning."

These sisters are establishing their colonies—as, of course, they have a perfect right to do—in the larger towns all over our country; and, in the schools they are opening in connection with them, they receive, with especial *empressment*, the daughters of Protestant families to be "educated," who seldom leave them without being most favorably impressed through the insinuating manners of these women, and in after life frequently become converts to popery. This would be astonishing, if one did not realize what a

sham our education is. Well might Mr. Mundella, after carefully examining our condition, exclaim, "It is lamentable to see, with the generous expenditure of money in America for educational purposes, how meagre are the results." *

MORMON AND GENTILE CRIME IN SALT LAKE CITY.

Editors of The Index:—

The criminal statistics of Salt Lake City for the year 1885 have just come to hand; and their significance is the same as that for previous years, showing that they represent not a chance difference, but permanent moral characteristics of the two classes of people involved. They are as follows:—

Total population of Salt Lake City, 26,000; Mormon population, 20,800; non-Mormon population, 5,200; proportion, 4 Mormons to 1 non-Mormon; arrests for crime in 1885,—adult males, 1,126; adult females, 134; children under ten years old, 16; total, 1,276. Of these arrests, the 20,800 Mormons furnish 96; the 5,200 non-Mormons furnish 1,180. Proportion without regard to difference of numbers, 12 non-Mormons to 1 Mormon; proportion to actual numbers, 48 non-Mormon criminals to 1 Mormon criminal.

In the city are 40 tap-rooms, 6 brothels, and an unreported number of gambling-rooms, pool tables, and the like. Of these, run by non-Mormons are 46; run by Mormons, 00.

The proportion of non-Mormon criminals in the Territory, taken as a whole, as compared with the Mormons, is still larger. This, too, it must be remembered, in a year when special pains have been taken to arrest and prosecute all Mormon polygamists.

Yet the whole power of the federal government is being used at this time, or will be used, if the new Edmunds bill is made a law, to crush out and deprive of its money a church which the figures show is forty-eight times more law-abiding—even reckoning polygamy as a crime—than the surrounding population, and to sustain a minority—one-fifth—of the people, that, even with the virtue of all the other non-Mormon churches on its side, furnishes forty-eight times as much law-breaking as the Mormon Church,—all in the interests of morality!

Could any logic be stronger, any words more eloquent, to indicate that our government, so far as morals are concerned, is on the wrong track than these simple figures? They may not show that Mormon polygamy is good, for only a small part of these 20,800 law-abiding Mormons are polygamists; but they do show that the Mormon Church is not bad, for the whole 20,800 law-abiders are its members, and trained under its teachings. K.

RELIGION IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Mr. R. C. Spencer, of Milwaukee, one of the visiting Board of the Wisconsin State Normal School, on a recent visit to that institution, thus addressed the school at the close of religious exercises: "I will take another opportunity, if one offers, to speak to you upon the topic suggested by President Albee, and will now speak as a citizen of the State of Wisconsin and as a member of the visiting board upon another question. I have been profoundly impressed with the religious ceremonies which I have just witnessed. For the reverent and devout feelings which these ceremonies show, I have respect. I recognize the fact that the religious sentiment is one of the most sacred of the human soul, and that it should be scrupulously guarded. It is one of the glories of our government that it protects religious rights. It is the purpose of our government that the liberty of religious opinion and worship reserved to the people to be exercised in their private and personal capacity shall never be infringed. This is clearly set forth in the fundamental law. You are familiar with the provisions of these Constitutions, including the first article of the Constitution of our own State, wherein are laid down in very clear and distinct language the reserved rights of the people. I call your attention more particularly to the eighteenth section of the First Article of the Constitution of Wisconsin.

"It doubtless seems ungracious to some of you that these ceremonies should be criticised in your presence and in the presence of your president. This is not a private institution. This Normal School is dedicated to the uses and purposes of the commonwealth of Wisconsin in preparing teachers to instruct the

youth of the State, and to rear them up to usefulness and honor in the State. Under the provisions of the Constitution of the State, this school can have no religious purposes. The State has no religious duties to perform: therefore, this institution has none. Teachers of public schools and in public institutions have, as such, no religious duties. On the contrary, the moment the teacher, in his capacity as such, begins to exercise any religious function whatever, to exert any religious influence upon the minds of those under his instruction, that moment he infringes the reserved rights of the people.

"The public school-teacher is entitled equally to his religious opinions and to their free exercise. He may lift, if he pleases, his spirit reverently toward heaven and invoke assistance. That is his private, personal right; but, the moment he enters the halls of any public school or any other State institution, then his religious feelings and opinions should be held in abeyance. If he desires to engage in worship, he should seek some appropriate place outside of these schools and institutions, so that no one would have a right to complain that the public funds are used to sustain religious opinions and modes of worship.

"One of the fundamental principles of our government is equality of rights. The Declaration of Independence declares that all men are created free and equal, endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Equality of rights is the first of rights under our government. Now, if it be right for a Protestant Christian to occupy this platform during the session of this school, or at any other time, for the purpose of religious worship, then a Catholic has the same right, and an atheist or a Jew also. All may declare their religious views and worship with equal freedom, but not in or through State schools, institutions, or agencies.

"I do not question the motive which prompts President Albee. The point which I make is that these exercises in any State normal school, or any public school, are an infringement of the reserved rights of the people as declared in the Constitution of the State, and cannot result in good.

"Our government is based upon the idea that religion and State are distinct and separate. They have no connection whatever in our Constitution. The State can have no religion and can teach none. Wherever a State has a religion or teaches religion, it has a creed which it enforces; and, when it does that, it becomes a persecutor, and religious liberty suffers. Those most conversant with the religious character of nations declare that in no country is there a more conscientious and general regard for religious principles and sentiments than in America.

"I have taken this occasion to speak upon this subject from a sense of duty as a citizen of the State. I should, however, do myself and your honored president great injustice, if I neglected to say that I hold the highest regard for his eminent service to the people of this State as an educator, as a teacher of teachers. I know how thoroughly conscientious he is, and how great are the services he has rendered to this commonwealth, for which he cannot be adequately compensated. The duty which I have discharged in his presence and yours has been a trying one to me, but has, I hope, been performed in a patriotic and worthy spirit.

"I ask you, young ladies and gentlemen, the future teachers of the youth of this commonwealth, to carefully ponder upon the principle which I have endeavored thus briefly and in a general way to bring before your minds. Think of it, and let us do right toward the State and all of our fellow-citizens, as we would have them do right toward us in all things."

A PROPOSED SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

Prof. Felix Adler, in a recent lecture on "Reforms needed in the Pulpit," said: "There should be founded—and we have cause to hope that there will ere long be founded—a new institution, unlike any that has ever existed in this country, or, indeed, in any country,—a School of Philosophy and Religion. A school in which philosophy, especially moral philosophy, shall be the central study around which the others will be grouped; a school in which perfect intellectual liberty shall be secured; in which

the great systems of philosophical thought shall be expounded, not by their enemies, but by their representatives; in which, for instance, a Materialist shall teach Materialism, a Spencerian shall teach Spencer, a Utilitarian shall teach Utilitarianism, an Orthodox theologian shall represent the Orthodox view, etc. In this school, the cowardly policy of artificially protecting truth against contact with error will be abandoned. Whatever any one man holds to be true, he shall throw into freest competition with what others hold to be true, on the assumption that what is really excellent will gain the ascendant by virtue of its superior excellence. In this school, the students will not be pledged or committed beforehand to any opinions; but they will be allowed to prove all things, in the assured belief that they will hold fast to that which is good, to that which most strongly appeals to their reason and conscience.

"In this school, the history of all the great religions shall be taught,—Buddhism and Islam as well as Christianity and Judaism; and specialists shall be appointed to lecture on each of the great religions. What is called the science of religion shall be taught, including such subjects as the comparative study of religious ceremonies, of religious architecture, the comparative study of doctrines, of institutions, and of methods of organization.

"In this school, as I have said, philosophy shall be the central study; but grouped around it shall be those other practical studies which I have before mentioned, such as psychology, the theory of education, economics, etc., and thorough instruction shall be imparted in each of these subjects, to the end that the future minister may be properly fitted for his vocation, that he may go forth into the world like a workman skilled in the use of his tools. I am convinced that such a school as this will fill a great need. I am convinced that many young men who now enter the theological seminaries because there are no other avenues of education open to them will gladly avail themselves of the superior advantages which this school will offer; and that its broadening, liberalizing, and elevating influence will be felt throughout our entire land."

REV. JESSE H. JONES sends us a printed circular which contains some rather extraordinary statements to be put forth by the secretary of an association which claims to have for its object the scientific study of heredity, and diffusion of knowledge in regard to this important subject. A few sentences from the circular must suffice: "The deepest and most interior secret of life in this human flesh has been discovered and disclosed; and with that secret, and God's law of life in marriage, the complete clew to this disparity of fate in families has been obtained. Hence, neighbor, I am able to make this strange and startling declaration: *It is now known how to bring it about that children shall not die any more.* I am speaking the simple truth, soberly, in plain English words. The supreme secrets of life are now so fully known that the time has come to begin to gain the victory over death in these human bodies. This ought not to seem so very strange to any Christian, and would not, had Christians only discerned what Jesus really meant when he said, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my word, he shall never see death*; for the context clearly shows that he was speaking of the death of the body, and of that alone. . . . *In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the giver of ETERNAL LIFE (which is the divine vitality of God) unto men.*—JESSE H. JONES, Cor. Sec. Institute of Heredity."

BOOK NOTICES.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA; OR, THE FIRST TEN DECADES OF OUR ERA. By Daniel M. Treadwell. New York: Frederic Treadwell, 78 Nassau Street. 1886. pp. 354.

Mr. Treadwell, in the prefatory chapter of this handsome octavo, states that he was led to write the work by some remarks of a Brooklyn clergyman, who, alluding to the custom of extolling the traditional virtues of Zoroaster, Confucius, Krishna, and Buddha, declared that there was nothing in these allegorical biographies which rises in sublimity to the miracles of Christ or the simplicity of his life. These biographies, the clergyman said, rest upon no such reliable substratum of history as the life and doctrine of Jesus; and he challenged any man to pro-

duce, from the accumulated dust of eighteen centuries, a record of the life, sayings, and doings of any personage so well attested and by so many reputable witnesses as is that of the Saviour in the account of Matthew.

Mr. Treadwell took up the gauntlet, and selected the character of Apollonius of Tyana for the *experimentum crucis*, because, he says, "he seems especially fitted for this ordeal, inasmuch as he is said to have been a contemporary of Jesus, born in the year one of our era. It is claimed that he was divinely conceived, and that he came with a revelation as the Saviour of humanity. At all events, his written life is surrounded by a halo of miraculous phenomena almost identical with that recorded by Matthew in his Gospel of Jesus Christ. And, while Jesus is said to have been casting out devils in Galilee, Apollonius was, according to a tradition, quite as trustworthily, rendering mankind a similar service in Greece."

The life of Apollonius was written by Philostratus, a Greek, born on one of the islands of the Aegean Sea, in the latter part of the second century. He was a versatile and prolific author, who resided for some years in Rome, where he was one of the many men of letters who gravitated around Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, a woman of rare attainments and purity of character. It was from her that Philostratus obtained the manuscript journal of Damis, a disciple of Apollonius, on which the biography is based. It has sometimes been called the gospel of Philostratus. Its author claims to have had, in addition to the journal of Damis, access to a sketch of Apollonius, written early in the first century. Mr. Treadwell goes into an examination of the relative value of the two records, Matthew and Philostratus, as historical Mentors, and shows, if we mistake not, this, at least: that there is as much evidence of the truth of the miracles and marvellous doings related of Apollonius by his biographer as of those related of Jesus in the anonymous Gospel ascribed to Matthew.

The parallelisms in the lives of the two characters are so numerous and marked that Christian writers have affirmed that the stories in regard to Apollonius were mere reproductions of events in the life of Christ, with slight modifications. This Mr. Treadwell emphatically denies. A temple was erected to Apollonius at Tyana. There was a vast amount of literature in regard to him, and he was worshipped even late in the fourth century. Albert Réville says that "the universal respect in which he was held by the whole pagan world testifies to the deep impression which the life of this supernatural being had indelibly fixed in their minds." Our author does not claim to have brought forward any newly discovered facts in regard to Apollonius, but he certainly deserves the credit of having put in a very readable form what can be said respecting a unique character concerning whom nothing is popularly known. The book shows patient research, has many bibliographical references which cover an important field of literature, and is the most valuable book on the subject treated that has yet appeared. Whether all the conclusions of the work are sound is a question that need not be considered in this short notice.

B. F. U.

THE STORY OF CHALDEA. From the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria. By Zénaïde A. Ragozin. (The "Story of the Nations" Series.) New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886. pp. 331. Price \$1.50.

The writer of this able summary of all that has been discovered in regard to this most ancient of nations is said to be a lady who has made a specialty of Oriental study. This series of historical works is designed to meet the needs of young students of history, and the author has shown signal ability in simplifying the story of Chaldea from the voluminous yet necessarily fragmentary sources to which she had to apply for the information she has so interestingly condensed in the chapters before us. She professes only to treat the subject "as a general introduction to the study of ancient history." The first four chapters are devoted altogether to the fascinating story of the explorations and discoveries in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Chaldea, by Rich, Botta, Layard, and later by George Smith, whose early death, met in the pursuit of investigations in Chaldean literature, was so great a loss in this department of study. The remaining eight chapters give us all that is known or guessed of the history of Chaldea, from the probably nomadic beginnings of the

nation until its period of greatest power and culture. The author's orthodox religious faith very strongly influences her own personal views on many of the doubtful points in the fragments of Chaldean literature discovered and partially restored and translated; and one whole chapter is devoted to an attempted reconciliation of the fact that the ancient Chaldeans belonged to none of the races classed in the Bible as descended from Noah with their undoubted existence as a nation; and a very ingenious argument is made to show that they were the descendants of the accursed Cain. The legends, mythical stories, and religious lore, as shown in the sculptured images, pictures, and tablets discovered, are given at some length and coherently; but it is impressed on the reader's mind that, if these "are given here in a connected form for the sake of convenience and plainness, it must be clearly understood that they were not preserved for us in such a form, but are the result of a long and patient work of research and restoration,—a work which still continues, and every year, almost every month, brings to light some new materials, some addition, some correction to the old ones. Yet, even as the work now stands, it justifies us in asserting that our knowledge of this marvellous antiquity is fuller and more authentic than that we have of many a period and people not half so remote from us in point of place and distance"; for these records take us back, according to Mr. F. Hommel, an authority in Assyriology, to 5000 B.C.

Seventy-nine fine engravings, reproductions from the works of Layard, Rawlinson, Perrot and Chipiez, Smith, and of the Chaldean sculptures in the British Museum, accompany this work, and add much to its value. A list of nearly fifty works of leading authorities on this subject, consulted by the writer during the preparation of this volume, is also given; and a careful index of topics is appended. It is well printed and nicely bound, and will be found a valuable addition to the library of every household. For sale by Cupples, Upham & Co. S. A. U.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE. By Rev. H. M. Dexter, D.D. Carefully examined and completely answered by D. P. Livermore. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1886. pp. 112. Paper covers. Price 25 cents.

A few months ago there appeared in the columns of the dignified and conservative *Congregationalist* a series of editorial papers presenting the strongest array of orthodox "Arguments against Woman Suffrage" possible,—arguments which, though many of them antiquated and threadbare through long use, as well as patently illogical, the writer seemed to consider perfectly pertinent and unanswerable. So convinced was he of the impossibility of any serious refutation of them that, at the close of the series of ten papers, they were gathered together in a pamphlet bearing the title "Common Sense as to Woman Suffrage." This pamphlet, written by Rev. Dr. Dexter, another reverend gentleman of a more liberal and enlightened faith makes reply to in the pages before us. Rev. D. P. Livermore, who is one of the most earnest knights of the new order of chivalry, one who supplements his wife's ardent and eloquent pleading of the woman's cause on the platform by his equal ardor for the same cause in the field of controversy, deals with Dr. Dexter's arguments and objections *seriatim*, and very effectively, showing how very frequently the latter can be "hoist with his own petard." When Dr. Dexter says that, if women voted, it would "involve inconvenience to the family," Mr. Livermore pertinently asks, "When women engage in missionary work for weeks and months and years, does it not frequently 'involve inconvenience to the family'?" And, when the doctor declares Woman Suffrage to be "a monstrous thing," he quotes from a protest once sent to Parliament by members of the East India Company, in which it is declared that "the sending of missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most extravagant, most expensive, most unwarranted project that was ever proposed by a lunatic enthusiast." Although we are inclined to believe that, in regard to the Bible arguments against Woman Suffrage adduced by Dr. Dexter, he has rather the strongest facts on his side, yet Mr. Livermore, who also accepts the Bible as a standard, makes as strong an argument as is possible from so poor a vantage-ground. On the whole, this pamphlet contains a little arsenal of effective weapons in defence of women and their rights.

S. A. U.

CALIFORNIA FROM THE CONQUEST IN 1846 TO THE SECOND VIGILANCE COMMITTEE IN SAN FRANCISCO. A Study of American Character. By Josiah Royce, Assistant Professor of Harvard College. "American Commonwealth" Series. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. pp. 501.

This volume, by a Californian whose mother, to whom the work is inscribed, was "a Californian pioneer of 1849," presents the history of California during its early formative period from 1846 to 1856, for the purpose of helping the reader toward an understanding of the present characteristics of the State. "This," says the author, "is the period of excitement, of trial, and of rapid transformation. Everything that has since happened in California, or that ever will happen there, so long as men dwell in the land, must be deeply affected by the forces of local life and society that then took their origin. And for the understanding of our American natural character, in some of its most significant qualities, this life of surprises and of searching moral ordeals has a still too little appreciated value." The work is not one simply of historical interest. It has a philosophical and sociological value; for it is a careful study of the process by which a great community, well organized, permanent, and progressive, has grown in a few years from a few detached individuals and their apparently accidental but, as shown in the sequel, profoundly important doings. The author has had the advantage of access to official and private documents of original value, including the immense collection in the possession of Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, and has had opportunities to discuss early Californian days with many who were in positions to observe what occurred from the conquest in 1846 through later years. Availing himself of the results of the researches and writings of previous historians of California, Mr. Royce has made considerable additions, which, with his examination of the social aspects of California life from 1846 to 1856, and the connection between the forces of that period and the civilization of the State as it now exists with the character of the Californian as now displayed, make the book a very instructive and valuable contribution to our historical literature.

B. F. U.

Among the notable articles in the May *Century* is one on "Hawthorne's Philosophy," written by his son Julian, two new portraits of Hawthorne, one, the frontispiece, accompanying the article. The history and a description of the Lick Observatory are given by Taliesin Evans, under the title "A Californian's Gift to Science." A dozen illustrations of the buildings and attachments add to the interest of this paper. Rev. T. T. Munger, who a year ago contributed an essay on "Immortality and Modern Thought," writes in this number with equal suggestiveness of "Evolution and the Faith." Among the Civil War papers is a posthumous one by Gen. McClellan, "From the Peninsula to Antietam." A long installment of Howells' story is given. Two short stories, "Iduna," by George Hibbard, and "Perturbed Spirits," by Brander Matthews, are both written in a weird vein. There is a fine short poem by Col. Higginson, "To the Memory of H. H.," with various others. Contributors to the "Open Letters" are John W. Johnston, George W. Cable, and Mary B. Welch, the two former on the Southern question, and the latter "The South Kensington School of Cookery." For sale by Cupples & Upham, Old Corner Bookstore.

"LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE" for May, in addition to its two continued stories, contains also a complete short story by Julian Hawthorne, entitled "Prof. Weisheit's Experiment." There is an article by Joel Benton, on "The Poetry of Thoreau." Mrs. James B. Potter, of "Ostler Joe" fame, and the "poet of passion," Ella Wheeler Wilcox, give their "experiences" in their different callings; and there are poems by Austin Dobson, Louise Chandler Moulton, and James B. Kenyon. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, Penn.

THE *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for October has appeared with the papers by Andrew P. Peabody, Edmund Montgomery, George H. Howison, and W. T. Harris, read before the Concord School of Philosophy last summer, on the question "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" Another article of interest to philosophical thinkers is by Payton Spence, on "The Facts about External

Perception." "Notes and Discussions" and "Book Notices" complete the contents of this number. D. Appleton & Co.

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II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV: The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A MERCHANT of Lubeck has bequeathed to the University of Jena the sum of 300,000 marks to found a Darwin chair.

THERE were hourly trains from Boston to seaside resorts last Sunday, carrying excursionists; and the scenes at the beaches bespoke the nearness of summer.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS gave a lecture on John Brown to a large audience in Music Hall, this city, last Friday afternoon. The bushy locks of the speaker, now white, and his tall, handsome form, added greatly to the impressiveness of the lecture, which was replete with lofty thought, and abounded in passages remarkable for their strength of expression and stirring eloquence.

MR. GLADSTONE is showing now as much dexterity as a political leader in the use of party machinery to overcome opposition to his Irish Home Rule scheme as he showed statesmanship in formulating this measure. If it is, in spite of all obstacles, carried through the present House of Commons, its success will be due to the Premier's great strategical ability; and the triumph will be one without a parallel, we believe, in the history of England.

THE Western Unitarian Conference, at its annual meeting last week, was asked to declare "as a body" its belief in "one God, in immortality, in worship, and in personal righteousness, as exemplified in the example and teachings of Jesus Christ." The result was the passage of the following resolution by a vote of more than three to one: "Resolved, That the Western Unitarian Conference conditions its fellowship on no dogmatic tests, but welcomes all who wish to join it, to help establish truth and righteousness and love in the world."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS was the guest of the Massachusetts Club, in this city, last Saturday evening. In a speech, he said: "I remember that fifty or forty-five years ago I could not take a railroad car out of Boston without encountering the hostility of the mobocratic spirit that prevailed

then. Then think of my being here to-day, with the best heart and soul of old Massachusetts, the intelligence, the refinement, the wealth, the political power, represented here; and no man has said to me, 'Douglass, get out.' . . . I have seen prejudices that were deep rooted uprooted and removed. I have seen hardships that were imposed removed. I have at last seen liberty made the law of this land, and being the law, higher than the public opinion of the people, still the law for the people and the law to which the people will ultimately approximate. Hence, I am not discouraged. My friend, Buffum, here, has seen me in the toils of rowdies, and not only rowdies, but of the authorities; for I have been dragged from railroad cars, and denied the right to ride on highways or byways, railroads or stage coaches, on equal terms with other people. Now, I look around in vain for anybody to insult me."

THE committee on evolution, appointed by the General Assembly of Presbyterians at Augusta, Ga., on the 22d inst., submitted a report, so say the despatches to the papers, that "the Presbyterian Church remains sincerely convinced that the Scripture, as freely and authoritatively expounded in its confessions of faith, teaches that Adam and Eve were created, body and soul, by the immediate acts of the Almighty Power, thereby preserving a perfect race unity; that Adam's body was directly fashioned by Almighty God, without any natural animal parentage of any kind, out of matter previously created from nothing; and that any doctrine at variance therewith is a dangerous error, inasmuch as by the methods of interpreting Scripture, which it must demand, and in its consequences, which by fair implication it will involve, the theory will lead to the denial of doctrines fundamental to the faith."

A HEARING was given on Thursday, May 20, in the Green Room of the State House, before the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts Senate, in regard to the "age of consent" and the laws to punish seduction. The deep interest in the community on this subject, and the general desire that our present shameful laws in regard thereto be changed to accord with justice and the moral conceptions of this age, were manifest in the strong personality of the men and women who filled not only all the available seats, but every inch of standing room. Representatives of the Woman Suffragists, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Moral Education Association, and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, were there, in addition to many persons distinguished for their interest in all public questions. It was a gathering of representative people of whom Massachusetts should be proud, while she has reason to be ashamed that proper legislation in this matter should require such an appeal. The hearing was begun at 11 A.M., and was intended to be closed at the usual hour; but so strong was the interest felt, and so many differing phases of the subject needed discussion, that an adjourned meeting in the afternoon was granted. The speaking was earnest, eloquent, and to the point. The speakers

of the forenoon were Judge Forbes, who presented a bill for the punishment of seduction, Rev. Dr. Duryea, Mrs. J. C. Eastman of the Moral Education Association, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Miss E. S. Tobey, President of the Massachusetts Christian Temperance Union, Miss Lillian Clark, W. H. Baldwin, President of the Young Men's Christian Union, and Hon. W. I. Bowditch. Senator Elijah Morse conducted the hearing for the petitioners, and read a letter from Judge Russell, explaining the inadequacy of the present laws. Those who spoke at the afternoon hearing were Rev. Mr. Sprague, Henry B. Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. H. L. T. Wolcott, Rev. H. L. Hastings, Mrs. Harriette R. Shattuck, Dr. Salome Merritt, Henry Chase, and others. The most intense interest was manifested by the large audiences present at both hearings, and yet the following is what the *Herald's* legislative reporter writes as to any hope of action on the subject by the present legislature: "The facts presented to the committee showed that hundreds and thousands of villains fail to get the punishment they so richly deserve for ruining the lives of innocent girls. But the legal gentlemen on the committee seemed to think that the present laws on the subject would go far to remedy the evil, if only enforced. In this matter as well as in many others, the laws that exist are not enforced as they might be. The committee will undoubtedly, however, report some favorable legislation."

TWENTY-SIX States and Territories have forbidden the exclusion of evidence on account of religious belief, as follows: Arizona, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, Texas, Utah, Vermont. The list of States which retain the old restriction is shorter: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Dakota, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming. Of the twenty-six States and Territories which forbid the use of the religious test, eight—District of Columbia, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Utah—allow the religious opinions of witnesses to be inquired into to affect the value of their testimony with juries. The States that exclude the testimony of atheists have an illiterate element of twenty-four per cent. The States that have no religious tests have a percentage of twelve. In other words, about a fourth of the first could neither read nor write in 1880; while only one-half as many, or one-eighth of the progressive class, were in this illiterate condition. "Of course," says H. W. Holland, to whom we are indebted for these facts, "we do not argue that the oath has much effect upon culture or crime, but merely that, when a certain stage of mental growth is reached, these restrictions upon the truth are felt to be absurd, and are speedily gotten rid of."

LIBERALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The *Christian Register* has recently had two able editorial articles on the meaning of the term *Unitarian*. The articles give evidence of elaborate historical research and of a hospitable, liberal spirit; recognizing, on the one hand, the authority of usage in determining the definition of words, and, on the other, the plasticity of words, especially of words that have been made religious titles, for receiving new meanings as the thoughts of men enlarge. The editor arrives in conclusion at this statement: "Unitarianism is that free and progressive development of historic Christianity which aspires to be synonymous with universal ethics and universal religion." This is finely stated; and the definition, we believe, is true, as concerns the vital and active Unitarianism of the present day. Of course, the editor is speaking of Unitarianism, not in its generic sense, as signifying merely a belief in the unity of God as against polytheism, but in its specific sense, as denoting a certain form of belief within the limits of Christianity. And the argument within these bounds is legitimate. There is no doubt that the movement known as Unitarianism in Christendom has been impelled by the spirit of liberty, and has been progressive; and, in this progress, it has reached the point where it does aspire to define Christianity as synonymous with universal religion.

But it occurs to us that this argument needs to be followed further. After Unitarianism has made this claim, that it aspires to be synonymous with universal religion and universal ethics, and has become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the claim, can it logically call itself a form of Christianity and legitimately keep the Christian name? We think not. Its case is wholly different from that of the evangelical Christian sects. They, too, claim that Christianity is to become the universal religion. But they believe that this is to be effected by all mankind being finally converted to certain supernatural theories and dogmas, which, in their view, are the essentials of Christianity; and, on their assumption that these specially distinguish Christianity, there would be no break in their adherence to the name, if their hope of converting the world were to be fulfilled. Even though it might be questioned whether Jesus ever preached or held them, these beliefs have always, from the time of Paul, been so dominant in historical Christianity that there would be no question of the right of the Christian Church to stamp all the nations of the earth with the Christian name, if it were actually to persuade them to accept these beliefs. But the modern Unitarianism that aspires to be synonymous with universal ethics and universal religion rests its faith and hope on a very different ground. It acknowledges that Christianity, like other religions, originated and developed in a perfectly natural way; that Jesus was only a natural man with a great genius for religion; that the New Testament was of human origin and gradual growth; that Christianity, historically, is a conglomerate of mingled truth and error which human reason is to judge; and that the genuine elements of ethics and religion are not dependent on any special Christian revelation, but are as natural and universal as humanity. According to this type of Unitarianism, Christianity is to become one with universal religion, not by conversion of the world to any historical, dogmatic interpretation of itself, but by the gradual shelving off of its special dogmatic errors and claims and the evolution of its rational and universal elements—common to all forms of religion—into an organization open to all truth and as broad as human brotherhood. Now, when Chris-

tianity as a specific religion opens out into universal religion as thus conceived, it can have no right, nor can we understand how it can have a desire, to retain its old name. The name grew out of and belonged to its specific, erroneous claims, and must drop off with those claims.

We have never been disposed to define Christianity by the lines of a rigorous creed; nor do we accede the claim made by evangelical Christendom that its definition of Christianity, since it is sustained by the vast majority of Christian believers, is to be regarded as necessarily the true one. We maintain that Unitarian and other liberal Christians have had just ground for appealing from the complicated creeds of the Protestant evangelical churches to the simple and almost creedless statements about religion to be found in the reported words of Jesus, and from the papal pomp and monarchical splendor of the Roman Catholic Church to the simple life of Jesus as a despised and persecuted prophet. Since Catholic and evangelical Protestant alike declare Jesus to be the head of the Christian Church, it is perfectly valid to appeal to his life and words for a definition of Christianity against any claims made by them, however buttressed by majorities and the authority of time. But this very appeal to Jesus as the head of the Church for rectifying the popular definition of Christianity reveals one fact that is essential to every statement and phase of Christianity that has any semblance of logical soundness: it implies a special form of religion, of which Jesus is the recognized originator and still authoritative leader. And this, in our opinion, is the one necessary factor that must enter into any proper definition of Christianity. Originally, a Christian was one who accepted Jesus as the Christ, the Messiah. And, however that term Messiah, as applied to him, is to be explained, there has been, amid all the changes of doctrines and sects through all the Christian centuries, some kind of acceptance of the term among all branches of the Christian Church,—an acceptance which has at least given Jesus an exaltation and authority apart from all other religious teachers and prophets. Christianity, historically considered, did not by any means all come from Jesus nor Judea. It has been a fluent force in history, receiving accretions and taking character and color from many sources. But, through all accretions and transformations, it has kept genetic connection with that primary idea which gave it its original impetus and furnished its name,—the Messianic office and authority of Jesus. And, when this idea is no longer believed,—as it is not by those who affirm Jesus to be simply one in a company of religious teachers who belong to universal religion,—the Christian faith is really abandoned; and, in logical honesty, the name should follow.

Moreover, several of the special religions of the world, in their progressive sections, are showing the same evolution toward the ground of universal religion. Rabbi Wise, speaking several years ago for progressive Judaism on the platform of the Free Religious Association, claimed that Judaism, interpreted by the light of reason, is "synonymous with universal ethics and universal religion." The Brahmo-Somaj of India, having its historic roots in the ancient faith of that land, has progressed to the point where it aspires to make the same claim for its ideas. And Syed Ameer Ali, the liberal interpreter of Mohammedanism, says of that faith that there is hope of its freeing itself "from the blind idolatry of letters and apotheosis of dead men," when, "regaining its true character," it will devote itself to "the elevation of mankind." He writes, "The Teacher of

Islâm preached, in a thousand different ways, universal love and brotherhood, as the emblem of the love borne toward the Primal Cause of all." Thus, the progressive, liberal minds of these various faiths and the progressive, liberal minds of Christianity are really seeking to promote and establish the same things. They are interpreting their respective religious beliefs in the same way. Each aspires to make his religion "synonymous with universal religion and universal ethics." Why, then, should this common belief, which they really hold together, be called Christianity, any more than Judaism or Brahminism or Mohammedanism? Or why should any of these names be retained, to keep people apart who actually mean the same thing and wish to work for it? When the *spirit* of universal religion and universal ethics shall come in its purity and fulness, these dividing names, the relics of obsolete claims and traditions, will surely be discarded in the name of justice and brotherhood.

WM. J. POTTER.

SCHILLER.

In thinking and writing of the great German national poet, Schiller, at this beautiful season of the year, one recalls the opening lines of "The Complaint of Ceres," one of the sweetest and most thoughtful of his minor poems, which Lord Lytton has thus translated:—

"Does pleasant Spring return once more?
Does Earth her happy youth regain?
Sweet suns green hills are shining o'er;
Soft brooklets burst their icy chain.
Upon the blue, translucent river
Laughs down an all unclouded day;
The winged west winds gently quiver,
The buds are bursting from the spray.
While birds are blithe on every tree,
The Oread from the mountain shore
Sighs, 'Lo, thy flowers come back to thee:
Thy child, sad mother, comes no more.'"

Schiller was a true German or Teuton, one of the emancipators, also, of the Teutonic and European mind from thralldom to French taste and French literary canons, according to which Shakspeare was a barbarian. He was born in the same year (1759) which witnessed the birth of Burns. Unlike his Scotch contemporary, Schiller was highly cultivated, reared, as it were, under that distant Grecian sky of which he somewhere speaks. But he was a virile writer, like Burns. During most of his life, his circumstances were narrow, as were those of Burns; and he could not help envying Goethe his ability to visit Italy. But his narrow circumstances did not abate in the least his lofty self-respect or extinguish his poetic fire. When the Emperor of Austria sent him a patent of nobility entitling him to write *von* before his name, he simply remarked that it would please his wife and children.

All the great Germans have been liberators, namely: Luther from bondage to a paganized Christianity and priesthood; Niebuhr from a childish credulity in the fables of primitive history; Humboldt from narrow views of cosmos, or the physical universe; Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller from the vicious æsthetic canons of French literature, and from bondage to the letter of Scriptures; Kant from a demoralizing sense philosophy, or sensationalism; and, finally, Bismarck from an arrogant Latin imperialism and priestism. Schiller was, by birth, a child of the last half of the revolutionary eighteenth century. He himself was a revolutionist in the realm of thought. His first literary production, *The Robbers*, was an outcry, as it were, against the conventionalisms, caste spirit, and social, political, and ecclesiastical despotisms of the rotten civilization of the old régime. It

was a savage defiance of the old iniquitous order of European society. *The Robbers* gave to Schiller, when he was a mere stripling, a European reputation. He became famous in a night, as it were, as Goethe did by the publication of the *Sorrows of Werther* and Byron did by his *Childe Harold*. With Byron, too, Schiller had points in common. But both Byron and Burns were of the earth earthy, from a moral point of view, when compared with Schiller. Neither did they breathe the same empyreal air of the ideal world which he breathed.

Schiller was a poet in the highest and best sense of the word. He wrote no line which, dying, he could have wished to blot. Hence, he is not only the national poet of Germany, but he is also the ideal German man. His works may be found in the humblest abodes of the German settlers in all parts of this country. Hence, the dedication in Lincoln Park, Chicago, the other day, of a magnificent monument to his memory, surmounted by a colossal statue of him, ten feet in height, was a proper tribute in the right place, when the vast German population of the Western States is taken into account. The bronze presence of such a noble personality, who lived a life of such complete aloofness from all sordid pursuits, and so entirely in accordance with the dictates of his higher nature, cannot but exert a good influence in a place so devoted to mere traffic as Chicago. The impressive aspect of the great German bard in the Park aforesaid will remind the young American of that city and region that there are other distinctions worth winning than the distinction of mere wealth. For, before him, he sees the figure of one who was never rich or a coveter of riches, but who is, nevertheless, esteemed by one of the greatest and most enlightened nations of the earth its model man of thought and imagination, whose image its sons are in the habit of setting up for contemplation and admiration in whatever regions of the earth they may happen to settle. Schiller was a good subject for the sculptor, as the familiar statuette of him indicates. De Quincey describes him as tall in person, and of a strong, bony structure, but not muscular, and strikingly lean. His forehead was lofty, his nose aquiline, and his mouth almost of Grecian beauty. With other good points about his face, and with auburn hair, it may be presumed that his whole appearance was pleasing and impressive; while, in later years, the character of sadness and contemplative sensibility deepened the impression of his countenance.

Schiller's life was brief, but full of literary achievements of the noblest sort. He was born in 1759 and died in 1805, at the age of forty-six. He breathed the atmosphere of the current century for a few brief years; but he did not live to see the marvels of mechanical invention and the marvellous social and political changes and the altered point of view in matters of belief and opinion which have made the last half of this century so unlike any preceding century. Goethe survived Schiller twenty-seven years; but even he did not live to witness the operation of railroads, electric telegraphs, and sewing machines. Schiller was an intellectual aristocrat, but not at all an aristocrat in other respects. In Schiller's youth, Rousseau, the apostle of social and political equality and the enemy of the old pre-revolutionary civilization of Europe, was read of all such readers as Schiller, who became deeply imbued with his sentiments and sentimentalisms. But the virile philosophy of Kant extricated him from Rousseauism. Schiller's *Wallenstein* is the great historic drama of *Deutschland*. The characters of Max Piccolomini and Thekla are of divine beauty. It is a sort of dramatization of the Thirty Years'

War, the last and most devastating of religious wars; for it left Germany, which had previously been the most prosperous and wealthy country of Europe, a desolation, so that it lagged for a long time behind France and England, and, in fact, did not regain its proper position in Europe till recently. Young Max was a nursling of the camp, and had never known peace. He and his lady-love, the beautiful Thekla, were not to be united on earth. He passed swiftly "in battle and in storm"; and his commander, the star-beguiled Wallenstein, forgot for a moment all else but the fallen youth, as he stood over his mangled remains, and exclaimed:—

"He stood beside me like my youth:
Whatever fortunes may attend my future fate,
The Beautiful hath vanished, and returns not."

The passage in this drama descriptive of the contrasts of peace and war is unsurpassed:—

"Straightforward goes
The lightning's path, and straight the fearful path
Of the cannon-ball. Direct it flies and rapid,
Shattering that it may reach, and shattering what it reaches.

My son, the road the human being travels,
That on which blessing comes and goes, doth follow
The river's course, the valley's playful windings,
Curving round the corn-fields and the hill of vines,
Honoring the holy bounds of property,
And this secure, though late, leads to the end.

In war itself, war is no ultimate purpose.
The rash and sudden deeds of violence,
Adventures wild and wondrous of the moment,—
These are not they, my son, that generate
The Calm, the Blissful, the Enduring Mighty!
Lo! there the soldier, rapid architect,
Builds his light town of canvas; and, at once,
The whole scene moves and bustles momentarily
With arms and neighing steeds and mirth and quarrel.
The motley market fills. The roads, the streams,
Are crowded with new freights, trade stirs and hurries;
But, on some morrow morn. all suddenly
The tents drop down, the horde renews its march.
Dreary and solitary as a church-yard
The meadow and down-trodden seed-plot lie,
And the year's harvest is gone utterly."

Such are force and violence matched with the quiet but fruitful methods of peace and law and order. Schiller left many laconisms as pregnant with wisdom as are the sayings handed down to us from the far past of the primitive wise men. Here is one of them, entitled "Science":—

"To some she is the goddess great,
To some the milch-cow of the field:
Their care is but to calculate
What butter she will yield."

Here is another, entitled "Friend and Foe":—

"Dear is my friend. Yet from my foe,
As from my friend, comes good:
My friend shows what I can do,
And my foe shows what I should."

Of "Kant and his Commentators," he says:—

"How many starvelings one rich man can nourish!
When monarchs build, the rubbish-carriers flourish!"

In his verses entitled "Honor to Woman," contrasting man and woman, Schiller has paid such a melodious tribute to the fairer portion of humanity as can hardly elsewhere be found. Just before he died, Schiller awoke from sleep, and uttered the memorable declaration "that many things were growing plain and clear to his understanding." Goethe said of him that his proper productive talent lay in the ideal, and that it might be said of him that he had not his equal in German or any other literature. Just now, when what is called Realism is dragging literature through the slough of the commonplace and ignoble, the poetry of Schiller, with its lofty idealism, will be found an excellent mental tonic and alterative.

B. W. BALL.

* The above Schillerian epigrams are given in the version of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, or Lord Lytton, in his *Translation of the Poems and Ballads of Schiller*.

AN ANCIENT TOWN.

It is written in olden records that Julius Caesar had a beautiful breastplate, made of gold studded with British pearls, which he dedicated to the Venus Genitrix. One of the pearls in the English crown is said to have been found in an English river, but the palmy days of English pearl-fishing are over. Few and far between are the rich pearls found in English rivers now.

One of the most famous rivers in all Britain for pearl mussels was the Conway, in Wales. Here were great fisheries, and it was doubtless from the Conway that Julius Caesar drew his finest pearls for the breastplate of the Venus.

The Conway rises in a little dark tarn among the Welsh hills, and wends its way for thirty miles through a smiling country to the Irish Sea, where its waters mix with the briny flood. The town of Conway stands on the river's bank, about four miles from the sea and about forty-five miles from Liverpool, and is one of the quaintest of mediæval towns. It is almost incredible that there should exist such an ancient, sleepy, romantic, little walled city so near a great, bustling, nineteenth-century place as Liverpool. In two and a half hours, the steamboat carries the traveller from Liverpool to Llandudno; and a few minutes in the train takes one away from this modern watering-place to the peacefulness of a thirteenth-century fortified town.

The castle of Conway is one of the most beautiful in a country of beautiful castles, towering grimly and grandly over the ragged little town that nestles beside it. Very odd it seems to stand on the crumbling battlements, and look down on the town which is enclosed within the battlemented stone walls of the same age and fashion as the castle. Six long centuries have come and gone since the First Edward conquered Wales, and built his strong fortresses to keep the wild Cymry in subjection; but every hill-top and valley is full of suggestions of the ancient and little known race. A few names have come to us from out the mists, such as Caractacus, Llewellyn, and Owen Glyndwr; but few to-day have any idea of the fierce bravery of this ancient race or how desperately they fought for their fatherland. On every mountain-side and every hill-top there are remains of ancient fortresses of a rude type, built for defence in the long past times; of cromlechs, built for worship or for sepulture; of traces, in one form or another, of a brave and home-loving race. There is a saying among the Welsh that "Wales was Wales before Englandt was born, look you"; and an old Welsh family had written, in the midst of their family records, "About this time, the world was created." How old these ancient Britons were when Wales was first peopled, no man can say. Certain it is that the little principality has borne a brave part in the world's history, and its people have been true to their traditions. Centuries have passed since Edward conquered them, but they still speak their own language. Many a change has come over the fashions of the busy world; but the frugal and industrious Welshman still fears God, and lifts his voice in tuneful praise on the Sabbath day, as his fathers did before him.

The towers and walls of Conway are, nought save crumbling ruins; the ivy and the wall-flower have taken possession of lordly halls; the grass grows green in the banqueting places of the forgotten great ones. And we sing, while we gaze,

"A little rule, a little sway,
A sunbeam in a winter's day,
Is all the proud and mighty have
Betwixt the cradle and the grave."

The jackdaw hops on the crumbling walls of fair Queen Eleanor's oratory, and wandering lovers kneel to plight their vows on the stone where a queen once whispered her confessions to her ghostly comforter. Time and chance have played sad havoc with solid walls; but the God of Edward, of Richard, and of Elizabeth, the God of Cromwell and of Llewellyn, still lives in Conway. The little town has scarcely dared to creep outside of the walls, even though the passing centuries have brought us protection, such as stone walls could never give. The old church, built as strongly and as grandly as mediæval devotion could build it, still receives its quota of worshippers on Sunday; while the surpliced minister, with gray hair parted in the middle, and precise in speech, talks the same mediæval nonsense as of yore.

Sitting in the church on a recent Sunday, it seemed to carry one back to the days when Conway was in its prime. The church was built of native mountain limestone, which stands well. The pillars were massive, as though the builders built for aye; while the carved heads at the spring of the arches were as grotesque as ever ornamented ancient gargoyles. The saints had lost their noses, and the devils had lost their ears; but the old stone records of early faith were as suggestive as ever.

The thick, massive walls, with deeply set windows, were such as men rarely make nowadays; while the stained-glass windows and the old black oak stalls, beautifully carved, showed the pious fervor of the old murderous, pitiless times.

In such a place, to close the eyes and listen to the sweet intonation of the white surpliced reader, to hear read once more the story of the blood sprinkled on the door-posts of the Israelites to protect them while their bloodthirsty God smote the first-born of the innocent Egyptian people, carried one back to the cruel days of the dead past, when men hated their fellows as fiercely as they loved their God. The dulcet tones of the reader rose with a gentle melody, as he repeated the Sinitic commands to a people familiar with them from childhood; and the sweet-voiced choir responded in musical notes, accompanied by the powerful organ, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law." The gospel was read to the people, just as it was in the "good old times," when no one could read. Yet the priest and the parson read it in such a delightful monotone that the old mural tablets, the mutilated stone faces, the stained windows, and the blood-stained castle walls, all seemed to get mixed with Owen Glyndwr, Edward I., and his fair Queen Eleanor, forming one of the sweetest services imaginable. The sermon was of a piece with the service, a dear, old, brief piece of twaddle,—no word of to-day in it, nothing for this world in it; only a set of stereotyped phrases and an injunction to other-worldliness.

The good soul of a preacher explained why it was a "young man" who was found in the Saviour's tomb. It was because God has no old men in his kingdom. There's no old age there, nor night, nor sorrow, nor tears! Sermon and broken-nosed saints, stained-windows and gospel, formed a perfect harmony.

The only modern innovations were that the fount and pulpit, reading-desk and the altar, were all decorated with the new Tory emblem, the primrose; while the "poms and vanities of this wicked world" were painfully manifest in the attire of some of the ladies, who had evidently new clothes for the occasion.

It was formerly the custom to baptize the people at Easter-tide; and, as a sign of the new nature

assumed at baptism, new clothes were put on. This old fashion still survives in many parts of Britain; and people are given to donning new clothes at this season, even though they know nought of the origin of the fashion.

The Sunday service in the Welsh church on this Easter Sunday would have been far sweeter, had one been able to shut out the pictures of the previous night, when our party had seen the toiling folk of this Welsh village holding their revels. Their sense of pleasure appeared quite in keeping with the service, with the mouldering walls and the mutilated saints. We saw noisy venders of poor crockery, selling miserable, gaudy china sets to poor, ignorant villagers. We saw men and women, like the children in some great city, playing games for sticks of "toffy." We saw such a poor, pitiful barbarism exhibited everywhere that it seemed as if the intellect of the little town had been prisoned by the stone walls, and no mental progress had been made since the town was built. There were no libraries, no lectures, no inducements anywhere to a better, a holier, a higher life.

The parson was invisible. The well-dressed crowd of Sunday worshippers were invisible. The "public house" and the vulgar claptrap of travelling peddlers were all the people had offered to them, and one could only sorrow that to-day such things are in a Christian land.

Surely, the world hath need of a better gospel than this one which is counted orthodox to-day? We need a gospel that shall lift up our own people to a higher standard, and set their minds athrob with holy thoughts; that shall set men above the power both of priests, kings, and demagogues; that shall teach men to live, as George Eliot says,

"In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge men's search
To vaster issues."

PETER ANNET.

JANES'S STUDY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.*

Few may be aware of a fact, which certainly deserves to be widely known, that in the city of Brooklyn there has for several years been in existence a society devoted, with untiring ardor, to studies profound, difficult, yet deeply fascinating, and of highest import for the human mind. This is the "Association for Moral and Spiritual Education." The members, I believe, are all persons engaged in active life in the world of affairs; and yet they have found time and had strength to apply themselves to patient, laborious, careful research into the history and characteristic features of some of the great historic faiths of the world.

I doubt not some of the best work done anywhere in our country certainly has been performed by this little band of lay men and women. The outline issued from year to year of their proposed studies has shown that they were intent on making acquaintance with the best things in Persian, Hindu, Egyptian, and Greek religious thought. They have not spared time, pains, or expense to avail themselves of the most valuable sources of information. It has been my privilege once or twice to meet with this circle, and I have been both surprised and delighted to see the breadth and attempted thoroughness of the researches upon which they had entered. Such work gives us new hint of the possibilities for accomplishment even to the busiest and most preoccupied among us.

One of the fruits of this noble industry we have in the volume just published by Mr. Janes. It is

* *A Study of Primitive Christianity.* By Lewis G. Janes. 320 pages. Boston, 1886.

a production of genuine merit, calm, free from bias or prepossession, intelligent, discriminating, just, presenting the best results of modern research and scholarship in a form well adapted to meet the popular understanding and speak to the general mind. And the theme with which it deals is one of unending interest to us all. We wish to learn the genesis and true story of the great faith in which we were born and reared. It is an emancipation to know that it had normal birth and growth, that all religion, Christianity itself, with whatever distinguishes it, belongs to humanity. There is nothing miraculous about it, but the true eye can see it in the line of natural human development. As we outgrow the illusions and superstitions of early education, we are filled with a quenchless thirst to read and acquire the full story, to trace the thread of historic connection, and see all in the broader horizon of the universal Truth and the law of an unending progress.

Mr. Janes has, in our judgment, done this work of elucidation remarkably well. He has put us all under deep debt to him by his admirable presentation in one small volume of the results of years of careful study.

It is a great theme; and much, very much, doubtless, remains to be done ere the full solution shall be wrought. Every year's studies are bringing us more and more to see that there has been wider intercourse of man with his fellow, even in remote times, than we have been wont to suppose; that thoughts and opinions, religious ideas, have penetrated to farthest distances without printer, or book, or style, undulating and permeating like ether, and astonishing us now, as we come to explore, by their appearance in most unexpected places. In Theban tombs of nearly two thousand years B.C. are found Chinese porcelain bottles; Asiatic jade in the Swiss lake-dwellings; an Indian Ocean shell has been discovered in a prehistoric bone-cave in Poland; and in the valley of the Mississippi, in the *tumuli* of the mound-builders, side by side lie copper from Lake Superior, shells from the Gulf, and obsidian from Mexico. Man had been a traveller, even a navigator, long before the Phœnician merchants went to the *Kassiterides* or the mariners of Necho sailed beyond the line and saw the sun to the north of them. It is unquestionably true that Christianity has drawn from numerous and widely separated sources. We find traces, genuine survivals in fact, in the New Testament, still more in the Old, from far distant past, rude, barbaric; and there are elements not only from Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, but also from the far Orient, more, probably, than Mr. Janes has supposed.

The relations of Jesus to the Essenes lie still more deeply to be examined; and I think it may be found that the connection is more intimate and vital between the inculcations of the Galilean prophet and the views and practices of that remarkable sect than any yet have suspected. The cross, also, and the worship of the mother and the child, open a field for no end of fruitful research; and every hint touching the relations of Christianity to those of far earlier time than it is interesting. It is unquestionable that the cross is one of the very earliest of symbols, found far back as an object of religious veneration in the stone age. The exploration of its pregnant history has hardly more than yet begun. Mr. Janes's volume touches upon these and other pregnant themes connected with the genesis of Christianity, and, though less full on some of them than we could have wished, is always intelligent and instructive. "Judged in the court of reason," says Mr. Janes, "and, according to the accessible evidence of history, regarded in the light of the new science of comparative re-

ligion, Christianity is no exceptional faith. Like all other religions of the world, it is a human institution, a natural growth out of pre-existing conditions, the product of our Father,—MAN."

Mr. Janes's paragraph upon the apparent presence of remnants of *solar myth* in some of the relations, particularly in John's account of the Logos, and the miracles of the Christ both in John and the Synoptics, is bright and very suggestive. Viewed in such way, the turning of water into wine, restoring of sight to the blind man, feeding of five thousand men with a few loaves and two fishes, etc., have a significant interpretation; and this finds confirmation in some degree through wider studies. Miraculous conception, birth from a virgin and in a cave, are familiar to the mythologies. It may be impossible at this distance accurately to determine to what extent there may be survival or at least reminiscence of the mythologic ideas in Old Testament and in New, but it is indubitably there in repeated instances. This fact also brings Christianity into nearer connection with other religions of the world, and enhances for us the value of the study of mythology.

No one can read this wise, thoughtful volume without being impressed anew with sense of the *vitality of human nature*. It has grown Christianity, all its qualities and worth are in that soul; it has given birth and all the fulness of his endowment to Jesus. It is yet to produce greater and more.

Mr. Janes closes his book with a prophecy of the reign of the religion of Universal Humanity, that is uplifting and inspiring to heart and soul. He sees how partial all in the past has been, sees—while recognizing the superior excellences—the limitations of Jesus and of Christianity, and realizes how much broader and more inclusive must be the faith that shall heir the ages of the future. It "shall be neither exclusively Christian nor Buddhist, nor Mohammedan nor Hindu, shall be known by no sectarian designation. Into its fold shall be welcomed all sincere and earnest seekers for the truth, all who strive for its manifestation in a life of righteousness, all who believe, in the language of one of its prophets, that 'Truth is our only armor in all passages of life and of death.'" Instinctively, we cry,—

"Swift fly the years,
And rise the expected morn."

In all ways, in its learning and its thought, its manifold suggestiveness, this is a capital book, and deserves to be read, studied by all, especially the young, who should know what this faith is into which we have been born and beneath which received our nurture. It was Auguste Comte who said, "No conception can be understood except through its history." The observation applies with full force here. The history must be learned, the antecedents and formative influences, for whoso would understand Christianity. Christianity will be seen in some respects less than we have been wont to regard it; in other respects, perhaps more. At any rate, it will appear of a piece with the normal, the general history of *man*.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

ANARCHIST RIOTS IN CHICAGO.

The recent riots in Chicago, and the threatening mobs in other Western cities, have caused all thoughtful people to ask themselves how they could so long have been blind to the danger of this insidious disease that has attacked the body politic. It is difficult to realize that in this land of liberty there exist wrongs and oppressions that weigh heavily on the laboring classes. Many feel aggrieved that honest labor should lift its voice in complaint; but they are dumfounded when the peace of society is menaced by the terrible foreign

foe, whose coming is largely due to their own recklessness.

Twenty years ago, the attention of Americans was urgently called to the subject of "assisted immigration"; and many able articles have since appeared, in both the daily papers and monthly magazines, pointing out the ever-increasing evils of allowing emigrants to be landed without some strict State supervision, both at the point of disembarkment and at the terminus of their journey. It has so long been a tradition of this country that every comer was welcome, and that immigration was an unmitigated good, that it is almost impossible to disabuse the public mind of the impression that, the more people poured into the country, perceptibly increase its wealth and producing power. It is always assumed to be an excellent thing for the European governments to send their superfluous and sturdy peoples to these shores to open up and colonize the great North-west, so that the native-born citizens of the country can comfortably enter in and take possession.

If the emigrants would only carry out this useful programme, it would be a gain to this country; but, unfortunately, quite a large number among them prefer the great cities, where their presence is neither desired nor required. Within a short time after their arrival, they become at liberty to vote, and to dictate to the American people what course to take in all national or complicated questions. The Irish, the Poles, the Bohemians, and the Germans are good examples of this; for all hopelessly down-trodden people become aggressive, when far from the power which has subdued them. In other words, as they are smarting under a sense of humiliation and helplessness, they seize the first moment of liberty to visit their sufferings on others.

The Poles have been a thorn in the side of almost every European government. Proud, sensitive, and emotional, with an intense love of country, they have suffered untold hardships since the infamous dismemberment of Poland, and, reckless and desperate, have wandered from city to city, promoting discontent and visiting their own sorrows on innocent people. The Irish are another instance too well known to cite. Bohemia is another beautiful and wretchedly impoverished country, priest-ridden and tax-burdened. Germany presents a different phase of oppression,—a military despotism. Every one must become a soldier. Remonstrance is useless, for the Emperor and Bismarck are inexorable. The German is sentimental by temperament and military by training. Theory is his strong point, but he would prefer enforcing the theory by brute force. This country affords an excellent vent for his smothered sentiment, and his military training may become extremely dangerous. These are the elements composing the unskilled labor and pauper populations of our large cities. Totally unprepared by previous training for self-government, hardly understanding the language, they are left without a guide, without education, without traditions to shape their own course, under conditions of the importance of which they have not the faintest conceptions.

These people are here among us. It is impossible to return them "from whence they came." There remain but two ways of dealing with the problem,—at the point of the bayonet or a strict supervision of all emigrants who are landed at the seaports, this board of supervisors to inquire into their means of support, health, previous good conduct, and destination. All the expenses of the national, county, and municipal boards are already so great that any added burden is looked on with suspicion. But, when it is considered that more

than half the prisoners, insane patients, and hospital inmates are not native-born, it will be seen that a great opportunity for retrenching is presented by returning many of them to the country from which they came.

The people already settled among us must be humanized, educated, and cared for. This is the kind of result which the bayonet is inadequate to bring about. It is also very troublesome. Americans will never take kindly to a state of siege. These emigrants are too sure of their rights and welcome among us. They must be taught the conditions under which they may remain here. Exact, in the first place, that they shall be self-supporting and also self-controlled. The right of voting should be greatly restricted, and made as difficult of attainment as possible. The American government is at present in the unfortunate position of step-father to a large and turbulent family of children.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE Committee of Arrangements of the Free Religious Association will be pleased to receive, at the Meisnaon, not later than two o'clock Friday afternoon, May 28, flowers from any friends who may be disposed to send them for the Festival.

THE Parker Memorial Science Class will leave the Fitchburg Depot at a quarter past nine Sunday morning, June 6, if the day is not stormy, for Lily Point Grove. The Parker Memorial Society will join the Class on this excursion.

WHAT now keeps the bulk of men moral, just, and benevolent? Not the love of God, for the most part, nor the fear of hell. It is the standard and opinion of their immediate fellows and class, of the society large or great in which they feel themselves to act. To every thoughtful and social nature, the opinion of the immediate community he lives in comes with an enormous force, in which self is lost and ennobled.—*Frederic Harrison*.

DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY criticises contemporaneous thinkers with as much independence as ability, but always with a disposition to do the fullest justice to any author whose work he notices. In contrast to that pettiness, churlishness, and envy so often shown by writers of small ability in referring to writers whose views do not agree with their own theories, Dr. Montgomery shows that generous and magnanimous spirit which marks the truly great soul. Few men have criticised some of Herbert Spencer's positions with as much ability as he; and yet, instead of trying to belittle him as an original thinker,—as do so many without taking the pains even to acquaint themselves with Spencer's thought,—Dr. Montgomery, in the London quarterly, *Mind*, thus refers to his services, to which we have so often called attention in these columns, in affording a basis for the reconciliation of the experiential and transcendental schools of thought:—

Philosophy, after twenty-four centuries of most diversified trials, had failed to discover the ways of knowledge. In no manner could it be adequately extracted from reason, and just as little could it be fully derived from the senses. Nor had any compromise at all succeeded. Nativism and empiricism remained fundamentally irreconcilable. Suddenly, however, light began to pierce the hitherto immoveable darkness. It was Mr. Herbert Spencer who caught one of those rare revealing glimpses that initiate a new epoch in the history of thought. He saw that the evolution hypothesis "furnishes a solution of the controversy between the disciples of Locke and Kant." To us younger thinkers, into whose se-

rious meditations Darwinism entered from the beginning as a potent solvent of many an ancient mystery, this reconciliation of Transcendentalism and Experimentalism may have consistently presented itself as an evident corollary from the laws of heredity. But what an achievement for a solitary thinker, aided by no other light than the penetration of his own genius, before Darwinism was current, to discover this deeply hidden secret of nature, which with one stroke disclosed the true relation of innate and acquired faculties,—an enigma over which so many generations of philosophers had pondered in vain!

KISMET.

For *The Index*.

If what is *must* be,
 If Fate's stern mandate is, like Nature's law,
 Unheeded of appeal, lacks power to withdraw;
 And if by its decree
 One of high courage finds
 Himself among those doomed to take hard blows
 From Destiny's hand, and life from birth to close
 A forced march 'gainst fierce winds;
 If such doom be doled
 To one large-hearted, brave, sincere, and true,
 Who longs through all his being good to do,
 Must he become dwarf-souled
 From lack of power and chance
 To do the grander things he dreamed of doing,
 Because Fate wills him, with no sign of rueling,
 The slave of Circumstance?
 Nay, here man conquers Fate!
 For narrowed limits—the enemy's serried lines,
 The fight for bread to live, e'en Sin's designs—
 Keep none quite isolate
 From others lower-planed
 In scale of woe, who need uplifting aid
 From fellow-sufferers who will not upbraid,
 Since they themselves are pained
 Through stress of grief, of sin,
 Of poverty, and countless incidental ills
 Of sad humanity,—the passionate thrills
 Of love and hate that mark us kin.
 No Fate can ever fling
 Man to such depths, but, if strong will there be
 For being helpful, he clear way shall see
 Good from such ills to wring.
 If Fate makes unsought war
 On souls that shrink from blows not understood,
 Shall we, too, join such warfare?—for base, as good,
 'Tis better balm to pour.
 If round us the world rolls
 Its cold, contemptuous heavy wave of scorn,
 Let it not chill warm sympathy for those o'erborne
 In sin's quicksands and shoals.
 If Fate, for us too strong,
 Makes sin despite of purpose, spite of prayer,
 Though we fall, we need not lie prone in despair,
 But rise to right the wrong.
 And, if our own misdeeds
 Admit of no atonement, let us be brave, accept
 Our undesired penance, and, being thus adept,
 The kinder prove to other sinners' needs.
 And, even when weakly prone,
 Without the strength to rise to manhood's height,
 Our voices we may raise, and help some luckless wight
 To catch our cheery tone.
 And, e'en if voiceless, dumb,
 We still may lift moist eyes to pity woes more deep;
 If sightless grown, we may yet grope as one in sleep
 To give weak aid to those quite overcome.
 And when, as sometime haps,
 That in ourselves we fate to others play,
 Let us so act that these shall remembering say,
 "Fate at such time did lapse."

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 27, 1886.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For *The Index*.

The Scientific Basis of Religious Intuition.

An Address written for the Free Religious Association.

BY EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

Dear friends, I—who am now speaking to you through the kindness of another voice—know you well, though I have never seen you,—know you, from afar, through the magic sympathy of those sentiments that are joining us, not only in the broad realm of our common humanity, but in that loftier sphere of freest reverence to its sacred aspirations.

To-day again, as so often before, you have here assembled to elicit more and more decisive answers to the solemn questionings that beset human life in its dark and dubious course.

Strangely ushered into this enigmatical world, kept pending there a little while on the brink of the two eternities, then engulfed again into sightless vacancy,—it is a destiny unspeakably marvellous! How transcendently significant, and yet how frail and transitory, is this brief moment of conscious realization, kindled from what has itself forever passed away, and soon to be yielded again to what in its turn is supplanting it!

With a feeling of awe deep as our dependence on the Source of being, with a yearning for light wide as the marvel of creation, we, the children of fulfilling Fate, with open heart and ready will, are soliciting from our all-evolving mother some little insight into the true meaning of the life we bear. Launched into this tumultuous arena of present existence from out the ever-silenced infinities of departed ages,—whence does it come, this life of ours? whither does it go? what is it meant to fulfil?

Our great poets still entrance us with the same mystic bodings as the seers of old:—

"The soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
 Hath had elsewhere its setting,
 And cometh from afar:

Not in entire forgetfulness,
 And not in utter nakedness,
 But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
 From God, who is our home."

And

"So, when God's shadow, which is light,
 My wakening instincts fall across,
 Silent as sunbeams over moss,
 In my heart's nest, half-conscious things
 Stir with a helpless sense of wings,
 Lift themselves up, and tremble long
 With premonitions sweet of song."

Enchantingly beautiful verses these! And do they, indeed, carry with them, on the prophetic wings of their inspiration, the charm wherewith to solve life's precious and painful riddle?

Through the baffling gloom of our groping existence, they point out to us the glimmer of a beautiful land of fulfilment, blissfully secured in the bosom of all-sustaining Perfection. Is it there, then, and not here, that we dwell with our inmost life and being? And what we call existence in this world is but an alienated moment in the serene beatitude of eternal consciousness? And soon we shall recover there, and then all will be well forevermore?

O human desire, childish and blind, yet divinely enamoured of things that should be and are not,—how inordinate in your cravings, ever overreaching all bounds, never true to this needy life of ours!

Poets, mystics, and saints, our religious heroes, in their loftiest moods,—all lost in the impotent rapture of ideal intoxication, ever longing away from us. Unfaithful dreamers! what fictitious vision of deathless felicity have ye woven for your selfish selves out of those tender looks that from the depth of human eyes have thrilled your inmost being, out of those sweet traits of loving kindness that with inexpressible charm have touched your human hearts? Are ye forgetfully deserting our common lot?

"Ah!" we hear you say, "the flame of love dies out of human eyes. The all-subverting ravages of this inconstant world overwhelm every humanly relation. We, who have here loved and lost, are now drawing close and closer to the very heart of Love itself. With eyes freed from earthly desires, we see it now. Life only 'stains the white radiance of eternity'; and our little systems,—they are but broken lights of thee, O Lord of all."

Listening to the outpourings of religious enthusiasm, as far down into time as we can reach, this becomes certain: not ecclesiastical authority, not verbal revelation, not philosophical reasoning, not natural perception, but just the passionate yielding to this craving for eternal fulfilment has ever been the soul of religious fervor with civilized man. The artistic bent, prefiguring ideal perfection, enkindles the soul to imaginings of an elysian home, where all is dwelling for evermore in consummated glory.

We, who have vowed to follow the light of natural truth wherever it leads, willingly confess that such white heat of world-alienating emotiveness may, in the first flush of its youthful ardor, fill with sweet compassion the heart so possessed. But, ere long, all temporal joys and sorrows dwindle into shadowy insignificance in the uniform glare of this all-absorbing passion for eternal beatitude. Most of the saints who have lived through the first fervor of religious zeal, in which the love of their own kind may still keep lingering, plainly tell us that the things of this world have no value whatever; that the more, the sooner, we detach ourselves from them, the better for our future welfare.

It is Thomas à Kempis, the imitator of Christ, who, like so many other aspirants to heavenly

translation, promises that, "if thou betake thyself to the ever-living and abiding Truth, the desertion or death of a friend shall not make thee sad." Think of it,—the desertion of a friend not make thee sad! And death,—the death of beings we humanly love,—do we not feel in our unconsolable anguish that it is the solemn consecration of that world-deep sadness from whose abysmal darkness life precariously emerges? Is it not solely with our own tears and laughter that we relieve the profound, loveless gloom of this unfulfilled creation?

Yet go back thousands of years, and religious exultation will breathe its secret to you in the same life-desecrating strain. It is Yama, the King of the Departed, who discloses the way to holiness, the way to escape his—the Death-God's—power. He says: "The sage who, by meditating on his Self, recognizes the One leaves sorrow and joy far behind. But not in the Veda can this be gained, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. When all the fetters of the heart here on earth are broken, when all that binds us to this life is undone, then the mortal becomes immortal."

These, indeed, are the true accents of the saintly voice the world over. Most distinctly, it proclaims that the present existence, with all its allurements, is but a baleful hindrance to immortality. And all deviation from saintly life it deprecates as a pitiable temporizing with worldliness, as a sorry indulgence of human weaknesses.

Can we make common cause with this religion of unearthly holiness, with this world-negating, world-defaming persuasion? We who are feeling fervently attached to these endearing blandishments of our present state, can we tamely acquiesce in such a life-vilifying verdict? Can we reasonably believe natural existence to be so utterly at fault that it becomes our highest religious duty to draw away from it, with all the stern resolve of resignation, with all the world-diverted passion for eternity?

Surely, it is life's own mystic flood that sweeps through our whole being, lifting it, with prepotent might gathered from afar, into the magic sphere of its transcendent longings.

"'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant;
O life, not death, for which we pant;
More life, and fuller, that we want."

Let us, then, intrust ourselves to its seething, surging sway; and no rush of alienating enravishment shall transport us unserviceably to barren shores. It is a faithless faith,—this craving for super-worldly perfection. It yearns to transfix our vital energies in an indolent trance, which it misnames "celestial bliss."

Science, true to its stern, reality-probing ways, clearly attests that all this revelling in heavenly aspirations is but emotional excess,—a dangerous, health-sapping mode of self-intoxication, resembling the delirium of hashish, which, with gorgeous inward splendor, fires the wide reach of individual feelings, but leaves ash-gray and meaningless the rest of the world, which it is betraying.

Look at these dervishes, rapt in inner abstraction, circling round and round in giddy whirls, with weird smile and uplifted arm, invoking the divine influx that is to fill their being with ecstatic frenzy. This is *their* way of taking hashish.

And the Christian saints, soliciting the beatific vision, the ravishing union of their individual soul with All-Being,—how, in reality, do they hope to accomplish such superhuman feat? Let Meister Eckehart, the great Christian mystic, far famed for his teaching at the beginning of the fourteenth century,—let him tell you how it is done. He, if any one, knows. "The soul," so it was revealed to him, "must renounce all outwardness, must

free itself from our here and now, from matter and manifoldness. Poor in spirit, having nothing, willing nothing, knowing nothing, even abstaining from all outward religious acts and observances, it awaits its union with God." And he rapturously exclaims, "Holy and all holy are they who are thus transported into the eternal now, beyond time and place and form and matter, unmoved by body and by pain and by riches and by poverty!"

This, evidently, is taking one's fill of Christian hashish, and precisely in the old, old Hindu way.

Such extreme outcome of godly ecstasy, ending in all but cataleptic hypnotism, if generally indulged in, would soon put an end to humanity altogether. But, maybe, this exactly is the "consummation devoutly to be wished." The utmost realization of the religious ideal may, in all verity, bring us to this final pass. It may be the supreme injunction of religious inspiration to abolish human life altogether, to quash for good this foolish and unholy ado about motherhood, fatherhood, childhood, and the rest of it.

Let us not deceive ourselves. To this very conclusion, without fail, the assumption of supernatural perfection clearly leads. All sincere devotees, all fearless thinkers, who have truly given themselves up to the intuition of a heavenly state of perfect bliss, have unambiguously urged the deliverance from the entanglements of this world, as the central aspiration of the religious life, as the aim of what they call the *vita beata*. A ruling, living faith in a supernaturally pre-established realm of perfection involves most consistently the despising of this natural life.

If our acknowledged religious leaders had prevailed with us, and we were not—in the light of their ethics—such a poor lot of vacillating cowards, this vast continent, which we are fast filling with more and more sinful life, would still be the wild hunting-ground of the Ozelot and the Indian. For our forefathers, ages ago, would have succeeded in their avowed aim of overcoming this wretched little flesh-and-blood episode here on earth by a complete withdrawal from its allurements.

In such summary way would religious inspiration, left to its own guidance, deal with our human existence. Its climax of success would be just one generation of only such as were leading the *vita beata*, and this vile and troublesome mundane phase of being would then be effectually conquered for evermore.

It is a supreme duty of the science of life to dispel, as utterly baseless, such fanatic visions: to eradicate, as wholly misdirected zeal, such suicidal tendency. In all this hankering after toilsome glory, it can detect nothing but a morbid—nay, an immoral—perversion of vital gifts. It knows that joy in all its varying hues is but a delicately iridescent aureola, inseparably following, with mobile sensitiveness, the vital fluctuations of the ever-welling fountain of actual life. The passionate desire to detach—for safe-keeping—the bright, gossamery splendor from the vast, turbulent world-commotion, in which it has its birth and being, is one of the most pathetic instances of our intense childishness.

After being weaned from the sweet dependence on parental care, which with an enchanted aura of security so lovingly enfolds our early years, we dread to find ourselves in open and self-relying contact with the rude powers of the huge, impartial universe; dread to feel ourselves veritable scions of the mystic life-tree, Ygdrasil, of which the runic song informs us that none knows from what roots it sprang. In sight of the vehemently spasmodic struggle with which ascending life has

so often to extricate itself from the stifling encroachment of lower modes of being, timorous human nature is prone to desert its post of danger and duty, to surrender at discretion with all its irksomely ripened adult powers, in order to gain admittance into a realm of imaginary security, away from this troublesome scene of active conflict.

In future, the decisive question for all who desire to live up to their ideal convictions will be,—whether their religious zeal urges them to devote their temporal existence to the furtherance of the natural relations of this actual life, or whether it urges them to devote it to the establishing of personal communion with some supernatural sphere. Either the religion of exertion for outward amelioration of this time-tossed, natural existence or the religion of prayer for inward union with a time-withdrawn kingdom of eternally pre-established perfection.

The Christian Church, mother not only of its saints, but also of its many other children, by prudently interposing between the individual soul and its immediate access to God an infallible body of doctrines and a well-regulated system of observances, sobered the world-annihilating ardor of the celestial frenzy, and fixed its attention on the sundry difficulties which lie between actual existence and its visionary heaven.

The presence of evil, and the means to overcome it, were naturally the problems which forced themselves here, above all, into prominence. Evil, in this world, was far too glaring and positive a fact to be argued away, as a mere negative phase of thought or being, as only a shadowy nothing cast by want of human insight or remoteness of emanation on the taintless radiance of eternal Perfection. To the Platonically inspired Christian Fathers, it was blasphemous to attribute its existence to God, though through the mouth of the prophet Isaiah he had himself long ago declared, "I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things." To his humble worshippers, this creation of evil appeared rather out of keeping with perfect goodness; and so they thought it only right to take the blame upon themselves. The sinfulness of man, with a little help from old Ahriman and his host, or other ungodly principles out of the caves of darkness, was so philosophically made to account for it. And in this manner was concocted a most perplexing conceptual jumble of moral sentiments and physical occurrences, under whose baneful influence we are still laboring.

When we consider what a narrowly encompassed telluric region, even to the Roman in his huge empire, the unopened world then was; how, in those ages, even the learned had completely failed to recognize any strictly determined causality in the sequence of events; how everything that turned up in nature, near and far, was at once looked upon as an omen portending human weal or woe, or was interpreted, in the case of striking calamities, as a direct visitation called forth by human transgressions; when we consider the opaque view of nature then prevailing,—we cannot feel surprised that the Christian Church, which has so zealously sought ever since to inculcate as supreme truth those ignorant traditions, should now find its teachings so lamentably out of harmony with the system of knowledge which science has meanwhile laboriously constructed by dint of a precise study of reality.

We need only contemplate the lives and opinions of the early Fathers, to realize in what a pitifully narrow circle of crude superstitions their thought was actually revolving. Even so broadly cultured and acute a reasoner as Augustine felt constrained, during many years of ardent search after truth, to accept—as the best he could find—the wildly

ludicrous tenets of the Manicheans. And this he did rather than adopt the doctrines of the Catholic Church, in which he had been brought up by a fervently devout mother. When, at last, he, nevertheless, became a Catholic, what was it that really won him over? Again, that strange celestial frenzy that had spread from the world-sick Oriental provinces. It was the example of Antony, of Ambrose, of the Egyptian monks, the example "of that numerous body of holy men and women who"—according to his own saying—"wholly despised the world."

And let us be just: it was, in truth, a most despicable world in which these men and women were then living; despicable as the world ever will be, where its only sphere of genuine ethical fulfilment, its actually working social system, has become hopelessly rotten to the core. To those world-despising zealots, this dying life or living death, with all its great and small mishaps, seemed most intimately connected with that sinful flesh-and-blood nature of theirs, which was still severing them from the final peace of eternal beatitude.

Cultured thought, in our day, has to stigmatize as utterly contemptible the endeavor to establish any kind of causal connection between human sin and the blighting effects of the huge world-machinery; between what, in verity, means quite exclusively the faithlessness of individuals to their human obligations and the appalling indifference, the cataclysmal, life-crushing outbreaks, the cold, merciless cruelty of the rest of creation.

Oh, with what tender solicitude would we cling to one another, if we could only fully realize against what chaotic and portentous powers of darkness we are perilously bearing up the sacred torch of humanized existence! Plagues and disasters, lust and rapine and savagery, all the dread agencies of deterioration, are ever lurking to despoil of its delicate bloom our laboriously wrought civilization. Unto death, against all dangers, are we sworn to rally round the standard of human elevation. And, with such solemn sense of plighted troth to our common, human trust, it can never happen that a feeling akin to that of the Roman gladiator should, amid the throes of our own vital struggle, obsequiously impel us to greet the calm indifference of an all-powerful Ruler with the servile shout, "*Te morituri salutamus.*"

It is meet that we should most fervently venerate the ideal of love and goodness; that we should contemplate, with breathless awe, the wonder of our own existence and of that of the world around. But, thereupon, straightforth to maintain, in the face of the multitudinous dire perils of life, that it is all the outcome of supreme perfection,—this proves to be a most irrationally lavished trust on the part of our over-confident nature.

According to the universal standard of morality,—to which we are so given to ascribe a divine origin,—it would unhesitatingly be looked upon as an inexpiable crime to have wilfully broken through the blissful tranquillity of absolute All-Being, with no other possible aim than the production of something infinitely lower than one's self, with no other desire than to witness a wild and pitiable scene of endless turmoil and trouble; nay, to place against one's own complacent self-sufficiency the sanguinary spectacle of a vast arena of multiform carnage.

If such creation or emanation from the all-embracing depth of absolute Power were, indeed, a correct interpretation of the enigmatical existence in which we find ourselves so wondrously involved, then Schopenhauer would unquestionably be our truest philosopher, and his extreme pessimism our only sensible creed. Let us not forget

that the philosophical teaching of this modern recluse is but an echo of the ancient religious intuition which fosters, as holiest zeal, the striving after deliverance from the wiles and pangs of actual existence, be it merely to overcome life's fretful dream in the final rest of Nirvana or, with living hope still aglow, to gain entrance into an ever-glorious kingdom of heaven.

Having sounded in a general way the intuition of eternal perfection, which has hitherto served as a polar star for religious guidance, we have found that it consistently leads to intellectual and moral stagnation, to humanity-despising, life-desecrating self-intoxication.

Undoubtedly, we find ourselves wholly immersed in the inscrutable marvel of existence. The immanent nature and mode of origin of the multi-fold potencies which manifest themselves in the subsistence and interaction of the things constituting our world are utterly unintelligible to us. It does not relieve our perplexity in the least to maintain that an Unknowable is bringing it all about. And just as little does it help us to pretend that a well-known Personality is the cause of it. We evidently know more about the intimate nature of a tree, after having scientifically investigated its structure and vital properties, than if we had rested satisfied with the notion that a Dryad is its principle of life. So with our own being. So with the entire cosmos.

That much is quite certain: that the developmental elaboration of actual existents is due to an infinitely laborious process among the things of this world, and not to any sleight of hand performance on the part of an outside agent. Ethical culture, in future, has to take its bearings from this fact.

But religious intuition,—how does that arise? Surely, however laboriously and separately, increment upon increment, our special life may have been evolved, it knows itself, for all that, as a unitary, self-identical existent, whose innermost nature is felt most mystically to comprise all the powers of creation, and to be transcendently one with that which steadfastly abides amid all change and decay.

In moments of keenest ideal insight, when gazing with intense self-forgetfulness into the abyssal profundity of being, where all lies hushed in silent awe, then, suddenly, strangely, the sense of our own little self intrudes into inner light, widening and widening, till at last it seems to be filling with world-deep significance the whole fathomless reach of consciousness, where it feels indissolubly melted into one with the essence of all reality.

To whom, in the rapt mindfulness of contemplative moods, this solemn experience has been vouchsafed, he knows henceforth from which source religious intuition has at all times been drawing its inspirations. And no wonder that, for all such, ever after this inner revelation, so replete with transcendent meaning, is cherished as supernal truth. For, into this far-stretching, exteriorized sphere of busy doing and scattered attention, it carries with it a precious, indelible glimpse of the undying and all-embracing substantiality of our being. We who have loosened our religious skiff from traditional moorings are much in need of a scientific elucidation of this unmistakable inner experience.

When the new astronomy came so unceremoniously to dislodge our proud dwelling-place from its central world position, peopling the infinitudes of space with systems within systems of other worlds, and leaving our own tiny globe—only an inferior orb—in some remote corner of the universe, it surely required all the nurtured self-complacency of human nature not to feel its vaunted import shrink away into most ephemeral insignifi-

cance. It is very well, from some old-established background of human persuasion, rendered quite secure through general custom and personal habit, to peep into the starry heavens, and declare the aspect to be supremely elevating. But go out, stripped of all social trappings, out into the elemental night, and there measure your bare self against the infinity of worlds, on one of which you are living your little parasitic life, no more busy at its game than one of the innumerable ants swarming at your feet; realize these clearly defined proportions and your place in them, and then return to us and reassert, if you dare, that such astronomical world-conception has been a source of supreme elevation to you.

Utterly crushing to our self-confidence would such contemplation really be, if our individual perception were only just mirroring the fact,—how external reality is lying outstretched yonder in the limitless expanse of outer space, moving in ceaseless procession through time, and leaving the record of its infinite past irrecoverably engulfed in the oblivious silence of insentient nature. Who could cheerfully bear up against the awful consciousness of a boundless stream of transitory existence, in which each of us were representing only the merest mite of evanescent being? More than ever before would such self-depressing, astronomical view induce us to huddle together under the protection of whatever power we believed competent to re-enhance our personal value.

But veritable reassurance of the transcendent worth of human existence cannot come to us through faith in any kind of external assistance, however supernaturally potent it may be deemed. It can come solely through a clear scientific insight into the natural sources whence such transcendent worth actually emanates. And science, to-day, is in a position to cast a steady light into depths of human nature,—depths of warm and throbbing life, as it here and now exists, incomparably more wondrous and significant than any of those visionary reveries in which human imagination delights to transport it on wings of subtilizing fancy to the hazy precincts of spirit-land. Science can admit of no artificial mediation between the searching mind and nature's own expressive features. It questions directly, face to face, and receives unsophisticated and decisive answers. We have been so spoiled with oracular and fantastic extravaganzas that few of us can rightly appreciate the peremptory, absolutely settling import of an actual truth of nature. If we could be made fully alive to such vital import, what an effusion of exultant light would be felt to flood the whole wide reach of existence with the clear recognition that, however remote from us in significance and expanse the external world with all its vastnesses may appear, it is, all in all, fashioned right there, as our own conscious possession, by creative powers of which we ourselves are the bearers!

No one who is not capable of understanding this central truth, now firmly established by science, can ever come adequately to realize the transcendent import of his being. Behold, from moment to moment, this our veritable being is shaping, by dint of its own indwelling might, that all-containing consciousness of ours, in which alone the world stands revealed.

Let every one not yet initiated into this open mystery, instead of casting about for marvels beyond actuality, begin by trying to figure from what slightest indications, borne to his visual organ on nothing but ethereal tremors, these same creative powers within him instantly build up the stupendous fabric of this firmly grounded, full-fashioned, stirring, and living world.

Such transcendent, world-constructing potency science proves to be dwelling in each of us, ready for action in every wakeful moment of existence. Think what wondrous springs of far-reaching efficiency must be embodied in our living being to render this so insignificantly seeming little self of ours capable of encompassing within its own sphere the entire marvel of the manifest world!

In no way are we, as is mostly believed, self-occluded personalities, coming from elsewhere and bringing with us to this planet merely a faithful mirror, in which a world strange to our innermost nature appears passively reflected. The world we actually perceive is in us, part of us, most veritably our own intimate world. And it corresponds so faithfully to what lies outside only because our own being, from the very dawn of living existence, has been fashioned to the core in ceaseless interaction with the powers that constitute the outer world. We are ourselves individually something, some one, only in relation to the world in which we are living. Very visibly there is not a single part of our body, down to its minutest textures, that is not corresponding to some outside relation,—the intestines to food, the lungs to air, the hands to objects of prehension, the senses to specific inciting influences: yea, the vital commotion in each lymph or other corpuscle, in each muscular or nerve fibre, occurs only in reference to some interaction with the outer world.

And our mind, in its widest sweep and in its most ideal flight, has clearly no other normal function than the conscious realization of our relations to outside nature. Only—to us human beings—the relations to our own kind, those most intricate, highly elaborated, and refined relations making up our social life and culture, have assumed pre-eminent importance in our mental existence. They are the real medium, in which we humanly and morally live.

The rest of the animal world, by a most pressing and relentless struggle for subsistence, is held utterly subjected to the tyranny of immediate needs. Enthralled in subservience to instinctive wants, its vitality is consumed amid narrowest consciousness. Its life of outside relations, with its awareness of things around, is all but completely dominated by the search and seizure of prey, by the avoidance of being preyed upon. It is idle to attempt to palliate, from a moral standpoint, the meanness of the organic creation. Hunger, fear, trickery, and savageness are the principles rampant on the unhumanized earth. Those of us are innocent of the real ways of nature, who, during a civilized walk among flowers and butterflies, give vent to feelings of veneration for the benignant Power that has shaped such beautiful and happy things. These very gauderies of our earth are out and out the product of successful cunning and greed. And, as regards ourselves, how can we fairly glory in the idea of being objects of a special benevolent providence, when we contemplate by what slow and cruel steps of constant bloodshed we have actually reached our present height?

Utmost candor, scientifically enlightened, is, above all, required to enable us to recognize our veritable position in this world, so that we may become fit to direct our life and its means, with less and less friction, to more and more and more fruitful ends. It is, very evidently, a misleading illusion to believe that there exists any moral purpose and direction in the universe outside human consciousness; that we need only confide in the general stream and tendency of evolution, or some such prepotent drift, to be carried to surprising elevations of moral culture.

Morality is a delicate effluence of human reci-

procity, existing exclusively among our own conscious selves, and nowhere else, as far as our knowledge reaches,—strictly *among* ourselves, and not at all in us as separate individuals. A person without social relations and recollections, on an isolated island, could not possibly be a moral being. And a saintly anchorite is certainly the very reverse of a moral being. He is, indeed, a grievous sinner against the social order and life, from which he has received everything that distinguishes him from the brutes. Our moral culture is that special part of our more general culture which seeks thoughtfully to recognize and practically to establish principles of justice and good-will among us all, as partakers of one and the same transcendent life.

The more complicated our general culture becomes, the more wisdom does it require to incorporate in the social structure such valid and sterling relations as render social morality possible. Social culture and social morality have to be indissolubly amalgamated, have to rise in indiscernible union, in order to afford worthy living expression to human existence. Genuine morality is always of the social kind, being exclusively of social origin and significance. And the desirability of human existence is in exact proportion to its ethical and social culture. Where, indeed, can humanity be found, if not in the righteous heart, and cultured mind?

The actually existing commonwealth, with its actually existing citizens, is the veritable medium in which all our ideal aspirations have to be substantiated.

This last remark may sound commonplace; but it is, nevertheless, the expression of one of the most fundamental scientific recognitions,—a recognition which, faithfully acted upon, would direct ever so much wasted energy of the best kind into fruitful and salutary channels.

It is, in all verity, a supremely momentous and pregnant fact that whatever is not structurally embodied in our living organism and its actual medium of existence remains absolutely meaningless to us. Place a book full of cultured wisdom before a savage, and what is it to him? To teach him the language in which it is written, even only so much of it as corresponds to his own already organized ideas, requires a patient process of training, involving an amount of structural elaboration at least equal to that brought into play in the acquirement of a handicraft. To teach him to read the book demands a further organic development of his cerebral structures. And to teach him really to understand it, if that were at all possible, would necessitate the building up, through actual experience, of all the socially established cerebral organization, by means of which alone the wisdom of the book can be intelligently realized.

No ambiguity must be allowed to remain here, as a vantage-ground for time-honored but progress-impeding errors. Science shows irrefutably how *structurally organized* acquisitions are the indispensable prerequisite to all progress, the sole containing and retaining substratum of all conscious realization. The notion still indulged in, that some kind of airy but full-fledged power has possession of our body as an instrument, recognizing and remembering by dint of supernaturally imported efficiencies the actual facts of nature and their true significance,—this primitive notion has become, in the light of organic science, altogether untenable and preposterous. We have and can have no faculties but such as are structurally organized in us; and all our higher faculties are developed, and can adequately operate, only in an appropriately organized social medium.

The religious spirit, then, has to realize itself in this much-despised, much-abused body of ours, through social means. It has to gain substantial

form, not in the changeless eternity of the empyrean inane, but in that veritably perpetuating incarnation of Time's fleeting achievements,—our own living, remembering self in intimate interaction with the rest of the world.

The devout Novalis, in presentiment of this great, body-consecrating truth, fervently exclaimed: "There is but one temple in the world, and that temple is the body of man. Nothing is holier than this high form. We touch heaven when we lay our hands on a human body."

O my friends, in search of the true fount of religious inspiration! could I but succeed in conveying to you a vivid sense of the sacred, eternalizing import of this temple of the world,—the body of man,—in whose organic depths is kept welling the spring of all ideal love and beauty, the spring, also, of the plastic potency wherewith to mould these supreme ideal possessions into shapes of high delight within our actual life,—could I but succeed in this, we should then have truly found what we are all in search of.

The unifying and perfecting proclivity of our world-shaping faculties, in despair of present fulfilment, has given rise to the belief in a heavenly existence of archetypal entities, only imperfectly apprehended by us here, through scattered indications among the transitory manifold of this lower material sphere. This lofty belief has been a highly inspiring and beneficial incentive, whenever its inner light was brought into play to illumine and beautify the things of this world, as has often propitiously occurred to the salvation of dogma-deadened ages. It is this reality-idealizing propensity that never ceases to delight us in the Platonic philosophers and poets. And it is this same love and joy of idealized nature that enkindle to sympathetic enthusiasm in listening to your own ever-memorable and venerable New England transcendentalists.

But it is only Arcadian simplicity that can aim to cull all this ideal bloom from its native soil, severing it in thought from the darkly brooding and maturing fecundity of our mother earth, with the futile intention of fleeing with such abducted treasure into the unfading security of a fancied paradise, out of reach of all-overtaking time.

World-originated forms, livingly moulded in the fiery clash of battling forces, are not made of such dreamy, pneumatological stuff. Their veritable reality does not consist in the becalmed vision transiently manifest in our individual mind, and believed to be miraculously transferable to eternally abiding subsistence. All this perceptive and formative potency and activity in us, which, in functional play with external influences, make up the ever-replenished wealth of our moment of conscious realization,—it is infinitely more marvelously, more profoundly, more stirringly rooted than has ever been anticipated by unscientific thought. It is obvious we bring it with us into our individual existence, a wondrously proficient gift.

From what source, then, do we derive it?

The life we bear, so singularly gifted with transcendent proficiencies, whence does it come to us? How strikingly different from lifeless nature!

What a contrast between the toilsomely sustained complexity of our life-quickened organization and the facile and uniform maintenance or mutation of inanimate things! With the intuition of its world-wide bearings and sympathies deeply woven in its all-harmonizing constitution, our living being awakens aimfully to confront, amid these its immemorial memories, a senseless, impervious world, which buries from instant to instant all its casual happenings in perpetual forgetfulness.

The firmest rock, towering in majestic grand-

eur, cleaves and falls and crumbles insentiently into scattering dust. But the frail body of man, by dint of those living bequeathments, victoriously resists the battering influences, gathering mindfully new strength in its clashing encounters, and leaving its heightened existence in rejuvenated form, to meet with fresh ardor the brunt of oncoming times.

With mystic roots, drawing our life-blood from the plenitude of all the endless reach of time-withdrawn ages, we, contemporaneous, sole-surviving scions of the one transcendently perennial life-tree, are now here faithfully to uphold all the painfully acquired worth of living existence, offering it in sympathetic interchange and glad some sacrifice to the fructifying light of progressive day.

What a sacred and exultant mission,—to be thus personally intrusted with the cumulative achievement of all bygone ages, to be constitutionally representing the crowning embodiment of all the secured results of life's sore travail!

Hallowed by the passing away into eternal silence of generation after generation of striving, feeling beings, whose offspring we are, we, heirs of all that has been, stand now here, this present moment, in awe-inspiring isolation, alone alive in the immensity of worlded space, in the infinity of lapsing time,—sole links between what was ever done before and what shall ever be done hereafter. On fidelity to our vital, to our human trust, the Past has built with never-flagging zeal; and, with helpless confidence, the Future is depending on it for its irrevocable fate.

Religion has ever been the emotive intuition of these actual and yet wondrously transcendent bearings of individuated life. With eternalizing symbolism, it has sought adequately to express the sacred and glorious worth, the all-embracing, all-representing import of real existence. And the highest office of science is to help it to realize more and more justly and profoundly the undying marvel of living organization.

Religion can do no more than conscientiously, fervently, indomitably sustain the sublime, super-individual significance of our living personality, with all its deeply grounded relations, to the rest of life and to the world at large. Life would be life, indeed, if all its relations were thus pervaded with a vivid sense of their religious bearings.

Such religious sentiment, how divinely would it sanctify the great facts of human life,—sanctify the mystery of love, when, at the aspect of human worth and beauty, with overpowering emotion from out the intuitive depths of being there suddenly stands revealed the world-concentrating import of the One who has now so strangely become All in All,—when, on the wide, fathomless sea of living existence, buoyed with lofty hope and eternal trust, life meets life in mutual love, tremblingly, joyously presentient of higher and higher world fulfilment!

And with what glorifying halo would the true religious effluence encompass the sweet, pathetic mystery of motherly rapture, when, in tearful joy, with tenderest care, she is receiving—full-fashioned in the dark profundity of being impersonated in helpless babyhood—the mystic consignment of all the ages, so completely her own and yet so transcendently belonging to the world's larger hope!

The religious influx, let it pervade and sanctify all the relations of actual life,—sanctify and indissolubly weld with high resolve the solemn ties of family life, endearing with loving devotion all its sacred obligations, and fostering within its sheltering bosom the delicate germs of human virtue and culture.

And for us, bearing the standard of freest relig-

ious zeal, citizens of this great nation, children—all of us together—of one and the same supernally endowing mother,—let the recognition of our veritable position in this world inspire us with keensighted wisdom and indefatigable ardor so to shape our national life that it may become a befitting vehicle, wherein all shall seek to realize their common humanity, finding there the ready means for full expression of the higher aspirations of their social nature.

If we fail in this, if it is not in us, if we do not possess the enthusiastic energy to accomplish these high living purposes, in vain, then, shall we languish for evermore in impotent yearning after veritable fulfilment of the transcendent, super-individual aspirations of religious intuition.

ATHEISTS AND BELIEVERS.—The debate in the House of Representatives on the credibility of witnesses who disbelieve in God was marked by less theological bias than has in the past been aroused by discussions of this kind. The matter was complicated to a certain extent by a disposition to class atheists and anarchists in the same category; but the final vote, although the measure failed of obtaining the necessary approval, was, on the whole, creditable to the growing impartiality of our people. It does not seem to us that the statement that a man who does not believe in God may be as honest in his utterances as one who does believe in a supreme Being is an assertion which needs to be defended by arguments of any kind whatsoever. The experience of those who have had much intercourse with their fellow-men must have convinced them that personal honesty is something altogether independent of religious conviction, and that there are proportionately just as many truthful atheists as truthful believers in revealed religion. Indeed, the assumption to the contrary in this matter of legal testimony is self-contradictory; for, if an atheist is notoriously a liar, he has only to follow out his natural tendency and assert in court that he does believe in God, and by so doing no one would think for a moment of challenging his veracity. In giving legal evidence, where men are not constrained by a high and conscientious sense of duty,—and this qualification is found among atheists as well as among believers,—it is the fear of punishment much more than the terrors of an oath that compels men to tell the truth.—*Boston Herald.*

BOOK NOTICES.

DOWN THE WEST BRANCH; or, Camps and Tramps around Katahdin. By Capt. Charles A. J. Farrar. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. Price \$1.25. ("Lake and Forest" Series, No. 3.)

This purports to give the story of the adventures met with by a party of young fellows, members of the "Lake and Forest" Club of Boston, in a hunting and fishing trip through one of the wildest regions of Maine. If the incidents of this trip did not really occur, they are at least related with such carefulness as to detail as to make them seem like actual occurrences. A very hungry and healthy set of lads they are shown to be, since every other page or so describes, in an appetizing way, the meals of which they partook at different points of their trip; and these descriptions occur so frequently as to leave the reader with an impression that their out-of-door life rendered them remarkably voracious. Among the more thrilling adventures narrated are an impromptu fire brigade, a thrilling experience with a lynx, a fight with a moose, adventures with bears, deer, etc., with a couple of counterfeiters, and a life-saving incident. The descriptions of scenery are natural, and the moral tone of the book unexceptionable. Eleven full-page illustrations of scenes or events described are given.

THOUGHTS. By Ivan Panin. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1886. pp. 85.

Mr. Panin's little book, with its modest covers, beautiful print, and terse title, is decidedly unique in various ways. It is a book containing four hundred and thirty-five original aphorisms upon such subjects as misfortune, charity, conduct of life, speech and silence, truth, wisdom and folly, pride and humility, self-reliance, and love. These "thoughts"

are all marked by a high moral tone, none of them are of great length, and many of them deserve to be memorized and quoted. We give a few of these sayings, selected here and there at random, as specimens: "Rather than weep over the things thou canst not do rejoice over those thou canst." "The furnace which melts gold also hardens clay. Before blaming thy fate, therefore, find whether thou art gold or clay." "Viewed from the mountain-top, the oak is as slight as the shrub: only rise high enough, and the highest ambition appears as small as the petty desire." "Great pains are voiceless: it is the small pain that speaks. A heavy blow stuns: it is only the prick of a pin that startles." "Herein, the wise differ from the foolish: both have shortcomings; but the wise know them and conceal them, the foolish know them not and expose them." "Approach not too closely things dear unto thee: the most delicate web becomes coarse under the microscope." "Who can shed judiciously his ink for mankind benefits it more than he that sheds his blood for it."

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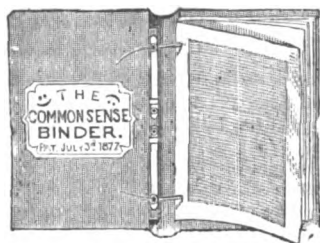
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE witty editor of the *Iron-clad Age*, referring to the fact that "Herr Most, the gentle anarchist and dynamiter," was taken by the police from under a bed, exclaims, "Thus perishes liberty in its citadel of last resort!"

AN anti-anarchist society of Bohemians has been formed in New York to counteract the influence of those of their countrymen who are bringing unmerited suspicion and discredit upon the twenty-five thousand well-disposed and well-behaved Bohemians of that city.

THE most celebrated of German historians, Prof. Leopold von Ranke, died in Berlin on May 23, in the ninety-first year of his age. He was still at work, at his advanced age, on a work which he regarded as his greatest,—a history of the world, which was to be in nine volumes, six of which had been completed. It is believed that he left manuscript, from which another volume at least can be prepared by his literary executors.

DR. DIO LEWIS, the health-reformer and writer on physical culture, who died at Yonkers, N.Y., May 21, directed that his body should be cremated in these words: "Although I am averse to the somewhat unpleasant notoriety which as yet cremation involves, my very strong conviction is that it is the right disposition of the dead. I leave directions that my body shall be cremated, and that the ashes shall not be put into an urn, but in the earth, over which my wife may plant forget-me-nots."

THE *Christian Register* says: "Some of the best statements of Unitarianism we have ever heard have been given in our devotional meetings. The meeting did not carry them by a vote, but they

carried the meeting by the inspiration they contained." We have never attended "Unitarian devotional meetings," and know not whether they are held in the summer time; but the above remark has awakened a curiosity and interest in regard to them, and, at the first opportunity, we shall attend one of them, and include its exercises in our studies of psychology and religious evolution.

NO ATTEMPT was made at the Congress of Churches, held at Cleveland last week, to effect an organic union or to bring about any formal agreement between the churches; nor were the discussions followed by any decrees or votes as the result of the discussions. Indeed, those who attended were not officially accredited representatives of the churches, although many of them fairly represent the thought and life of the ecclesiastical bodies to which they belong. This congress is significant, like that at Hartford last year, as indicating a decline of the sectarian spirit and a growing disposition in the churches to encourage the discussion upon a common platform of religious and social questions by representatives of the different Christian sects.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, who died in New York City May 21, never lost hope in the general acceptance of his many theories, which, indeed, at times, he thought very near at hand; but they made little permanent impression upon leading thinkers, and what truth they contained was so mixed with vagaries and extravagances of one kind and another that they have not of late years commanded much attention. In 1870, he published *The Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato* as an introduction to his system, which was elaborated fully in *The Basic Outlines of Universology*, a large quarto of one thousand pages, the terminology of which is most trying, yet not impossible to grasp. Mr. Andrews had a versatile mind, was an acute speculative thinker, an effective speaker, and a man of remarkable linguistic and philological attainments. He was an active supporter of the anti-slavery organization known as the Liberty Party, and one of the early advocates of modern Spiritualism. He was born in Templeton, Mass., in 1812, and was educated at Amherst College.

IN the recent debate in the Massachusetts Senate, on the bill to remove the legal discrimination against the testimony of atheists in our courts, Mr. Lathrop, of Springfield, said in substance that he believed the time would come when oaths would be abolished. Honest men will tell the truth, anyway. Rascals are influenced by fear of temporary punishment only. Our present law puts convicted criminals and philosophic agnostics upon the same ground as to the credibility of their testimony, and they are the only classes who stand on that ground. Nearly all the States have abolished this law. Those which have this law have a percentage of illiteracy of twenty-four, those which have repealed it have only twelve. Mr. Mason, of Worcester, argued that a man's religious belief should not affect the credibility of his testimony. He alluded

to a case in which a valuable witness' statements were invalidated because he was an atheist. Mr. Fales, of Milford, said that those men who are uncertain regarding God, as understood by the men who framed the Constitution, should not be subjected to the impertinence or sport of a pettifogging lawyer, in a ten-dollar suit or in a case of assault and battery. The character of the witness, his record as a truth-telling man, not his religious opinions, should be inquired into. Mr. Lord, of Plymouth, said that the present law is never used except for persecution, never to further the ends of justice. Mr. Flynn, of Boston, Mr. Fay, of Brookline, Mr. Sweet, of Worcester, Mr. Bent, of Cambridge, and Mr. Oxley, of Ashland, opposed the bill in the usual manner. It was rejected by a vote of fifty-five yeas to one hundred and eighteen nays. This in the Massachusetts Senate in the year 1886! A correspondent of the Boston *Herald* writes: "In my judgment, the opponents of the measure that has just failed have mistaken the temper of their constituents in this matter. Personally, I know no honest person really to desire to prevent atheists from testifying in court on account of their atheism, while I do know a very large number of Christians, Jews, and others, who are outspoken in their condemnation of the bigots by whose action this attempt at just and enlightened legislation has failed." Still, we believe that the rejection of the bill was in accordance with the wishes of the great mass of Orthodox Christians of this Commonwealth. Theological bigotry, which blinds men to justice and fairness in the treatment of those who differ from them, is hard to overcome; but the friends of equal right must not relax, but rather increase their efforts and persist in their demands, until the reform in the law asked for is accomplished.

THE nineteenth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association was, in point of attendance and interest and the quality of the addresses, a great success. A report of the proceedings of the business meeting held on Thursday evening is printed on another page. The essays read and the speeches made at the morning and afternoon sessions of the Friday convention will appear in the next issue and subsequent issues of *The Index*, when our readers will be able to judge as to their merits for themselves. Mr. Conway's lecture on "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism" will appear next week. The festival at the Meionaeon on Friday evening can be appreciated only by those who attended. The sumptuous repast, the social converse, the speeches by Mr. Conway (who presided), Rabbi Schindler, Mrs. Cheney, Mr. Joshee, Rev. Julius H. Ward, Rev. M. J. Savage, and others, with the music, combined to make the occasion a most delightful one. It is to be regretted that the provisions made, which were greater than on former occasions and thought to be ample, were insufficient to accommodate the many who came, without having secured tickets, at a late hour. Mrs. Cheney, in a business letter to this office, expresses the general feeling of all we have heard speak of the convention: "I think we can congratulate ourselves upon the Friday meetings"

A TRIUMPH FOR FREE RELIGION.

We briefly chronicled last week the result of the debate in the Western Unitarian Conference on the question of the basis of its fellowship. But there are points in the debate which deserve further notice and which add to the significance of the final vote. The contest was long and earnest and direct. It was not turned off from its object by the introduction of any side issue. It was adjourned from session to session, and thus the discussion renewed itself several times; but it was not evaded. Attempts were made indefinitely to postpone the matter, to compromise, to lay it on the table; but they all failed. A special committee to whom the question was referred reported in favor of tabling it, but the conference refused to adopt their report. The convention, evidently, knew its own mind; and, though a portion of the delegates deprecated the discussion, and, as is usual in Unitarian gatherings, thought the introduction of such an issue a mere waste of time, the majority, including the earnest leaders on both sides, saw that great principles were involved, and that the issue between them should be met without flinching.

For the introduction of the question, the conservative party was responsible. Mr. Sunderland, the secretary, on the eve of the assembling of the conference, sent out a pamphlet, entitled "The Issue in the West." This pamphlet was sent into the constituent parishes, and circulated among delegates, and was plainly a challenge to the conference to define its position. Mr. Sunderland put two questions in his challenge: "Is Western Unitarianism ready to give up its Christian character?" "Is it ready to give up its theistic character?" And he argued that an active portion of the conference were rapidly moving toward an affirmative answer to both of these questions. In his report as secretary to the meeting, he again urged that this movement was perilous to the Unitarian cause, and should be discouraged and checked; and, for this purpose, he emphasized it as his most important recommendation that immediate steps should be taken by the general conference, by the State conferences, and by the individual societies, to put themselves on a basis that should tell the world what they stand for,—namely, that they are not agnostic nor non-Christian, nor organized merely for ethical culture, but are believers in God, in Christianity, and in worship.

The conference found itself, therefore, at the outset, not only challenged, but, in respect to a large and influential part of its membership, indicted. It could not well keep silent. At the first session, the challenge was taken up. Mr. Gannett and others, while acknowledging Mr. Sunderland's sincerity and earnestness, declared that he had entirely misconceived and misstated the issue in his pamphlet. They did not believe that Unitarianism in the West is ready to give up either Christianity or its theistic character. But this, they said, is not the question. The real question is this: "Is Western Unitarianism ready to exile from its full fellowship men who do not call themselves Christians or theists?" To this question, they hoped the conference would answer, "No." It was also urged that all matters of doctrine should be left as questions between individual societies and their ministers. That was a relation with which no conference had a right to interfere. Mr. Sunderland replied, defending his position.

But all this was only a preliminary and informal discussion,—a reconnoitring skirmish. The real

battle began the next day, though not finished until night of the following day. It began by Mr. Clute's offering the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the primary object of this conference is to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity.

This is the same statement of object as that made by the American Unitarian Association. Mr. Clute's motion was a very politic one, though not definitely covering all that Mr. Sunderland had asked for; and, since this statement is about as little as a body of Christians might be expected to say, the wonder is that it did not pass,—that the majority did not have the fear lest, should they not pass it, the world would say that they had denied Jesus and the Christian name. But the conference kept its head, and did not allow the issue, as Mr. Gannett had stated it, to be thrust out of sight. So Mr. Clute's resolution was not adopted. Mr. Gannett, immediately after its presentation, offered the resolution which was finally passed and which we printed last week; and thus the issue was kept clear. To his resolution, Mr. Gannett appended a second, stating that, while the conference made no dogmatic tests of fellowship, it might be useful, for the sake of giving information to inquirers, for it to set forth "the things most commonly believed" among Unitarians, "the statement being always open to restatement, and to be regarded only as the thought of the majority." But this, when the question reached a vote, the conference voted—and, as we think, wisely—not to adopt.

Another resolution of a compromise character, which was also shrewdly devised, was offered the next day by Mr. Bixby. It was in the nature of a response to Mr. Gannett's second resolution, and contained a succinct historical statement of the Unitarian movement and its distinguishing beliefs, closing with a quotation of the radical declaration of Unitarian beliefs made in one of the *Unity* short tracts. Other amendments were offered. But, finally, Mr. Sunderland put his ideas into a form of his own, which made the issue even more distinct, and brought the two sides face to face. He moved the following:—

Resolved, That, while opposing all creeds as tests of fellowship, we deem it proper to declare that the Western Unitarian Conference, as a body, stands for and represents faith in one God, in immortality, in worship, and in personal righteousness, as exemplified in the example and teachings of Jesus Christ.

But, one by one, these various resolutions and amendments were all voted down. Of Mr. Sunderland's resolution, the *Christian Register* report, from which we have largely drawn, simply says, "Lost." Mr. Clute's resolution followed it among the "Lost." So did the second part of Mr. Gannett's resolution, as well as Mr. Bixby's application of it; and, at the end, the conference found that the work was done by the passage of Mr. Gannett's first resolution by the strong vote of thirty-four to ten. We printed it last week, but let us print it again:—

Resolved, That the Western Unitarian Conference conditions its fellowship on no dogmatic test, but welcomes all who wish to join it, to help establish truth and righteousness and love in the world.

Long may the Western Unitarian Conference keep to this basis! Let it write it into its organic law, and not leave it to the uncertainties of an annual meeting. It is a good statement for other Unitarian conferences to follow. Would that the National Conference would do as well! The Free Religious Association can but give a hearty welcome to so complete an adoption of its principles.

Referring to the possible misunderstanding and

misrepresentation of this action of the conference, Mr. Gannett says in the last number of *Unity*:—

That consequence we face without a particle of fear. In truth, we face it with a holy joy; for we will turn this issue and its consequences into something for which the very men who have forced it on us, and we, shall yet exchange thanks with one another. This higher liberty is sign of deepening, not of shallowing, faith among us,—sign of the incoming, not the ebbing, of the Spirit in our hearts and in our churches. And we who know it so can well afford to bear reproach till others see it.

WM. J. POTTER.

THEOSOPHY AS A CULT IN INDIA.

Since the writing of the preceding article in the April *Index*, I have been asked by several persons, "Why do you speak so oracularly on the subject of Theosophy as a Cult in India?" If any of the statements in that article have an oracular sound, it is due only to faults in expression, caused perhaps by the writer's profound convictions upon the subject. In consequence of having been in correspondence for over ten years with various learned Hindus, and from personal observations made in India,—not as a foreigner, who is refused intimate relations with the Hindus, but as a theosophist, who, so to say, had known them for years and was entirely in their confidence,—the writer had arrived at certainty as to the facts in the case. This feeling naturally produces what some call dogmatic statement and what others feel to be oracular enunciation. But, for all allegations of fact, I can produce evidence in written and printed reports from Indian daily newspapers, the words of others and myself, as well as correspondence.

The Rev. Mr. Ashburner, in the *Independent* of a recent date, indulged in very congratulatory reflections upon the collapse in India of theosophy since the learned report of the London Psychical Research Society. Mr. Ashburner styles himself a missionary to the heathen of the blessed religion of Jesus the Jew, and pleasantly supposes that because the London expert, in a truly British style, declares that Madame Blavatsky invented the Mahatmas and adepts, therefore the Hindus will now abandon this new delusion called theosophy. This idea, although ridiculous, leads us to a point which ought to be cleared up in our inquiry into the cultivation of theosophy in Hindustan. Theosophy presents itself in one aspect to the Hindu, and in quite a different one to the European and American. In this country and in Europe, the doctrines which have filtered out to the world, through theosophical literature, seem to us new. They are in fact quite novel to us, so they color our conception of what theosophy is, representing themselves to us to be theosophy. And, as we have nothing in our past, in our literature, or in our ideas like them, it is quite natural that an ignorant missionary, learned in Christian rhetoric, should imagine, when a reputable Englishman declares the Mahatmas to have been evolved from Blavatsky's brain, that therefore there are no Mahatmas, because his first knowledge of them came from her. Even the learned Swedenborg, who saw many things clearly, did not speak of these great Beings. He only said "that, if the Freemasons desired to find the lost word, they must search for it in the deserts of Tibet." However, he did not explain himself; and our only conclusion must be, that in some way he found out that in Tibet exist persons who are so far advanced in knowledge that they are acquainted with that much sought-for lost word.

The aspect in which theosophy presents itself to the Oriental is quite different from our appreciation of it. He sees in it that which will help him

to inquire into his own religion and philosophy. The numerous books which have issued from our various presses here, would make him laugh in their endeavors to lay before readers, subjects which, with him, have been household words for ages. If Marion Crawford's novels, "Mr. Isaacs," and "Zoroaster," were respectively translated into Persian and Sanskrit or Singhalese, the Hindus, Ceylonese, and Parsees would burst with laughter at such struggling with an ancient plot, as if it were new. So a thousand reports of the Psychical Society would not for an instant shake the faith of Hindus that there are Mahatmas. The word is a common one, derived from two others, meaning together *Great Soul*. In some parts of India, it grew so common, in the lapse of centuries, that now and then it is used in derision of blusterers or those who are given to placing themselves on a pinnacle. Many Hindus have told me of various Mahatmas whom they had heard of in various parts of India. One lived on an island, another in a forest, another in a cave, and so on. In Bombay, a Hindu related to me a story, whether false or true I know not, of a man whose wife was dying. In despair, he went into the forest where a Mahatma was said to live, and had the happiness to meet a man of calm and venerable aspect. C

ced that this was the one he had heard of, he ... him to cure his wife. The sage repulsed him; and, in sorrow, he returned home, to find that the wife had suddenly completely recovered at the time when he had been refused by the sage. Next day, he returned to the forest to offer thanks, but the so-called Mahatma had disappeared. This is only one of a thousand such stories, many of them being filled in with details of a highly sensational character, and all of them very old. The very children know that their forefathers believed in Mahatmas or Arhats or Rishies, or whichever be the name, all meaning the same.

If, then, we assume, as some malignant persons have asserted, that Blavatsky, aided by Olcott, introduced this cult into India with a design of mere personal aggrandizement, it must be further admitted that they displayed a deep knowledge of Indian life and manners in thus adopting the Mahatmas. But neither of them can be proved to have been in India before 1878. Certainly, Olcott, had, up to that year, to my certain knowledge, but a limited knowledge of the subject.

Yet at the same time there were many Brahmins who had about given up beliefs in Mahatmas now; for they said, "This is Kali Yuga (the dark age), and no Mahatmas will work with men until the next yuga." So, of course, they, while thoroughly appreciating the object which theosophy had in the revivification of Aryan thought, remained agnostics as to Arhats and Mahatmas being in the society. Others had never lost their faith in them; and a great body of Hindus, unknown before the advent of the society, for years had had personal knowledge of those great beings, had been in their company, and now have, in several instances, publicly declared their belief. Some of these declarations are contained in protests published in India, deprecating the constant degradation of the names of their teachers. To this last class belonged a Brahmin friend of mine, who said to me, in Central India, "I have been for fifteen years personally convinced of the existence of Mahatmas, and have had messages from them." And the class of agnostics mentioned above, is fitly described in a letter, now in print, from a Brahmin holding an official position, running thus:—

"Many of my friends, out of sheer love to me, take me to task for being a member of the Theo-

sophical Society. . . . Theosophy means 'a science of divine things.' . . . The society has no Pope, no Grand Lama, no Saviour, no Mohammed, no Buddha, no Sankara Chariar, no Ramanuja Chariar, no Madhwa Chariar. . . . It is a society for the inculcation of universal brotherhood and its actual practice. Of this society I am a member, and shall continue one so long as the object of the society is not changed, whether I be blamed or pitied or loved in consequence."

Among this class of men, then, the society was hailed as a benefactor just as soon as they became convinced by deeds of the founders, that it was not another European trick for acquiring money, or territory, or power. And, in consequence of the old-time knowledge of the various doctrines which seem new to the Western mind, the Hindu section of our society regards theosophy as a power which has begun to make it respectable once more to be an Aryan who believes in Aryan literature. It rose upon the devoted minds of India as a lamp which would help them and their fellows to unearth the ancient treasures of the golden age, and has now become, for even the young men who had begun to follow the false gods of English money and English culture, a society, the initials of which, "F. T. S.," can be appended to their names as an honorable title.

WILLIAM Q. JUDGE.

THE UNITY OF SCIENCE.

I.

Notwithstanding the grand achievements of science during the past few decades, we can only regard our present knowledge upon scientific subjects as a state of slightly less confused ignorance. We have passed, it is true, from that stage of scientific barbarity of staring and wondering at phenomena to the more intelligent state of being able to compare such phenomena and to collate resultant facts, with a view to discovering laws by which these are governed. But, thus far, the facts which we have been able to discover and make available are simply as so many stepping-stones in one great, unsurveyed morass through which we are groping, now slipping, now floundering, and again regaining a foothold upon some friendly fact, where we pause with comforting self-gratulation to take breath. Each separate department of science has essayed to lay out the true path across this morass and through this wilderness of facts. But their tracks have crossed each other, conveyed and diverged in such confusion that each is obliged to confess, at last, that the entrance into the heart of its mysteries is not by one, but by many lines of approach. And, at last, it is dawning upon the scientific intellect that the perfection of science will be when all these apparently confused and scattered phenomena shall be found in reality to form a perfect circle, whose radii are well-known laws, separating, perchance, into groups, but still uniting the entire circle to one common centre and source of truth. Thus, the tendency of investigation is not to separate, but to *unify* science. We talk less now of sciences and more of science, making it a grand entity embracing many phases of character. In fact, the truths of many of its departments so overlap each other that it is difficult to assign them to any special domain of investigation. We must simply content ourselves with calling them truths of science, and recognize the fact that they are of universal application, belonging not alone to the chemist, but also to the biologist, to the naturalist, to the physicist, to the astronomer, to the botanist.

Even the word "*science*" is returning to its original simplicity of meaning,—knowledge; truth

ascertained and the pursuit of truth, of laws; knowledge classified. And this classification of knowledge proves to be the evolution of this central idea of *unity*; a tendency toward a grand *oneness* where individuals are merged into types, and types into kingdoms, and these also ascending in grand order from inorganic to organic, and lastly to the spiritual. Laws become *law*. "And that supreme law," says Drummond, "which has guided the development from simple to complex in matter, in individual, in sub-kingdom, and in kingdom until only two or three great kingdoms remain, now begins at the beginning again, directing the evolution of these million-peopled worlds as if they were simple cells or organisms. Thus, what applies to the individual applies to the family, what applies to the family applies to the kingdom, what applies to the kingdom applies to the kingdoms. And so out of infinite complexity there arises infinite simplicity, the foreshadowing of that final unity, of that

"One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."*

The book of Nature is the universal text-book of science, the revelation of its heart secrets from Nature's Author. It is written in symbols; and we have thus far learned to decipher comparatively few of its words and sentences, to say nothing of paragraphs and pages. We have deciphered something about gravitation, about chemical affinity, and protoplasm, and vital force, and energy, and transmutation of forces; electrical separation; atoms and atomic weights, molecules and molecular constitution, nucleated cells, magnetism, heredity and differentiation, environment. We have tried to classify our knowledge thus gained, and in so doing have referred certain things to the domain of chemistry, this to the domain of physics, and that to biology,—slow to discern that all belong to the domain of universal science. The terms in one department are not without a common meaning in all its branches, even though they may be represented by different forms of expression used simply for our convenience.

The progress which science has made in the past fifty years is largely due to this tendency of the chemist, the physicist, or the biologist to leave his special domain, and to follow out some of those lines which cross his own; to trace analogies, discerning the fact that "analogous phenomena are not the fruit of parallel laws, but of the same law," as well as to the tendency of science to cease to study phenomena, and to seek after the laws by which these are governed, and which are of universal application.

Lubbock, in an annual address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, says: "Indeed, one very marked feature in modern discovery is the manner in which distinct branches of science have thrown and are throwing light upon one another. . . . In studying the antiquity of man, the archæologist has to invoke the aid of the chemist, the geologist, the physicist, and mathematician.

"The recent progress in astronomy is greatly due to physics and chemistry; the determination of the boundaries of the different formations falls within the limits of geography; while paleontology is the biology of the past. . . . Summing up the principal results which have been obtained in the last half-century, we may mention (over and above the accumulation of valuable facts) the theory of evolution, the antiquity of man, and the far greater antiquity of the world itself; the correlation of physical force and the conservation of

* *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Drummond, p. 413.

energy; spectrum analysis and its application to celestial physics; the higher algebra and the modern geometry; and, lastly, the innumerable applications of science to practical life,—as, for instance, in photography, the locomotive engine, the electric telegraph, the spectroscope, and most recently the electric light and the telephone."

These have been the results chiefly of the study of the transmutations of the various kinds of energy, and of the application of one branch of science to the interpretation of the mysteries of another. Thus, the prism was taken out of the domain of optics and the realm of radiant energy, and by its use in the spectroscope has been made to subserve the purposes of chemistry in the finest of analyses, making the most subtle substances yield up the secrets of the most intimate relationship of atoms and constitution of molecules. It has also been made the servant of astronomy in determining the chemical composition of the heavenly bodies, and has most marvellously supplemented the telescope to the extent of furnishing us the positive knowledge that our earth to which we attach so much importance is only one out of at least seventy-five million similar worlds! "And all peopled?" is the question which at once rushes to our lips. Why not? With what order or orders of beings who can guess? Verily, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"

And thus, while the spectroscope has helped us in the study of "Light,—that sweet and heavenly messenger from the depths of space, telling us all we know of other worlds and giving us all that we enjoy of life and beauty on our own" (Duke of Argyll),—it brings to us also a grander and more far-reaching revelation concerning the unity of science. For when we remember that light is the result of an undulatory vibration of an actual material substance,—however ethereal it may be, still positively material,—which stretches itself away through space continuously between our eyes and the luminous body, and when by the aid of the spectroscope we bring in and study this light from worlds and suns so distant that in comparison our own sun is but "just around the corner," we must reflect that this common material substance by which these worlds are linked to ours and to each of us may be the vehicle not only of light and heat, but of other forces of nature. And our reflections cannot stop here; for we must conclude that not only are these seventy-five million discovered worlds—but the unnumbered undiscovered worlds—peopled, but that the same laws which operate in this world are, beyond all question, the natural laws of all worlds throughout the universe, and that other intelligences in other worlds seek to penetrate into the mysteries of "that great Pentarchy of Physical Forces constituted by Light, Heat, Magnetism, Electricity, and Chemical Affinity." Gravitation, which our own Newton discovered to us, undoubtedly interests the minds of other worlds; for everywhere where is matter is gravitation. The spectroscope demonstrates to us in all these worlds the existence of at least three of the great forces of Nature,—light, heat, chemical affinity. The presence of the remaining two, magnetism and electricity, may reasonably be inferred. The domain, then, of science is the universe, from whose very outskirts the spectroscope and telescope bring in to us truths which are the common property of a universal science,—truths which we may study in our own laboratories and observatories, and subject to tests having neither variable-ness nor shadow of turning.

Thus, the sciences lose their boundary lines, and run into unity of law and expression. Sci-

ence is a classified knowledge of nature; but, in its progress, it becomes evident that many classifications have been simply arbitrary, and not founded upon fact. It is only for our convenience that we divide science into natural, or that which considers the external form and internal structure of bodies, and physical, which concerns itself only with the nature of the matter of which such bodies are composed, and considering its divisions into mass, molecule, and atom, its attractions as gravitation, cohesion, adhesion, and chemism, and its motions as mass motion, molecular motion, and atomic motion. The divisions of matter into solids, liquids, and gases, are now found to be entirely arbitrary, and that no actual break between these different states exists. It has been one of the recent achievements of science to demonstrate that there is no such thing as absolutely permanent gases. Oxygen, nitrogen, and lastly hydrogen ("at a pressure of 650 atmospheres and a cold of 170° Centigrade below zero" [Lubbock]) have each been reduced to liquid form.

LEILA G. BEDELL.

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY.

II.

The liberty of teaching and learning is, in the German universities, carried to the utmost extent. The professors, when once appointed, can never be removed from their position. Professors may read and instruct at pleasure, they may pause whenever they like, they may grow old and unfit for their place, they may neglect their duty: neither the prince of the country wherein the university is situated nor the Rector Magnificus has the power of dismissal. And, also, students are at liberty to study or play truant: there is no one who controls or overlooks them; for they are free, and their liberty was always respected by the professors, who wished to preserve their own freedom. Truth was the sole ideal, which can flourish only in unbounded liberty.

You may shake your heads, and think, How is it possible that science can thrive, when the students are not superintended and guided by paternal authority? and American people, who come over to Germany and witness the joyous and boisterous buoyancy of German students, may be at a loss to understand the virtues of such exaggerated liberty. German students are revelling, parading, fighting duels, and enjoying life. They seem to indulge in anything but study. Yet it is because their festivals and carousals are celebrated publicly. As soon as they apply themselves to study, they generally take to it with a zeal and earnestness which make up for the hours wasted in the circle of jovial comrades, in youthful mirth and hilarity.

And, also, this studentic,—if you allow me to coin this word,—this studentic life apart from study—namely, studentic clubs, carousals, duels, and festivals—has a long history, and is quite venerable, at least, on account of its age. Whoever has visited Heidelberg, or any other university, saw, no doubt, the students with their colored caps on their heads and a colored ribbon slanting over their hearts. Those white caps are Saxoborussians, those red ones Vandals, green indicates Westphalians, etc. All the Teutonic tribes seem to be resurrected from the past; and that their modern representatives are of no less warlike spirit may be concluded from the scars and wounds which are proudly shown.

These studentic clubs can trace their origin to institutions even older than the faculties themselves; and these institutions were the nations, or *nationes*. The academic citizens of an old univer-

sity were divided according to their nationality. In Paris, four such nations existed in the year 1206: (1) the Gallicani, which included Spaniards and Orientals; (2) the Picards; (3) the Normans; and (4) the English, who comprised also the Germans and their kin,—namely, the Dutch, Danish, and Scandinavian.

Sometimes, students lived together, forming a *collegium*, or association, in order to apply themselves better to their studies. Hence, the word college. In England, this system is kept up to this day; and many institutions are still preserved in this mediæval form. In Germany, this living together was abandoned; yet the place where professors lectured, and then the lectures themselves, retained their old name of college. *Collegien*, in German, is the official title of the lectures, readings, and demonstrations of professors.

Students who received a certain sum or stipend for enabling them to carry on their work were called *bursarii*, from *bursa* (purse, the French *bourse*); and this term engendered the German expression for a student, *Bursch*, in which, however, the origin of the word is entirely forgotten.

In Prague, the students were divided into four nations,—(1) Bohemians, (2) Poles, (3) Bavarians, (4) Saxons. But, soon after the foundation, this division into nations was officially superseded by that of the four faculties. The national tie, however, was too strong to be so easily broken. Thus, the division into nations existed still, although privately, yet with no less power than before. The chiefs of these nations, chosen by ballot, according to democratic principles, were called Seniors. Professors, in olden times, were elected by all the members of the faculty. Later on, they were appointed by the Senate. But, the more the students thus lost their influence in the faculties, the less the professors mixed with the nations. Thus, it happened that the nations consisted entirely of students. If professors had any connection with them, it was only as honorary members; and they never took an active part in their transactions. So they never were Seniors. The nations exercised a great power, and forced even the official rulers of the university to respect their influence. In order to preserve their ascendancy, they formed a union, the so-called *Seniorum Conventus*, or simply the S.C. Nation was called, in German, *Landmannschaft*, or, literally, countrymanship. And these *Landmannschaften* tyrannized over students in such a way that they forced even those not wanting to join them to place themselves under their protection. Its members consisted of (1) *Burschen*,—i.e., students,—with all rights, suffrage, etc., and (2) *foxes*, or juniors, or novices, who were not yet fully admitted to the association. The question of nationality was lost sight of very soon, and any one was allowed to choose a nation as he pleased. That he preferred generally a *Landmannschaft* of his own countrymen was generally a matter of course. Members of one and the same nation considered themselves as brothers, and bound themselves by oath to defend each other's life, interest, and honor, even though it should be with the sword. Students wore a sword of their own, a flexible straight blade, called a rapier. With this, their duels were generally fought. Quarrels among members of the same nation were adjusted peaceably, but among different nations had to be decided by a fight. The duellists were seconded by members of their own nation, while an umpire was elected from a third impartial nation. The decision of the umpire was, as a rule, without appeal. The nations changed their name in the beginning of this century to Corps; and the Prussians, Saxons, Westphalians, etc., whom you may see in their

colored caps still to-day, are the legitimate descendants of the nations of former centuries.

PAUL CARUS.

WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN EUROPE.

Mme. Rosalie d'Olivecrona, one of the well-known women's rights advocates of Sweden, writes me, in a recent letter from Stockholm, as follows:—

"The State Girls' School Board is made up of two female and four male members. The two ladies are Baroness Adlersparre (who has devoted her whole life to the improvement of the condition of her sex) and a teacher. The composition of this board may be looked upon as a great step in advance, as it is the first instance of women serving on State committees. I fear that Baroness Adlersparre has been overtaxing herself; for she is at present in very delicate health, and has been obliged to seek a change of air and to stop working for a while.

"The interest in the woman question seems to be constantly growing stronger in the Scandinavian countries. Many reforms in the social position of Swedish women have, during the past twenty-seven years, been working their way slowly and silently, and have been accepted without agitation or opposition. Nor have there been any dissensions among our reformers. But, now that the movement has become a broader one, I fear that elements of disorder may appear. The society for the protection of married women's property has resolved to extend the sphere of its activity, and has added, among other questions, women's suffrage to its programme. This is in contradistinction to the policy of the Fredrika Bremer Association, which takes a neutral stand on this question. The Gottenburg Women's Rights Society is also quite radical. Its organ, *Framåt* (Forward), published recently an article advocating, in opposition to the views of Baroness Adlersparre, as expressed in her paper, the *Home Review*, the participation of women in military duty, which is incumbent on all Swedish citizens between the ages of twenty and thirty-two. In the case of unmarried women between the ages of twenty-five and forty, this duty would take the form of nursing the sick and wounded. Training schools would be established to give instruction in this subject, and would be supported by a tax levied on those women who preferred to be exempted from an active participation in this branch of military service. Even in this year's Diet, voices were raised in favor of women's suffrage and the co-education of the sexes; but no measures were adopted to carry out these propositions.

"Every year, new female students are added to the list of those who have already passed the entrance examinations; and some of them are continuing their work in the universities. Among the latter is one of Baroness Adlersparre's nieces, who intends to take the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. We have a female professor of mathematics at the high school or non-State university of Stockholm,—Mrs. Kowalewska, a Russian or Polish lady. She was put up as a candidate for membership in the Academy of Science; but, although supported by many eminent men, among them one of our most distinguished professors of mathematics, she was defeated.

"This year, several scientific men have united and established in Stockholm courses of lectures for women, with a view of giving them an opportunity to improve and develop their knowledge in a more thorough and scientific way. These lectures are very well attended. I go with my daughter to those on physiology, and find them very interesting.

"Finland does not hold aloof from the general movement for improving the condition of women, although there are still many difficulties to overcome in that country. Among the signs of progress may be mentioned the success of Dr. Rosina Heikel, who began her medical studies in Stockholm and finished them at the University of Helsingfors, in which city she is now practising. Last year, another lady took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at this same university, which, however, rarely opens its doors to female students."

Progress is also reported from another Scandinavian country. Miss Kirstine Frederiksen, one of the leading advocates of women's rights in Denmark, wrote me recently from Copenhagen, as follows:—

"Nothing new of importance has happened here; and nothing will happen, until our unhappy political dispute shall have been settled. Still, as one of the consequences of the present political contest, it may be stated that there are springing up in the country, among the peasants, women's societies, which may some day do a great deal to advance our cause in Parliament, where the peasantry is strongly represented. You will find among these women a very deep desire to know something about the rights of their sex."

Here, in France, too, the movement is gaining ground. It has not yet been made public, but is a fact, nevertheless, that M. Paul Bert, the celebrated *savant* and politician, who has been sent out by the government on an extraordinary mission to Tonquin, took with him, as a paid member of his embassy, a French lady doctor. And M. de Brazza, the African explorer, told a friend of mine the other day that, when he returns to the Congo, he intends to follow Paul Bert's example.

Mme. Daniel Darc, one of the most brilliant of French writers, informed me last week that, at the annual general meeting of the Authors' Benevolent Society, held here in Paris, one of the gentlemen arose and said: "We have eight hundred members, and among them are eighty-eight women. It seems to me, therefore, that it would be only fair to give these ladies a place on our executive committee." "This little speech," says Mme. Darc, "fell like a bombshell in the midst of the assembly. Nobody appeared to know what to do or say. But, finally, the president succeeded in remarking that the proposal was quite new, that it took the members by surprise, and that it ought to be submitted to the executive committee for examination before being brought before the general body. And here the matter dropped."

Dr. Julia Mitchell, of London, who, with her sister, also a physician, is building up a good practice in the English capital, has just been visiting Paris. She tells me that lady physicians are gaining every year a firmer footing in the medical profession in England, and that lady clients, the chief obstacles to the progress of the innovation, are gradually coming over to them. Dr. Mitchell also takes a very sanguine view of the women's suffrage question, and expects to see unmarried women voting in England at no distant day.

Signora Fanny Zampini Salazaro, an Italian author of merit, has just written her first work on the woman question, a modest little pamphlet,* devoted mainly to advocating the broadening of the field of woman's work. She said to me recently in a letter from Rome:—

"I am now trying to establish here a School of Art for girls of the middle class, the most neglected portion of our population, in order to enable them to enter a suitable and useful field of labor. I will endeavor by lectures and conver-

sation to awaken in them nobler and broader aspirations. When it is remembered that previous to 1860 Italian girls, except in the higher classes, were not taught even to read and write, it must be admitted that since then great progress has been made. But much still remains to be done to elevate the intellectual condition of my country-women.

"We have here, in Rome, a young lady doctor, Miss Maria Farné, who has been appointed by the Queen to be her own physician. Our Queen is very intelligent, and looks with favor on the movement for improving the industrial condition of women. She received me recently, listened attentively to my plans, and gave me every mark of encouragement. If she had more authority and were not restrained by the Constitution, the Queen of Italy could and would do an immense deal for us."

The foregoing extracts from private letters and notes of conversations might be extended. Scarcely a week passes that I do not receive through the mails or hear in some drawing-room facts like those given above. It is evident, therefore, that the Woman Question is becoming not only a universal one, but also a burning one.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, May.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

A SOUTHERN correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* writes: "The people, as a whole, are very religious; and religious subjects are discussed with a freedom which surprises a stranger not a little. Although there seems to be more religion on the surface of Southern life than at the North, still it is doubtful if there is as high a standard of morals in other respects." The people are superstitious, and a person going among them will learn of more 'signs' than he ever dreamed existed."

Of Mr. Janes' work, *A Study of Primitive Christianity*, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* says: "This is a scholarly writing, marked for its conciseness and also for clearness of expression and its admirable method of grouping its facts. It treats of the natural evolution of the Christian religion. . . . To the discussion, the author brings to bear the wide field of literature and the truth, as it has been sifted by the wisest writers and critics. It is, however, much more than a compilation of other men's opinions: it is a wise summing up, with wise conclusions from the premises. The book will be found of great value to the student of theology and of almost equal interest to the cultivated readers among all classes."

SAYS the Boston *Herald*: "The Harvard overseers show a general willingness to open the doors of education to women, which is encouraging. Mr. Moses Merrill, himself a well-known educator, voices some of the lingering conservatism, when he says: 'I have no desire to see women arguing cases in the courts of law or preaching in the pulpit; but I would not raise a hand to prevent, though I might try to dissuade, a friend from entering such a vocation.' We opine that it will not need a strong barrier to keep women away from the practice of law in the courts; and, as for the pulpit, the men should not fear to take their chance with them, unless it be some of those men who have the womanly temperament without womanly graces to sweeten it."

A LIBERAL, who was an active worker in New York half a century ago, writes: "About the time of Frances Wright's advent here, there was a desperate attempt making to unite the Church

* *Uno Squardo all' Avenire della Donna in Italia*. Naples: Enrico Detken, Piazza Plebiscito. 1886.

with the State. The Sunday mails were to be stopped, all travelling on the Sabbath, ferries as well as vehicles, pleasure gardens were to be closed, and religion was to be a test of a man's fitness for office. The chains before the churches the old 'b'hoys,' the red-shirted New York firemen, helped to abolish. You have probably seen one of New York's old fire-engines on the rampage, with a hundred or so b'hoys manning the ropes. Well, they used to get up false alarms of fire about the right time a day, and, rushing against these chains, made short work of them."

"WHY not be frank, and say," asks Rev. De Witt Talmage, "I believe the Lord God Almighty came to the brink of the Red Sea, and with his right arm swung back the billows on the right side, and with his left arm swung back the billows on the left side, and the abashed water stood up hundreds of feet high, while, through their glassy wall, the sea monsters gazed with affrighted eyes on the passing Israelites? Oh, you say, these rationalists would laugh at me. Then let them laugh." The *Inquirer* (London) remarks that Mr. Talmage is mistaken in supposing that any scientist or rationalist would laugh at such "melancholy gibberish." "Scientists and rationalists, many of whom are enlightened religionists, value intelligence in the pulpit too highly to laugh at such an exhibition of clerical ignorance. It would excite in them only emotions of, sadness and regret."

A WRITER in the *Scientific American* on "Whales and Whaling" gives these facts: "Prior to the American Revolution, and as far back as our history reaches, a species of right whale was indigenous to the temperate Atlantic Ocean. The earliest white settlers in New England found the aborigines hunting right whales off the shore. A canoe with two or more individuals constituted the whaling outfit, the great creatures being towed to shore, and there cut up for the various purposes then calling for their capture. The whites, of course, early introduced their small vessels and improved apparatus; yet, during many years, the whale fishery consisted in but small improvement on the Indian methods. It was not until the whales became scarce that larger vessels and a more elaborate outfit were in use. It is now that the New England people, as an old writer has it, 'began to whale out in the deep sea.'"

THE Massachusetts Legislature refuses to change the law by which deceit and fraud may be practised on Sunday without punishment. "Justice" writes to the *Boston Traveller* that he is opposed to the transaction of business on "the Lord's day," is willing that a man who sells goods on Sunday shall "whistle for his pay," but thinks the law should be so amended as to protect third parties from fraud. "A man bought a note for \$1,000, given, as he knew, in payment for value received. When it became due, the signers resisted payment on the ground that it was signed on Sunday; and the sons of one of them swore that they had witnessed the transaction, and that the note, which was dated on Saturday, was signed a little after 12 o'clock Saturday night. They probably perjured themselves; but their father won his case, and the purchaser of the note lost his money. Is it strange that he thereafter had little respect for Sunday laws?"

HARRIET MARTINEAU, in her *Notes on America*, thus wrote of the prosecution of Abner Kneeland for blasphemy, which occurred in 1835: "One clear consequence of my conversation and experience together was that the next prosecution for blasphemy in Massachusetts was the last. An old man, nearly seventy, was imprisoned in a

grated dungeon for having printed that he believed the God of the Universalists to be a 'chimera of the imagination.' Some who had listened to my assertions of the rights of thought and speech drew up a memorial to the governor of the State for a pardon for old Abner Kneeland, stating their ground with great breadth and clearness, while disclaiming any kind of sympathy with the views and the spirit of the victim. The prime mover being a well-known religious man, and Dr. Channing being willing to put his name at the head of the list of requisitionists, the principle of their remonstrance stood out brightly and unmistakably. The religious corporations opposed the petitioners with all their efforts, and the newspapers threw dirt at them with extraordinary vigor, so that the governor did not grant their request. But, when old Abner Kneeland came out of his prison, everybody knew that the ancient phase of society had passed away, and that there would never again be a prosecution for blasphemy in Massachusetts."

UPON the front of the pedestal of the bronze statue of Garrison in this city, on Commonwealth Avenue, opposite Hotel Vendome, is the name "WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON"; upon the rear, the dates "1805-1879"; upon one side, "*My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind*"; and upon the opposite side the inscription, "*I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard.*" "Nearly fifty years ago," the *Investigator* says, "we saw William Lloyd Garrison, the celebrated anti-slavery reformer, dragged at the end of a rope down State Street, in this city, by an infuriated mob, who would probably have killed him, had he not been rescued by the mayor, who interfered with a sufficient force to save his life. His persecution was continued in one way and another for years afterwards; but, finally, at the close of the war, he grew into favor with the public and became quite popular. So much so, that, when sailing in a steamer for England, he received a national salute from a war-ship in the harbor. Time wore on, and Mr. Garrison became respected and honored by the very city that once detested him. And now, in this same city, may be seen a large bronze statue, which has been erected in honor of his name and memory. . . . Mr. Garrison fully exemplified these brave words in his whole career, and his hard struggle through life and grand success at the last prove the truth of the saying,—

"Ever the right comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done."

MR. M. D. CONWAY spoke last Sunday for the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, at Parker Memorial Hall, on "The Evolution of Religion." The lecture was full of thought, in which there was as little merely commonplace as there was in the charming language in which the speaker boldly presented his radical views. It was one of the very best lectures we have heard on religious evolution. The concluding thought was as follows: "The God who said, 'Vengeance is mine,' is having vengeance recoil on him. The deification of Jesus was humanity and an appeal against Jehovah. These virtues are the very ones that are exerting a moral power that shall sweep away every deity less good-hearted than man and woman. We hear much about agnosticism. It means simply the death of theology and the resurrection of religion. Every such system as the prevailing system sets egotism above the moral law. A system that conflicts with the moral sense must perish. It must perish, when it has to crucify its best men for the sake of its system. Deities die that stand across the path and purposes of mankind. Christianity

is a mountain that is being tunnelled, not for the sake of being destroyed, but to let the light through. No God who cares personally whether man believes in him can survive. Such a God is an arrogant and proud deity. There is a divine Spirit in this universe: it is known only in the still, small voice which speaks in the breast of man, by which he is man. There is and can be but this religion,—the steady passion for good and the steady abhorrence of the bad."

DEFER not charities till death. He who does so is rather liberal of another man's substance than his own.—*Stretch*.

AH! we owe something to the men who have had the courage to disbelieve; and we should hold them in mind tenderly,—the men who bore hard names through life, and after death had harder names piled like stones over their memories; the men who wore themselves down with thought; the men who lived solitary and misunderstood, who were called Infidels, because they believed more than their neighbors!—*O. B. Frothingham*.

VIA CRUCIS. *For The Index.*

The poet dipped his pen, and drew
His vivid pictures, phrase by phrase,
Of skies and misty mountains blue,
Of starry nights and shimmering days.
Men said, "He breedeth fancies pure:
His touch is facile, swift, and sure."

The poet's friend was stricken sore.
In tender tears, the pen he dipped,
And breathed his gentle sorrow o'er,
And traced the sympathetic script.
Men said, "His heart is kind and true:
The laurel yet shall be his due."

The poet's child has waxen hands
That hold Death's heavy-scented rose.
She drifts to the dim shadow-lands,
And draws his wild soul as she goes.

He dipped the pen in his heart's wound,
And, sobbing, wrote,—and thus was crowned!

HELEN T. CLARK.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PENN.

AFTER THE STORM. *For The Index.*

At night, the sky was black with sullen clouds,
In swaying torrents fell the hoarded rain;
The lightning's flash revealed the misty shrouds
Of wind-swept trees writhing as if in pain.

At morn, the blackness vanished from the sky,
O'er the glad meadows golden sunlight poured,
Leaves glanced, flowers bloomed, bright song-birds floated
by,

And far and fair the infinite heaven soared.

O heart on which the bitter blast has blown,
On which at dead of night the lightning fell;
O human heart, appalled, bereft, and lone,
While waves of anguish darkly surge and swell,—

Let the storm rage, nor fear its turbulent roar.
Though sorrow's whirlwind bow thee to the dust,
Round thee are sheltering arms unfelt before,
And thou shalt rise into diviner trust.

Peace lies in wait for thee, grief-stricken one!
Morning shall dawn, and soft airs fan thy brow;
And rays will reach thee from the Eternal Sun,
Turning to good the ills that pain thee now.

Trust in the Love Divine that circles thee,
And on thy heart will drop its healing balm,
Till sweeter than thy dreams of heaven shall be,
After the storm, the spirit's inner calm.

M. F.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 3, 1886.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1886 opened with a business session Thursday evening, May 27, 1886, in the Parker Memorial, Boston. The President, Wm. J. Potter, took the chair at 8 P.M. The Secretary's report was read and accepted. Next came the report of the Executive Committee, as follows:—

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A year ago, we mourned over recent and deplorable gaps in our ranks. Let us congratulate each other on having no such cause for sorrow now.

Secularization.

One important line of work was marked out for us in the petition which was circulated in the Convention of 1885, asking for a change in the Sunday laws of Massachusetts. As interpreted by our State Supreme Court, they encourage dishonesty, not only by preventing any damages to be collected for fraud committed on Sunday, but by permitting any buyer of property on that day to keep it and not pay for it. These decisions are not dead letters, but mischievous stumbling-blocks in the path of justice. Our petitions had 630 signatures. Among these were the names of over a hundred Boston lawyers, collected by Judge Sewall, who says that not one in ten refused to sign, and that the profession is generally desirous of such a reform. A favorable hearing was given us by the Judiciary Committee of each branch of the General Court, and such a bill as we requested was recently introduced by the House Judiciary Committee. It was strongly advocated by some of the ablest lawyers present, but was rejected this very week by a vote of more than three to one. The Legislature has also considered, though not at our direct suggestion, the propriety of letting bakers do according to law what they now do contrary to law, in letting people buy their daily bread on Sunday morning. A similar privilege should be given

to market-men, during the summer at least; and thus the health and comfort of poor people should be as well secured in New England as has been the case for many years in New York. Druggists, too, should be enabled to keep open on Sunday without breaking the laws.

Another important reform which was spoken of with approval in the last report of this board has not yet been brought before the Legislature of this Commonwealth. We all want to rest on Sunday, but we want to do it healthily. There can be no healthy rest for healthy people during a whole day without some exercise in the open air. Rich people take it in their carriages, yachts, and pleasure grounds, without molestation from the police. Poor people need it much more, and should not be hindered, either by the courts or the pulpits, from getting plenty of fresh air and athletic amusement. A great work is to be done to vindicate the right of people who work hard for six days to rest in any harmless way they like on the seventh. It is high time that this Association should speak out more plainly than it has yet done.

Much is also to be said for Sunday classes in various branches of practical knowledge, for stereopticon lectures,—sale of tickets to which on Sunday would be illegal in almost all our States,—and for opening art galleries and museums. A great agitation has been going on during the past winter in New York, similar to that which threw open the reading-room in the Boston Public Library and the Art Museum, near by, on the day when such privileges are most needed by the poor. This reform is asked for in vain by New York.

These agitations—for prevention of fraud on Sunday, opening of bakeries and markets, permission of amusements and new opportunities of instruction, and admission to public libraries and museums—are vital questions. We respectfully suggest that they should receive due attention, not only in our conventions, but from the Secularization Committee.

Such efforts will, we hope, be more successful than those recently made for the less important objects of taxing churches and protecting atheists from discredit as witnesses. No attempt to agitate the church property question has been made by us since last year; but the witness petition was presented once more, and has been rejected by the Lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature by so large a vote as indicates the wisdom of bringing forward other issues.

Public Meetings.

Holding any conventions, except that in Anniversary Week, was made impossible by the low condition of the treasury, and the failure to receive any invitation accompanied by a sufficient guarantee against pecuniary loss. We did, however, succeed in giving a very pleasant reception to Mr. Conway, in Chapel Hall, on October 9. We trust that our friends will make it possible to do as much during the coming year as has been done previously. Holding another autumnal supper we can, at all events, recommend confidently and earnestly.

The Index and Other Publications.

Our weekly journal has been kept up as usual during the past year, and continues to deserve much more liberal support than it receives.

A book of great value has just been reprinted from its columns, *A Study of Primitive Christianity*, by Dr. Janes, who unites earnest purpose with sound scholarship in his able presentation of the life of Jesus and the early Church.

Two other books which have appeared during the past year show what lofty thoughts and aims have been dominant in our Association. One of

its original founders, Dr. Abbot, has put to shame the bigotry which denies him his rightful place as an accredited teacher of the highest knowledge, and announced in his volume, *Scientific Theism*, what many would agree with him in calling "the philosophy of Free Religion." And the *Twenty-five Sermons*, by our President, deserves at least a mention among our best results.

Amending the Constitution.

This board was requested by the last business meeting to consider an amendment, proposed by Mr. B. F. Underwood, and any other suggestions. A circular containing the amendment just mentioned, and another drawn up by Mr. Potter, was prepared and sent to every member of the Association. Out of about fifty answers, nearly forty showed a wish for some change, though there was great difference of opinion as to what it ought to be. After due consideration of this correspondence, an amendment was drawn up in a meeting of the Executive Committee; and the Secretary was authorized to present it, as will be done this evening, and has been already in our printed notices.

Permit us, in conclusion, to express our hope that the work next year will be done mainly for practical reforms on which we all agree.

This report was temporarily laid on the table while the Treasurer read the following report, which was accepted:—

Report of Treasurer.

Receipts.

1885.		
May 28.	Membership and patrons' fees and donations collected at the business and convention meetings.....	\$229.90
June 5.	From sale of tickets to Festival.....	177.75
Nov. 6.	From sale of tickets to M. D. Conway Supper.....	96.50
1886.		
May 27.	From sale of reports and tracts at office during year.....	22.19
" 27.	From membership and patrons' fees and donations during the year.....	149.00
	Total.....	\$675.34

Disbursements.

1885.		
June 5.	Expenses of Festival, including rent of Melonaon.....	\$187.00
" 6.	Rent of Parker Memorial, for convention meetings.....	50.00
" 6.	Advertising expenses of Convention and Festival.....	15.55
" 8.	New England Woman's Club, for use of room.....	3.00
" 29.	J. M. W. Yerrington, for reporting.....	25.00
" 29.	W. D. Le Sueur, Ottawa, Can., travelling expenses.....	25.00
Nov. 6.	Expenses of M. D. Conway Supper.....	124.90
Feb. 3.	C. Henry Adams, for lettering.....	2.40
Mar. 5.	For twenty-two copies "Freedom and Fellowship".....	7.70
1886.		
May 27.	F. M. Holland, Secretary, for postage and stationery, printing petitions and legislative documents.....	26.75
" 27.	Printing during the year.....	18.50
" 27.	Postage, envelopes, and expressage.....	5.51
" 27.	Office rent for twelve months.....	150.00
	Total.....	\$641.31
	Balance on hand, May 27, 1886.....	\$34.03

JOHN C. HAYNES, Treasurer.

BOSTON, May 27, 1886.

The report of the Executive Committee was then taken up. Mr. Hill moved to adopt the amendment there referred to; and the motion was passed after some discussion, so that the constitution now reads as follows:—

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

The other articles to remain as now, but to be numbered respectively III., IV., V., and VI.

The following officers were then elected:—

President: William J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass.

Vice-Presidents: Octavius B. Frothingham, Boston, Mass.; Felix Adler, New York City; George W. Curtis, Staten Island, N.Y.; Edward L. Youmans, New York City; Dr. Edmund Montgomery, Texas; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; Elizabeth B. Chace, Providence, R.I.; George Hoadly, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nathaniel Holmes, Cambridge, Mass.; Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R.I.; Bernard Felsenthal, Chicago, Ill.; Ednah D. Cheney, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Secretary: F. M. Holland, Concord, Mass.

Assistant Secretary: D. G. Crandon, 11 Hanover Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer: John C. Haynes, 451 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Directors for four years: John L. Whiting, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Anna D. Hallowell, West Medford, Mass.; John W. Chadwick, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Director for one year: Miss A. A. Brigham, Boston, Mass.

Rev. William G. Babcock then expressed his sympathy with the Association, and spoke of the work he was trying to do with the young in that very room on Sundays, under the name of the "Appleton Street Chapel."

Adjourned at 9.15 P.M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOMETHING SUI GENERIS.

Editors of The Index:—

In a very thoughtful letter (*Index*, May 13), Mr. Franklin Smith defends the cause of mental force against my assertion,—that mental phenomena are a forceless outcome of vital organization. He has on his side almost every school of philosophy: nay, even, natural science—formerly so materialistically inclined—is tending that way. Mind is now, more than ever, conceived as the fundamental principle of the world. Indeed, it has been the all but universal passion among thinkers, for these last ten or fifteen years, to convert everything in nature, without any residue whatever, into mind-stuff or mind-power. Mr. Franklin Smith does not, at present, go to such extremes. He only insists upon consciousness being itself a force among the other forces, whose modes of interaction constitute the universe.

I will endeavor, as briefly as possible, to show that such is not the case; that mind is something *sui generis*, not itself entering into the nexus of powers which composes the permanent texture of the world.

The philosophical conception, commonly called "the relativity of knowledge," is now almost universally recognized as an established truth. It is as much a physiological as a philosophical conception. Indeed, it is through the physiology of the senses that it has become scientifically confirmed, beyond refutation. It teaches us that the conscious outcome of definite modes of sense stimulation cannot possibly resemble the source whence such stimulation emanates: first, because something mental cannot be like something non-mental; and, second, because conscious states result from the vital reaction of a laboriously pre-established organization, while stimulation is merely a fleeting effect of inorganic media.

It seems to me that this relation of the conscious organism to the forces that stimulate its senses is not difficult to understand. And, whenever fully understood, it will bring about something like scientific consent in the philosophical interpretation of nature. For it will then be universally admitted that the fundamental contrast of knowledge does not obtain between the vivid and the faint mental states: the former constituting an object world, a world of matter, of extension, or whatever the entirety of space-phenomena may be called; and the latter constituting a subject world, a world of mind, of mere intension or self-consciousness. The relativity of knowledge unmistakably reveals that the fundamental contrast which has so long perplexed the ablest thinkers obtains, not between these ancient antithetical modes of being,—all of which belong to the same phenomenal or intra-mental order,—but that it obtains be-

tween the whole intra-mental order and the whole extra-mental order. It renders quite evident the truth that everything which makes up our consciousness, whether vivid or faint, whether extended or not extended, must be essentially of the same mental consistency. And, on the other hand, it allows us legitimately to infer that everything capable of stimulating our senses is constituting a distinct realm of existents, possessing essentially the same non-mental consistency.

I think it can be readily shown that it is only to the non-mental or stimulating order that we can rightly attribute force.

A person's sensations, perceptions, or thoughts have, as such, not the slightest power of stimulating to activity any other existent. Such mental modes affect only the person in whom they take place. Your sensations, perceptions, or thoughts, however vividly experienced by yourself, never stimulate my senses. I remain utterly unaware of them, unless you make them known to me by dint of bodily signs.

In outright contrast to this ineffective exclusiveness of all mental states, the organism with its vital activities does possess the power of stimulating the senses of any number of persons.

We, evidently, have here before us a thorough-going distinction. Mental states are utterly incapable of affecting the sensorial and perceptive faculties of any other being: non-mental existents are capable of affecting the sensorial and perceptive faculties of other beings. And it is solely on account of this power of affecting us that we attribute force to the non-mental existents. Consequently, as the mental states do not have this affecting power, they possess no force.

"The basic statement," then, is not "that consciousness and force are identical," but, on the contrary, that they constitute the greatest contrast in nature. Consciousness is forceless: stimulating influences are forces.

Let us fully realize this cardinal distinction, for it is the main clew to the most important philosophical problems. Fancy that you are watching the brain of a person looking at a dog. That person has within his consciousness the vivid percept of the dog. Where is this percept? We know that it is formed in what we perceive as his brain. Look, then, whether you can find the perceptual dog there. On closest scientific investigation, you could detect nothing but a specific molecular motion in definite parts of the brain. And nothing could be more unlike the perceptual dog than these molecular motions. Nevertheless, they correspond incomparably more closely to the percept which he is beholding than any language, gesture, or expression can correspond to the meaning conveyed thereby. If you could follow with your senses these molecular brain-motions, and had learned their correspondence to the mental states of the person whose brain you are watching, you would, by dint of such motions, infallibly know his sensations, perceptions, and thoughts. And this, because the same non-mental organic forces and activities which are specifically stimulating your senses, awakening in you the perception of a brain in definite functional activity, are also producing in the subject of which they form part his definite mental states.

But to revert to the perceptual dog and the corresponding brain-motions. You remove the non-mental or noumenal dog, and instantly the perceptual or phenomenal dog vanishes from the consciousness of the subject whose brain you are watching. Does your perception of his brain vanish likewise? Not at all. Only a peculiar functional stir ceases to occur in it. The organ itself retains its entire sense-stimulating power. Each time the noumenal dog is replaced, the same functional stir is set up in it; and, simultaneously, the perceptual dog reappears in the consciousness of the person to whom the central organ belongs.

Does that not indicate that the mental percept is a function of that organ? Obviously, then, we have made out that a mental state is the forceless outcome of an organ itself in possession of specific forces.

A correct understanding of the relativity of knowledge would furthermore render it impossible for any thinker to conceive time and space as extra-mental existents. These puzzling forms of apperception are undeniably mental phenomena, like everything else that we consciously realize. Consequently, they are altogether dependent on specific organic struc-

ture and vital activity. (See my papers on "Space and Touch," *Mind*, 1885, April, July, and October.) "The immanent noumenal constitution" of the extra-mental conditions which determine our time and space perceptions can never be known; for we know only our own mental affections, and merely infer therefrom corresponding extra-mental existents. I hope the importance of the "philosophical questions" here touched upon will excuse this rather lengthy reply. To Mr. Franklin Smith, I am sincerely grateful for the serious attention he has given to my sundry endeavors to help widen a little our clearing in the dense philosophical jungle.

Respectfully,

EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

HEMPSTEAD, TEX., May 19, 1886.

TRUMAN'S TREATMENT OF GARRISON.

Editors of The Index:—

To make a plausible and effective defence of sundry points of orthodox doctrine, misrepresentation by their advocates is indispensable, since without that the dogmas in question would plainly appear as destitute of authority as of reasonableness. For instance, it is for the interest of the ministry of that faith to have it believed that the Bible is divinely inspired, and thus infallible in fact and doctrine, and also that that book enjoins the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath. They therefore affirm these two things to be true, in spite of the fact that the book declares neither; and they bolster up these assertions by the false statements that the Bible declares itself so inspired, and that Sunday Sabbatism is enjoined in that book by Jesus and his apostles. The use of unfounded assertions or assumptions of this kind is not peculiar to Mr. Flavius Josephus Cook, but is common among the clergy of the faith in question; and they, like him, unscrupulously use the same methods, when treating of the doctrines, the characters, the motives, and the actions of their opponents.

The latest specimen I have seen of this clerical style of contest, and a very complete specimen, is found in the *Andover Review* for May, in an article by Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post, of St. Louis, reviewing the recently published Memoir of Garrison.

The extent of the Reverend Truman's hardihood may be judged of by the fact that he represents the Church and people of the United States as having been always anti-slavery in principle, and Garrison as having been a natural and legitimate product of this "moral atmosphere." According to the Reverend Truman, it was a moral atmosphere "charged with this consciousness" which shaped and colored Garrison's life from early childhood.

It is undoubtedly a fact, as this writer says, that, prior to Garrison's declaration of war against slaveholding, occasional testimonies adverse to that sin had appeared from publicists and statesmen, churches and associations, as well as in the popular press North and South. But he ignores and omits, as unsuited to his purpose, the additional facts that these utterances were in no case supported or followed by action; that they neither attempted nor purposed to do anything toward the removal of this sin; and that, when Garrison attempted to stimulate the Northern people to such action, all the classes above described turned against him, thenceforth showing themselves more opposed to practical interference with slavery than they ever had been to slavery itself.

The Reverend Truman represents the Memoir, and also the *Liberator*, as *ex parte*, and thus one-sided and unfair statements. He characteristically ignores the fact that the *Liberator*, from the beginning, republished the strongest statements of the Northern and Southern advocates and apologists of slavery, thus thoroughly representing the slave-holders' arguments, and always accurately pointing out the paper or the person or the association which put forth those arguments. Since the Memoir makes constant reference to those numbers of the *Liberator* in which the matters in question are recorded, the book as well as the paper fairly represents both sides, and thus is in no objectionable sense an *ex parte* statement.

The Reverend Truman censures Garrison's criticisms of the ministry and the churches as if they were causeless, ignoring the important fact that, in the very beginning of his enterprise, he applied in

"SIN IS NOT."

Editors of The Index:—

How delightful this intelligence through a late *Index* from one of its contributors! One can hardly repress his enthusiasm over it. "Sin is not." "Not too often can it be repeated that sin is not." "Man is not to be, cannot be, held blameworthy for his conduct." "Man's conduct, be it good or bad, is as inevitably what it is as is the coming forth of the rose and the thorn from the rose-bush." "To science there is in conduct no such thing as sinfulness." These jewels of thought are from a long and elaborate article in *The Index* of May 13. If they are statements of truth, they cannot be hailed with too much joy. The triumphs of science, so widely vaunted, reach their culmination in such discoveries, if, indeed, they be real ones, "scientifically true."

Of course, if they be so, every man now speaks the truth with his neighbor. Lying is a lost art. Cheating has ceased. Oppression, cruelty, quarrelsomeness, hatred, revenge, and the legion of moral evils under which for ages the world has suffered immeasurable woes have taken their flight. Either this is so, or these things are not sins. The nomenclature of the world is now to be "scientifically" revised, and the word "sin" is to be expunged from it. To be sure, the ills of life, in all their variety and abundance, must remain with us. We do not get clear of them. Crimes, too, of countless names will continue to be committed as heretofore. And we may be permitted to continue to call them crimes, but not sins; though even the acute philosopher of Malmesbury has told us that "though every sin is not a crime every crime is a sin." But no longer is it so. The necessities of society will continue to require punishment in all its degrees. This we must inflict, but with no sense of the offender's ill desert, no abhorrence of his character. This feeling we must repress, nay, extinguish; for "he cannot be held blameworthy." "Man's conduct, be it good or bad, is as inevitably what it is as is the coming forth of the rose and the thorn from the rose-bush." Let us banish, then, our old superstitions, and learn that "to science there is in conduct no such thing as sinfulness." What used to be called sins and what no man in his senses can fail to regard as fearful evils, inflicting on the human race its most dreadful sufferings, and denounced by the ablest moralists and the best philanthropists of the world's history as its worst curse,—these are no more sins! Science has decreed it.

The discovery is not new. The philosophy on which it professes to rest has discoursed many times before, in ancient and modern tongues, and sometimes very acutely and ingeniously to this effect; but it has made little impression on the great body of thinking men,—the world's common sense. It is not likely to become a formidable power in human society, even though, discarding the more modest name of a philosophy, it arrogates to itself now the authority of a "science."

But let us look for a moment at this last scientific defence of it.

"A sin, the sin of Christian theology," the writer begins. But hold a moment, we beg. We are not concerned with "the sin of Christian theology." This, were it to be discussed, would be found to be a very extraordinary and perplexing kind of thing. It resolves itself at the first touch into two wholly unlike elements, original and actual; and the former, though very variously conceived and defined by Christian theologians, usually parting with all the proper idea of sin. But, with "the sin of Christian theology" specially, our essayist seems after all to have nothing to do. And why it is so distinctively mentioned is not apparent. His real dealing throughout is intended to be with the broad and universal idea of sin,—an idea world-wide and world-old, known to mankind long before the obscure, ever-remodelled, yet never-consistent thing called Christian theology was heard of, and in lands where to this day there is but the dimmest idea of it. It is an idea, in multitudes of minds, quite unconnected with Christian theology or Jewish theology, or Hindu or Greek or Roman or Fiji. It springs from the constitution of man as a consciously responsible being, believing, as he almost always does, in some superior power or powers having a sense of right and wrong and holding him accountable. Whether this power is the Christian's God or the pagan's Pantheon, "a being outside of and above nature" (if one has any defi-

nite idea what this means) or otherwise, it matters not. The most indefinite belief in "a Power that makes for righteousness" is enough on which to base the doctrine of the reality of sin. Not only does man, the world over, recognize the fact of his own and of others' sin, but he cannot by all his efforts educate himself practically out of it. When he has speculated threescore years and ten with his best ingenuity, and summoned what he calls his "science" to his aid, he still finds himself obliged to impute praise and blame to his fellow-men and to himself. This is the idea the essayist seeks to explode, whose reality as a fact in human life he roundly denies.

To this, we have only to present the simple assertion of human consciousness. As we have already intimated, this is clear, universal, ineradicable. Entirely irrespective of all theology,—indeed, repudiating all idea of God,—man is by his very nature sensible of duty, duty to himself, if to no other, and indeed duty to others. He sees the propriety of rules for his conduct. He acknowledges the profound feeling of obligation. He writhes under self-reproach, enjoys an exalted happiness in self-approval. These are facts in his constitution. If they were not, no mere education could ever have made them so universal and so profound.

"Not too often can it be repeated" that, whenever a man does the thing that he believes to be wrong, whether his judgment on this point be correct or not, he commits a sin.

And, if "sin is not," righteousness, its opposite, equally is not. If no wrong-doing, then no right-doing. Virtue, benevolence, heroism, all that men the world over have felt constrained to admire, on which the best minds of all ages have lavished their encomiums, to which they have bent their energies, and for which made their greatest sacrifices, all which saves the world from being a soulless piece of mechanism, as dull and stupid as a grist mill,—all this vanishes with the denial of the reality of the moral sense, or, what is the same thing, the assertion that "man cannot be held blameworthy for his conduct."

As to the origin of this feeling, we may theorize ingeniously, and suppose its gradual development with such and such circumstances in the evolution of the race; but all this does not affect the fact that this sense, however it came into being, exists,—exists universally, and cannot be expelled from the human heart. Our speculations as to its origin are not "science," but our knowledge of human feeling is. The facts of consciousness are as undeniable as those of physics.

Into the metaphysical reasonings by which the moral responsibility of man is sought to be denied and the reign of physical law extended over all his psychical acts, it would be a threadbare and tedious business to enter,—at least now. The topic has been debated for ages, and is very abstruse. But when we find our reasonings conducting us to positions directly at variance, not only with human consciousness at large, but with the best interests of society, we may well pause and question our reasonings. There is not a claimed speculative truth, however plausibly and ingeniously defended it may seem to be, which is worth anything to man, if it is plainly, in its practical and legitimate applications, inimical to his moral well-being and the happiness of our race. Remove the doctrine of human responsibility from human belief, persuade the world that "man is not to be, cannot be, held blameworthy for his conduct," as our essayist affirms, and affirms to be scientific truth, and one has done to his fellow-men about the highest disservice in his power. J. D. K.

BOOK NOTICES.

NEW ENGLAND SUNDAY: The Olden Time Series. Gleanings chiefly from Old Newspapers of Boston and Salem, Massachusetts. (Number Three.) Selected and Arranged with Brief Comments. By Henry M. Brooks. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886. Price 50 cents.

To those interested in the Sunday question and its history here in New England, this compilation will be of great value. Mr. Brooks says, "This Sunday question has been so often discussed of late years, and the opinions expressed on the same are so diverse, that it may be well to print a few selections on the subject from some of the old newspapers, that those who are interested may see, as a matter of curiosity, if for no other reason, what views have been en-

person to the chief representatives of the clergy, urging them to take ground against the great national sin, and desiring their leadership in the work instead of exaltation of himself. Nothing is plainer in this Memoir than that Garrison and his associate, George Thompson, were decidedly pious men, as piety is understood by orthodox people. Garrison made early appeal to his own minister, Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, confidently expecting that he would recognize and rebuke the sin of slave-holding at least as much as the sin of dancing. It was only after the refusal of this eminent man, and of all the other clergymen to whom Garrison had access, to preach righteousness and rebuke sin in this department that they were denounced by him as time-serving and unfaithful. Having been taught from his childhood to honor the Christian ministry, he could not have believed, at the beginning of his anti-slavery work, that Dr. Beecher would not only refuse either to lead or co-operate in that work, but would afterward forbid the formation of an anti-slavery society among his pupils in Lane Seminary; that Andover, led by Stuart and Woods, would indorse and echo the worst utterances of the later life of Daniel Webster; that Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, and President Lord, of Dartmouth College, would publish elaborate defences of negro slavery as authorized by Scripture and reason; that one Boston church would deprive a black man, merely because he was black, of the pew he had bought and paid for; that another Boston church, in its printed pew-deeds, would forbid selling or leasing the pews to any colored person; that the orthodox ministers of Massachusetts, in view of the lectures of abolitionists, would publish and spread abroad a pastoral letter denying the right of parishioners to favor or even to hear doctrines not acceptable to their minister; and that all these things would be acquiesced in by brother ministers and sister churches as not only right, but Christian. In view of facts like these, continued for many years in the best part of New England, and among people claiming to be the best part of its population, how monstrous, both in falsehood and absurdity, seems the Reverend Truman's declaration that this nation created Garrison, and gave a prompt and potent response to his appeals!

The article I am noticing is thoroughly saturated with misrepresentation, but I can mention here but one other department of it. The Reverend Truman knocks down several men of straw, seeming to imply that they are assertions of the book under review. Thus, he says, it were absurd to ascribe to the single agency of any individual man the overthrow of slavery in the United States. As if the Memoir made any such claim! Again, he objects to Garrison's treatment of the Colonization Society, saying that they were by no means all hypocrites or knaves. As if Garrison had ever said they were so! Again, he finds in the book that "the faculty of a large human sympathy" was wanting in its subject; that is, that sympathy with four million oppressed persons, rather than with four hundred thousand oppressors and their accomplices, is not a large sympathy, and, perhaps, is not human sympathy at all. Again, he refers to some ideas of Garrison upon matters unconnected with slavery as wild, visionary, disorganizing; as impracticable fanaticisms warring on civil and ecclesiastical order, and on the generally received ideas of theological belief and religious life; while what those opinions really warred upon was the sort of civil and ecclesiastical order, and of theological belief and religious life, which acquiesced in the undisturbed continuance of slavery. One of these "impracticable fanaticisms" was Garrison's estimate of Sunday Sabbatism,—an estimate supported by Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, and all the Protestant reformers associated [with them, and also founded on that Bible which the Reverend Truman pretends to take as the authoritative and sufficient rule of life. The last of Garrison's alleged deficiencies which I have space to notice is his want of abiding reliance on strict truth and justice, and his want of patient forbearance with human ignorance and weakness; the ignorance and weakness referred to being that of men who, exalted to be leaders in Church and State, used their power to support and vindicate "the sum of all villainies."

I think, if the Reverend Truman's clerical life extends over the former half of the anti-slavery period, it might be instructive to look over that part of his record.

CHARLES K. WHIFFLE.

tertaind within the past century, more especially in New England, in reference to Sunday." Extracts are given of the Sunday laws from as early as 1644 up to the present time, and of the cases of Sabbath-breaking brought up before the courts at different periods. In 1789, Washington, at that time President of the United States, being obliged by circumstances to ride a few miles one Sunday morning in Connecticut, was stopped by "the tything-man" of the town, and made to explain all the circumstances of his Sunday riding, and promise to go no further than the town he was approaching, before he could be secure from arrest by this functionary. In 1776, at a town meeting in Belfast, Me., it was voted "that if any person makes unnecessary vizits on the Sabeth they shall be Lookt on with Contempt untill they make acknowledgement to the Public." In 1817, by a police regulation of Boston, all persons were "forbidden to drive during divine service, or while the inhabitants are going to or returning from their several houses of public worship, any carriage at a greater rate than a walk or a moderate foot-pace." Many other instances, of which our space will not permit mention, are quoted. And the gradual advance in sensible treatment of the subject is shown by extracts from the newspapers at different periods, until this era of Sunday mails, Sunday steam and horse cars, open libraries and art galleries, and Sunday concerts on the Common, paid for out of the city treasury and sanctioned by "the powers that be."

S. A. U.

FORGOTTEN MEANINGS; or An Hour with a Dictionary. By Alfred Waite, author of *The Student's Historical Manual*. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886. pp. 73. Cloth. Price 50 cents.

"In collecting these Forgotten Meanings," says the compiler in his preface, "I have been upon my guard against the enticements of conjectural etymology, and have rejected much that was most alluring." But, in the two or three hundred common words whose original meaning is here restored to us, he has furnished a work most likely to give to even superficial readers a stimulus calculated to awaken a more earnest interest in the history of language. Some of these meanings are extremely suggestive and appropriate, as "Cemetery [from the Greek], a sleeping-chamber"; "Character [Latin], an instrument for branding or marking"; "Dunce,—Duns Scotus was the leader of those schoolmen who opposed the study of the classics at the time of the revival of learning, hence his followers were called Dunses"; "Enthusiast [Greek], one who believes that he himself is in God, or that God is in him"; "Fanatic [Latin], one inspired by a divinity"; "Heretic [Greek] means one who chooses, and heresy simply a choice"; "Man [from the Sanskrit], the being that thinks"; "Maudlin, shedding tears of penitence, like Mary Magdalene"; and Dr. Johnson's caustic definition of "Pension" is, "In England, it is generally understood to mean pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country." Mr. Waite gives a list (with the abbreviations of them used throughout his compilation) of nine leading authorities consulted in the preparation of this book.

S. A. U.

LOVE'S LADDER. A Novel. By W. DeWitt Wallace. Chicago and New York: Belford, Clarke & Co. 1886. pp. 254.

If not "a religious story," this is at least a story of religion, with a moral. The aim of the author seems to be to strike at the pride, formalism, and intolerance of the orthodox churches. The incidents are related with so much particularity as to details that we get the impression that the whole is at least "founded on fact," if not a simple rehearsal of events which actually occurred. It is the story of an educated, spirited, industrious, moral, and willing-to-be-independent woman, who, worse than widowed, through being the deserted wife of a drunken, unprincipled man, is, though in great poverty, struggling to secure for her only child a good education. Being an honest believer in the orthodox faith, she was desirous to join a church; but, on making application, the pastor and members of the fashionable church she wished to unite with, because of her poverty and reticence as to her past history, gossiped her into insanity and at last to death. There is a unique plot and some exciting scenes described. The love story, which gives the book its title, has very little to do with the real story, but is used mainly as a thread on which its incidents are strung.

S. A. U.

BEYOND THE VEIL. By Alice Williams Brotherton. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1886. Price 20 cents.

The opening line of this poem of some two hundred lines tells how

"One weary with much sleeping slept and dreamed"

of a soul which, though deeming itself forever shut out from heaven, yet felt

"A wild longing in its inmost breast

To look upon the City of the Blest,"

which, when it reached, to its joy and surprise

"Stood open wide, with never bolt or bar,"

and, on entering, found that the very desire to behold a place of purity and light gave the right to remain there forever. The idea is very pretty and poetic, and the relation is in choice and tender words. The writer, who is well known to readers of Unitarian and other liberal publications, donates the proceeds of the sale of this book to the building fund of All Souls' Church in Chicago.

CANOEING IN KANUCKIA. The Haps and Mishaps Afloat and Ashore of the Statesman, the Editor, the Artist, and the Scribbler. Recorded by the Commodore and the Cook (Charles Ledyard Norton and John Habberton). New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886. Illustrated. Price 50 cents. pp. 270.

This describes in a humorous manner a canoe voyage made in Canadian waters by four gentlemen, members of the New York Canoe Club, together with their frequent explorations on land at different points in their trip. To those interested in canoes, these pages will impart full and varied information in regard to every detail. To those not interested, the book will yield cheerful bright reading for an otherwise dull hour, some bits of information as to Canadian customs and manners, and considerable amusement in looking at the many comic illustrations.

LECTURES AND ADDRESSES. By Frederick W. Farrar, D.D., Canon of Westminster. New York: John B. Alden. 1886. pp. 135. Price 40 cents, cloth.

These are the lectures delivered by Canon Farrar during his recent American trip, and are respectively entitled "Dante," "The Ideals of Nations," "Temperance Address," "Thoughts on America," and "The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures." Those who admire Canon Farrar and who were not able to hear him lecture will be delighted to find his brilliant, scholarly, and eloquent thoughts placed in this handsome form within their reach.

THE first two chapters of William Henry Bishop's new serial, "The Golden Justice," appear in the *Atlantic* for May. The scene of the story is laid in a Western city, and the novel opens in an original manner. Charles Egbert Craddock's instalment of "In the Clouds" is one of the strongest and most thrilling pieces of work which have yet come from this remarkable writer. Henry James continues his "Princess Casanoviana" in characteristic style, transporting his hero to Paris, of which he gives some incidental descriptions. The fiction of the number is completed by a tender little sketch of New England life, "Marsh Rosemary," by Sarah Orne Jewett. John Fiske continues his papers on American History by one treating of "The Weakness of the American Government under the Articles of Confederation." E. P. Evans has a paper on "The Aryan Homestead." W. J. Stillman contributes "Memories of London." Maurice Thompson has an article on "Bird Song"; and there are five excellent poems, one of which is by W. W. Story. Criticisms of the new "Life of Longfellow," and of some recent books of travel and other volumes, with the "Contributors' Club" and "Books of the Month," complete a very good number. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for May supplies its readers with most substantial intellectual food. Among the able and interesting papers are "The Difficulties of Railroad Regulation," by Arthur T. Hadley; "An Economic Study of Mexico," by David A. Wells; "Development of the Moral Faculty," by James Sully, M.A.; "De Candolle on the Production of Men of Science," by W. H. Larrabee; "The Problem of Crystallization," by Alfred Einhorn (illustrated); "The Factors of Organic Evolution," by Herbert Spencer; "Food Accessories and Digestion," by Dr. J. Burney Yeo; "Photographing the Heavens," by Dr. Herman Y. Klein (illustrated); "How

Alcoholic Liquors are made," by Joseph Dawson; "The Care of Pictures and Prints," by Philip Gilbert Hamerton; "The Evolution of Language," by M. A. Hovelacque; "The Science of Flat-fish, or Soles and Turbot"; "Sketch of Francis Galton" (with portrait). The editor, in a paper on "Charity and Sentimentality," enforces the propriety of exacting from the managers of benevolent institutions full reports of their operations, of their funds and methods, and of the objects and results of their work.

"WIDE AWAKE" for May opens with a charming frontispiece of spring-time and variable weather,—A Sudden Shower." The stories of this number are varied and excellent, and treat of the American Revolution, Roman history, and Canadian life. Mrs. Frémont describes the visit of one hundred and twenty-nine midshipmen to Paris and the tomb of Napoleon. Mrs. John Sherwood writes of the young Orleans Princesses, known as "The Lilies of France." Mr. Hooper, Nora Perry, Helen Gray Cone, Grace Denio Litchfield, Clara Doty Bates, M. E. B., and others, are among the contributors this month. D. Lothrop & Co.

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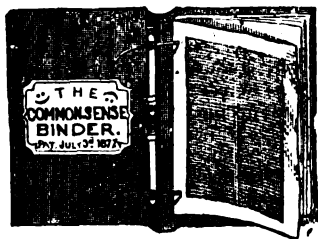
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THE Massachusetts Senate last week refused to change the law by which the testimony of atheists in this State may be discredited on account of their religious opinions. The Haverhill Laborer is led to ask: "If an atheist tells a lie, and denies his atheism, his testimony will be received. If he is honest about it, he is barred out. Is this a premium on false swearing, or what is it?"

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

WHAT England now needs, and is likely to have, is a Parliament elected upon the home rule issue.

NEXT Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, a monument, erected in Forest Hills Cemetery to the memory of Karl Heinzen, will be unveiled, on which occasion Mr. C. Hermann Boppe, of Milwaukee, editor of the *Freidenker*, and others, will give addresses.

COUNT D'ALVIELLA, in the *Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in England, America, and India*, says: "The influence of Free Religion is not limited to those societies which have accepted its name or its patronage. The Free Religious Association has become for Unitarianism what Unitarianism itself has been for other communions,—a leaven of intellectual liberty."

A LIBERAL friend writes from Baltimore: "I am interested in Baltimore in a movement to open our public libraries and art museums on Sunday. Could you assist me in my endeavors to obtain authentic data relative to other cities, East and West, which have adopted Sunday opening for their libraries, etc? I would like to be informed as to whether such have been productive of benefit to the laboring classes, and whether they have availed themselves to any extent of the advantages tendered them by liberal communities." Any information received in response to this inquiry will be printed in *The Index*.

ONE of the most interesting recent discussions of faith-healing and kindred phenomena is that by Rev. J. M. Buckley, the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, in the last number of the *Century Magazine*. Dr. Buckley has evidently been a careful student, both through the records and through exceptional personal experience, of all phases of alleged miraculous healing. He discusses the cures by Prince Hohenlohe and Father Mathew, the cures at Knock and at Lourdes, those by Boardman, Dr. Cullis, and Mrs. Mix, Roman Catholic cures and Protestant cures. His analysis of the testimony to the sundry miraculous cures is very sharp and sensible, and effects an enormous shrinkage in the number of cases with which it is really necessary to deal. "But, after all deductions have been made, the fact that most

extraordinary recoveries have been produced must," he allows, "be admitted"; and the valuable part of his essay is his inquiry into the real and common cause. His conclusion, supported by abundant evidence, is "that the 'mind-cure,' apart from the absurd philosophy of the different sects into which it is already divided, had a basis in the laws of nature," but that the pretence of mystery is "either honest ignorance or consummate quackery." "In comparison with the Mormons, Spiritualists, mind-curers, Roman Catholics, and magnetizers, the Protestant faith-healers can accomplish as much, but no more: they have the same limitations as to diseases that they cannot heal and as to their liability to relapses." "All that they really accomplish," he says finally, "can be paralleled without assuming any supernatural cause; and a formula can be constructed out of the elements of the human mind which will give as high average results as their prayers or anointings. That formula, in its lowest form, is *concentrated attention*. If to this be added reverence, whether for the true and ever-living God, false gods, spirits, the operator, witches, magnetism, electricity, or simple unnamed *mystery*, the effect is increased greatly. If to that be added confident expectancy of particular results, the effect in causing sickness or relieving it, for life or death, may be appalling. Passes, magnets, anointings with oil, are useful only as they produce concentration of attention, reverence, and confident expectancy."

In these conclusions there is nothing new, of course. The chief interest and value of the article are in its wealth of evidence and illustration. His warnings against the faith-healing delusion, on the grounds of its tendency to produce an effeminate type of character, to set up false standards, to open the door to every superstition, and to destroy the ascendancy of reason in the soul, are worthy of the most serious consideration of the large number, in Boston as well as elsewhere, who are walking in this road, and hungering for all manner of miracles. His comparison or contrast of the modern miracles with the miracles of Christ and the apostles is the only weak point in the article. It is rather pitiable, in so sensible a discussion, to come upon exultation over the fact, where Christ's cures are being compared with those of Dr. Cullis and the rest, that "the record states that *he* healed *all* manner of disease and *all* manner of sickness." It seems never to occur to Dr. Buckley that the rules by which he works such shrinkage in the accounts of modern miracles may apply to conscientious and religious Jews as well as to conscientious and religious Yankees, and that the New Testament wonders may have their natural history, also. He does say, indeed, after referring to the account of Christ's restoring the ear of the high priest's servant, etc., that "rational men, familiar with the laws expounded in this paper, could not believe this record, if those mighty works, told of Christ and the apostles, were comprised simply in an account of wonderful tales. They would reason that it is

much more probable that those who testified to these things were deceived, or exaggerated, or that those who received them added to them, than that they should have happened. But," he urges, "when those who make the record convey to us ancient prophecies, attested and still preserved by the Jews, and fulfilled in the character and work of Christ," etc. Reasoning of this sort is not likely to produce any very great effect, and one need not bother much over this part of the article. On the whole, Dr. Buckley is to be thanked for a study which makes strongly for rationalism and common sense.

In an editorial on "Answer to Prayer," the *Independent* says that there are "four ways in which God answers prayer." The first is as follows: "He answers our general prayer for daily bread and providential care. Our common needs are supplied in answer to prayer. But it is urged that so are the common needs of men supplied who never pray. We will not here discuss that proposition further than to say that there is a vast difference between eating bread off God's table, and being clothed by a Father's hand, and the common method of filching a living from the world merely by the labor of our own hands." Pietistic puerility of thought could not go much farther, nor could contempt for honest labor, with the implied insult to the millions who earn their living with their "own hands," looking not to Heaven for manna, nor expecting to be fed by ravens. The second way that God answers prayer, says this article, is "directly and literally." Definite and specific petitions are answered; and among the cases cited—all ancient—are those of Hannah, "who besought the Lord for a son"; Hezekiah, "who besought the Lord for his life"; Elijah, who prayed for dry weather and for rain; and the Church, which prayed for Peter in prison. The writer states that "countless thousands of Christians live to testify that God has answered their prayers in the same signal manner, and that he is doing so daily." The third way that God answers prayer is "indirectly." "He gives us better things than we ask, though not the exact things." The fourth way that God answers prayer is "by saying no"; that is, by not granting it at all when we ask for that "which, if God should give it, would be for our hurt and eternal damage." With such modifications of the doctrine of prayer, with such qualifications of statements, with such illustrations drawn from the past and careful avoidance of reference to any case of answered prayer that admits of investigation, with such intellectual dishonesty as is involved in claiming that all prayers are answered, whether the petitions be granted or not, do theologians still defend a superstition opposed to which is all the science of the world, and which, but for the survival of primitive theological beliefs and methods of thought that science is powerless to change,—except slowly, by changing the mental aptitudes inherited from ages of miracle and myth, as well as by substituting truth for fiction,—would have long since disappeared from every intelligent mind.

The Index.

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

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

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REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Friday A.M., May 28.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, WILLIAM J. POTTER.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Friends and members of the Free Religious Association, Bostonians and inhabitants of any other planet who may have come hither this morning, again I have the honor and the pleasure to greet you all at our annual convention. We have much to do to-day; and I have tried to call you to order promptly, though the hour is already past and the assembly is still gathering. Great themes are to come before us for consideration, if not for settlement; and we must get at the work. The Free Religious Association always has a good deal to do at its annual meetings. If it is complained that the Association is doing little through the year, it will perhaps be conceded that it makes up for that inactivity on its yearly convention day. And to-day, as usual, we expect to tax your capacities to the extreme verge of endurance. We shall tax your brain-power, we shall tax your bodies, and we shall tax your purses. To this threefold form of taxation—the only kind of trinity in which the Free Religious Association as a body is permitted to believe—you patiently and devotedly submit yourselves year after year. As patriotically and as honestly as Joseph and Mary his wife, the parents of Jesus, went up to Bethlehem, of Judea, to be taxed, so you, the faithful, on this day of Anniversary Week in Boston, come up each year to this hall of holy traditions, from your various homes near or distant—to be taxed. I see by your faces that you have come up this year prepared for this living sacrifice.

But, pleasantry aside, I never look this annual convention in the face without feeling that you are drawn here by an earnest purpose, nor without a strengthening of my own conviction that the Free Religious Association not only has not existed and does not now exist in vain, but that it

has lived and does live for the promotion of great and beneficent principles; so that I almost believe that, if at any time the handful of members who are left to manage the business meeting on the Thursday evening preceding this annual convention should vote to dissolve the Association, you here, on Friday morning, would vote by the inherent right of popular sovereignty to restore it.

It is true—and we may as well confess it, for we have no secrets—that the Association is not so active as once it was, though it never attempted much in the way of local organization. But it does not hold so many conventions, nor institute lectures, nor even publish so many tracts as once it did. But one reason for this may be that not a little of this kind of work is now done for it by other organizations. A very good Free Religious convention, for instance, was held in Cincinnati, a fortnight ago, under the name of the Western Unitarian Conference; when that body, after a long and earnest discussion of its basis of membership, passed a resolution by a vote of more than three to one, to the effect that that Conference "conditions its fellowship on no dogmatic tests, but welcomes all who wish to join it, to help establish truth and righteousness and love in the world." And that is the statement made by the constitutions of several of the State Unitarian Conferences in the West. Here, in the East, Unitarianism is also, to a considerable extent, taking up our work. The Unitarian Sunday School Society is publishing text-books concerning the origin of Christianity, written on such a rationalistic basis that Profs. Norton and Ware, a little more than forty years ago,—if they could have conceived them at all,—would have condemned them as most dangerous heresies. The American Unitarian Association has published and sent out for missionary work, under its imprint, a volume of Theodore Parker; and a portrait of Parker is to grace the walls of the new Unitarian building in Boston. Emerson's address to the Divinity School at Cambridge, in 1838, which, at the time, was received as a revolutionary manifesto, is now also circulated as a Unitarian tract. Thus, the two men, Emerson and Parker—who, it may be said, more than any other two, prepared the bed-rock out of which the Free Religious Association was hewn—are now claimed as corner-stones of the Unitarian denomination, side by side with Channing. Regarded and treated as heretics in their day, it may be asserted as a fact that the Unitarianism of this day conforms much more nearly to the religious views of Emerson and Parker than to those of Channing.

Even in the matter of speakers at our meetings, things are getting much mixed. The Unitarians stole a march on us last evening, and captured our biggest gun for this field-day, Mr. Conway, to enliven and inspirit their festival at the skating-rink. I remember well when they didn't regard Mr. Conway with such distinguished favor as that; when he was a thorn in their side, addicted to introducing disagreeable resolutions of sympathy with Mr. Parker and the anti-slavery cause in their meetings, and a pestilent agitator who went about splitting churches. I think they did not mourn much when he went abroad, unless for their English brethren. But now, after twenty years, they help to welcome him back, and I doubt not with sincere cordiality. Yet, whatever courtesies may have passed between Mr. Conway and the Unitarians at their festivities last evening, I think you will discover when he presents himself to you here, as in a few minutes he will, that they have not spiked his cannon nor prematurely drawn his fire.

Our work to some extent is even being done for us in the older denominations. Dr. Heber New-

ton, for instance, in New York, is doing it in one of its phases. He is putting into the sermons that he preaches in his Episcopal church, from Sunday to Sunday, ideas and thoughts which have been the familiar speech of this platform from its foundation. And when he came here last year, entering so heartily into our meeting as well as addressing it so ably, and confessed in his festival speech that he felt himself indebted for much that he is and does to the work of this Association, and the writings and addresses of its representatives, not only did we receive fresh courage for continuing the work, but we felt ashamed if any of us in a moment of weakness had ever allowed a doubt whether the Association had any important work to do. Then, too, in another direction, the Ethical Culture Societies, with growing power, are showing what enthusiasm and zeal for great ideas may do for organizing the liberalism that is outside of all churches into practical works of morality and philanthropy.

Thus, our field is a wide one, and our members and friends may be working in various organizations and under different names. But we come hither, year by year, that we may gather fresh inspiration for these life-tasks, whatever and wherever they may be. And if, in the progress of ideas to which I have referred, things sometimes seem to be getting much mixed, so that some of us may hardly know under what banner we are marching or by what name we are to be called,—whether Unitarian, Episcopalian, Jew, Christian, Agnostic, Ethical Cultivist, Rationalist, or what-not,—this may be no bad sign, but, rather, it may signify that ideas are coming to be more valued than names; that thought is growing more powerful than ecclesiastical lines and creeds; that good deeds and good character, as the end sought, will ere long be found a perfectly safe basis of fellowship among earnest thinkers and workers.

There are, however, things which the Free Religious Association as a body can do together. For one thing, and perhaps the most important thing of all, indicating specially its mission, it can continue from platform and printing-press to sow broadcast the ideas from which those liberal and progressive results, to which I have alluded, are, at least in part, the natural harvest. Let it sow in faith, and increasingly, the seed, and not be over-anxious by whom or where the harvest shall be gathered.

In more specific ways, too, can the Association do a needed, practical work. There are laws on the statute-book interfering with religious freedom and equality, that need mending. These laws may be partially obsolete; but they are valid laws so long as they are not repealed, and they are not infrequently invoked to the doing of great injustice. Such are the laws that disqualify a witness in court because of his religious opinions, or that permit his testimony to be discredited, if it be shown that he holds agnostic or atheistic opinions. Such are the laws which attempt to make a contract on Sunday so illegal that even a gross fraud may be perpetrated in a Sunday trade, and the defrauding party may legally escape punishment, and his victim can receive no redress,—not even recover the goods out of which, under shield of the holy day, he has been cheated. The laws generally, that pertain to the observance of Sunday, need recasting, in order to prevent the hypocrisy and insincerity which now so largely prevail in the use of the day, and in order to bring law and usage into sympathy with the more rational and humane ideas of the present age. In all these directions the Free Religious Association has done some work: it has made an effort, though not attaining success as yet, before the Massa-

chusetts Legislature, for the amendment of some of these unjust laws; but this kind of work might be enlarged and systematized, and made much more effective. Our members in different States might be drawn into it, more general information gathered and circulated with regard to the various State laws, and a more regularly organized endeavor be made for carrying the needed reforms. With regard to the Sunday laws, in particular, this Association, as the secretary said in his report last evening, might pioneer the way to more consistent and just legislation.

I was in New York a week ago last Sunday, and in the afternoon went into Central Park. A great multitude of people was there, enjoying the delicious atmosphere, the bright sunshine, the fair panorama of grass and leafing trees and blossoming shrubs. The thoroughfares were filled by the rich and the gay, driving in their stylish carriages. I did not care much for them. They would get their drives somewhere, though there were no park. But the footpaths and the lake-sides and quiet nooks were alive with the poorer people,—with people who could not get such breaths of free air and such a touch of nature and of beauty on any other day of the week. There were babies in carriages with nurses, and babies toddling on foot with their mothers; and there were whole families together, and factory operatives and serving women, and laboring persons of all classes; and there were row-boats on the lakes, giving them a ride there for a few cents; and public carriages on the roads at a little greater cost for such as could afford that conveyance; and everywhere was order, healthful recreation, and happiness; and I rejoiced that the people had this place where they could come on Sunday from their dingy streets and tenement houses and shops, and that there were cars running from all directions, to make it easier for them to reach it. I asked myself, too, why the natural history museums in the Park should not also be open on Sunday, in order that those of the people who wish might have the educational benefit of that kind of exhibition, for which they have so little chance on any other day. A strong effort to this end has been made, you know, in New York the past year; but it has been defeated by Christian superstition and bigotry. And this same narrow bigotry would have closed the Park to people on Sundays a few years ago, if, indeed, it would not do it to-day, did it have the power. Only a few weeks ago, when Mr. Henry Phipps, Jr., of Allegheny City, offered \$25,000 to that city for building plant-houses, which should be open to the public every day in the week, including Sunday, the clergy and the Presbyteries of the neighborhood started up in alarm and protest. They begged Mr. Phipps to omit the condition with regard to Sunday, and they begged the Park Committee of the city not to receive the generous gift, if that proviso were retained. But the educational, refining influence of such a place for people who could visit it on no other day than Sunday was the one thing that Mr. Phipps had specially at heart. He had been reading Elizabeth Cady Stanton's magazine article on "Our Boys on Sunday," and this practical idea of the public conservatories had come to him as the result of that article. It was Mrs. Stanton's faithful seed-sowing that was to come up in those plant-houses for the people; and, as the plants by nature's decree would grow on Sundays as on other days, the public-spirited giver wanted young people to have the opportunity to see them on that day, since then they would have more leisure. Yet panic-stricken Orthodoxy did its utmost to defeat this benevolent project, on the ground that it was a sacrilege!

Now, the community needs to be enlightened with regard to the true use of such a boon for man as is, or might be, this one day in seven, which comes in the midst of our customary labors and cares; and the ecclesiastical organizations that are ever ready to restrict the uses of this day, according to their own narrow and obsolescent ideas, need to be resisted by organized effort as well as by the spirit of the age. The spirit of the age is doing well for liberty; but it should be remembered that the spirit of a *past* age still has law and usage and organization largely on its side. Therefore there is call for an organization, like this of ours, plastic to the spirit of the new age, and designed to resist vested errors, and to supplant them with larger truths. So long, at least, as the benevolence which would build and open plant-houses for the public to visit on Sundays as on other days is protested against by clergymen and churches as a sacrilege and sin; and so long as Presbyteries, consisting of learned and earnest men, are passing resolutions (as certain of them are now doing in the South) to the effect that to teach that Adam and Eve were created in any other way than is plainly taught in Genesis—Adam being made out of nothing, and Eve from his rib—is a heresy which imperils the very existence of the Christian Church,—so long as there shall be such exhibitions of ecclesiastical superstition and bigotry as these, *so long* there will be need of a religious liberation society.

But, friends, I fear that I am taking too much of the time. I have been occupying this first half-hour until the hall should be well filled, and you should be quiet. You are now reasonably quiet, and the work must begin. Mr. Conway is going to address us on "The Coming Cosmic Calvinism." I have been importuned not a little to tell what he means by his subject, and have done what I could to throw light upon it; but it seems to remain very much of a conundrum still. Mr. Conway will now answer for himself. I have the great pleasure of presenting him to you.

ADDRESS BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.
Cosmic Calvinism.

Those who adversely criticize the current theology of any period are sometimes charged with inhumanity. They are met with the plaintive remonstrance, "You are destroying the most cherished hopes of millions." Whether it be the array of Greek and Roman divinities shattered by Christianity, or the Madonna and saints swept away by Protestantism, the same cry is raised. But history shows us the old sentiments surviving their crumbled altars, adapting themselves to the new order, and wondering how mankind could ever have found satisfaction in the crude images and symbols to which they once clung with such frantic zeal. No age can recognize its own superstitions. They who hold them cannot see, with those who have cast them off, that the hopes intertwined with them are allied with terrors, and that these are making for millions an actual hell while the others are dreaming of a possible heaven. It is a fundamental mistake of theology to suppose that its enemy is intellectual scepticism. No dogma ever perished through its faulty metaphysics. The Christianity that superseded paganism contained as many fables as the systems it overthrew. Luther was as superstitious as the pope. That which overthrows a sanctified system is not a spirit of atheism, but rather a spirit of antitheism. Not, indeed, any theoretical objection to a divine existence, but hostility to the deities represented in a prevailing order. The minds which can trace out all the philosophical arguments for and against any theology are too few to make much trouble, but the people who can judge a tree by its fruits

are many. The real force with which theism has to deal is that which led Swinburne to say, "I believe in God, but am against him." The orthodox preachers are right when they say that infidelity is a matter of the heart rather than the head, only they look in the wrong direction to find the depravity. It is in their tribal god, universalized without being civilized, the preservation of whose authority requires increasing human sacrifices. Reason, law, common sense, science, have each yielded him their pound of flesh. But, at length, a victim is demanded who does not submit so easily. That is the moral sentiment.

Man is a gregarious animal. The flock is a combination of the weak against the individually stronger, for mutual defence. For the human herd, the social bond finds sanction in some totem, which develops to a supreme personality. It is the conventionalized expression of the rude and arbitrary forces required for the direction and control of a tribe individually savage, to be ruled chiefly by self-interest and terror. But, by the sympathetic forces generated in the social group, the human flock outgrows the ruder forces. The hedge of thorns begins to blossom; the thorns decrease as the flowers expand, but the totem of the thorns remains,—the terrible god. He survives through the power of his shepherds to kill off any heretical members of the flock, branding them as atheist goats, burning them in one age, boycotting them in another, and so securing the propagation of the species to the submissive. There was thus a survival of the sheep, and of the *sheepiest*. We are all descended from the sheep. Now, when even the sheep begin to rebel, it is a sign that the torture has become extreme. Such is our gregariousness, so confirmed our habit of conformity, so many the social interests which lead us to be dumb before our shearers, that the shears must have gone deep into one's moral flesh before he turns upon his totem with heretical horns. Where one man breaks away from the pious flock, we may feel sure that a hundred remain only to groan, and a hundred more are caught amid its environing brambles. The shepherds are so put to it that their adequacy declines, even though their wage is increased. There is significance in their cheers whenever one who cannot be suspected of being a hireling appears to lend a helping hand to the perfunctory pastors, who must persuade the sheep that, after all, their fold is not so bad, their hedge scientific, and that present submission will be rewarded with green pastures hereafter.

Just now, loud theological plaudits are heard for my old friend, Prof. Fiske. Compelled to beguile the flock it used to coerce, Theology has become a clever conjurer, and has borrowed Fiske's hat for a series of surprising tricks. At an earlier day, it would have had his head; but it is now grateful for his hat. He must be surprised at the variety of things drawn out of that summer-school hat of his. One brings out miracles, another total depravity, a third brings out the pope, and all reveal agnosticism dangling on a scientific gibbet.

I have been examining that hat. It is a curious hat. It contains a number of divisions,—some queer and occult,—of which I feel sure the Professor was not aware when he handed it up to the conjurers. One small space inside the scientific crown looks like a survival from the days of the clerical wig. However, we are told that it is a genuine expression of this vigorous thinker's own head,—a very good head it is,—and, however one may smile at the dogmatic uses to which it is put, we cannot be too serious in examining this new effort to harmnize theology and science.

The surviving dualism of nature is between its organic and inorganic phenomena. The organic

can be traced in unbroken continuity from man down to colloid matter; but between that jelly and inorganic matter there is no known bridge. On one side of this gap, we see inorganic matter shaping itself in crystals corresponding to some of the living forms on the other side; the molecules pile themselves up in inorganic forms and foliations, as they do in bones and plants; but no connection is traceable between the lifeless mass of the one and the sensation in the other. The abyss can only be crossed by scientific imagination or by theological faith. The man of science, seeing the phenomena of crystallization on one side and molecular forms of life on the other, as two abutments, supposes that in some earlier condition of the world—when matter was molten or cooling—a bridge spanned the chasm. Herbert Spencer believes that such evolution from inorganic to organic is implied in the phenomena of evolution. The theologian believes that the dawn of life was the special work of God.

Prof. Fiske appears to have combined the evolutionary and the theological theories into one. He finds a unity in nature complete enough to include all phenomena,—organic and inorganic,—and conceives one immaterial cause and source of them all.

This might be regarded as only one more theory of dynamics, had not Prof. Fiske claimed a religious and even ethical value for it. He claims a moral unity in all phenomena, organic and inorganic. All orderly action is divine action, he says; and, because no part of the universe is lawless, no part of it is godless. And this God, he says, is in the deepest sense a moral being. Here, he parts company with Herbert Spencer, who, when pressed by Frederic Harrison, declined to describe the Unknowable as moral.

I have vainly searched Prof. Fiske's works to find his rational link between the physical and the moral orders of the world. "We know it." Who know it? What moral unity is there between spherical hailstones and the bird protecting her young from them under her bruised wings? What sacred unity between the Xenia cyclone and the mother's kiss on the brow of her child slain by that power of the air? What is there divine in that mere order of coexistence and sequence which we call law? A cancer has laws as complete as those of the tongue it destroys. Is there an eternal divine principle that makes for cancers?

Prof. Fiske rejects the argument from design, because it would prove either an incompetent or a cruel designer. "In every part of the animal world, we find implements of torture, surpassing in devilish ingenuity anything that was ever seen in the dungeons of the Inquisition." Nature, he says, is full of maladaptation, also. But no sooner has he rejected the argument from design than he is confronted with the cosmic deity he is setting up, and takes refuge in the old commonplace of "inscrutable mystery." The Darwinian discovery, he says, has introduced us to a scene of universal strife,—with no prospect of a good or happy outcome for any sentient being,—in which the higher life is wantonly sacrificed to the lower; and the problem of evil has thus been brought up with renewed emphasis. "The only avenue of escape is the assumption of an inscrutable mystery, which would contain the solution of the problem if the human intellect could only penetrate so far."

So far! Why, here is a book (*The Idea of God*) which professes to give scientific evidence that God exists; that he is the "Infinite Sustainer" (p. 188), the "Omnipresent Energy" (xii.), the "Creative Omnipotence" (p. 126), the "Eternal

Majesty" (p. 110), the "Eternal Reality" (p. 154), the "Living God" (p. 166), the "Infinite and Eternal Power" (p. 166), the "Power that makes for Righteousness" (p. 167), a "moral Being," and the "everlasting Source of phenomena" (p. 167)! All this he knows about God, and yet tells us that the existence of evil is an "inscrutable mystery"!

That position is inadmissible. How can Mr. Fiske describe his Deity as the source of all phenomena, unless he is prepared to include the phenomena of evil? He cannot logically maintain a Creative Omnipotence and Omnipresent Energy, and withdraw its responsibility under the threadbare veil of "inscrutable mystery." We expect of an exact thinker consistent terms. "Inscrutable mystery" is the phrase of an agnostic, not of a man who undertakes to give us a clear cosmology.

A machine is not stronger than its weakest point. The one single problem of importance to theism is to find some evidence of a moral order in nature outside of man and the range of man's influence. It is at this essential point that Prof. Fiske fails. He finds in nature an immoral order; but, because it includes humanity, he asks us to believe in a moral source of the immorality. What is this but to shut us up in ourselves again? What is it but man projecting his own mind in mirage on the universe and worshipping it? This new lift breaks down just where that of Paley did, and that of Bishop Butler. Both of those famous theologians contributed to the scepticism they meant to silence. Paley showed design in nature: it turned out wicked design. Butler defended the alleged absurdities of Christianity on the ground that nature is equally absurd. "So much the worse for nature!" was the verdict. Prof. Fiske shows moral antagonism between nature and humanity: one he calls "devilish," the other spiritual. And when we ask why the two should be ascribed to one source, and that a good source, the answer is a "We know" and a "We feel sure."

I "feel sure" that this answer comes from his pious progenitors, not from himself. To his essays on Evolution, he has finally appended himself, as a notable example of theologic survival. If the hereditary Fiske had not been modified by rationalism, he might have given us a self-consistent, if not a satisfactory "idea of God." Prof. Fiske is fond of folk-lore; and he told me that once an apparition of the devil stood before him,—the mediæval devil,—with horns, hoof, and fiery eyes. Of course, he was too polite to throw his inkstand at him, and too scholarly to be frightened. He observed the grotesque figure till it vanished. But it is to be regretted that he did not "interview" old Nick on this rare opportunity. A certain intimacy with that figure, which my orthodox friends willingly concede me, warrants me in believing that my friend might have received some valuable hints for his new Cosmic Theism. In fact, I once had a subjective vision of that same mediæval personage myself. I was sitting alone in that room of the Wartburg where the devil appeared to Luther, while he was translating the Bible, and was so uncivilly treated. I had lately been constructing a sort of cosmic theism of my own; and, though it was misty on the problem of evil, I was wondering how Luther's notion could have included such a conception as the devil. All at once, the adversary appeared; and "How do you like my looks?" quoth he. "I can't say they are altogether lovely," I replied, in a friendly way. "Well," said he, "you called for me, and I have come." "I call for you!" "Yes: or, what amounts to the same thing, you were just thinking that your theism was unsatisfac-

tory." "Well, I confess it does seem to lack something." "That something is me. How often shall I have to warn you rationalists that you can't construct a deity without my help? How can you have a god, if he is to be saddled with all the wickedness in this world? The Hindus tried to get on without a devil, and their thirty-three million deities turned to demi-devils. The Jews began with no devil: Jehovah proudly claimed the creation of evil as well as good, and down went Jehovah. He had to summon me from Persia, to relieve him from responsibility for everything bad; and, by that means, he was rehabilitated under the name of First Person. The Universalists fancied they could get along without a devil, and where are they now?" "But," said I, "evolution shows that no purely evil organization can exist: it would be a survival of the unfittest." "Who said anything about organization? I am no organization. This personification, which is all in your eye, was formed by Zoroaster, and has continued as survival of the fittest for theological purposes. For some six thousand years, I have been God's scapegoat. But now that philosophers have proved my non-existence, can they prove that wickedness doesn't exist,—licentiousness, brutality, malice, murder? Can they philosophize tornadoes out of the world,—diseases, desolations? Can they call mankind to worship a creator whose throne rests on skulls?" "I have been accustomed," I said, "to regard the origin of evil as an inscrutable mystery." "Ah, that is the fog priestly conjurers created to shield their craft from common sense. There is no mystery in evil any more than in good." "Who are you, then?" I cried. "Behold!" And, with that word, this devil dissolved into jagged rocks; his mouth became a slimy tarn; his breath, malaria; his hair, desert sands; his eyes, volcanoes, with lava streaming down toward the peaceful village. I beheld a vision of the wild, soulless, inanimate chaos of unrecovered nature, the desolate places of the earth haunted by the personified terrors of superstition.

Prof. Fiske says man has a teleological instinct. If you don't understand the word, all the better. Theology used to talk about a First Cause; but, when Reason replied that it could not think of any cause without asking what caused that cause, Metaphysics stepped in, and invented the imposing word "teleology." By this, Mr. Fiske means that man has a "craving after a Final Cause." This is a curious assertion. The Buddhist world,—nearly a third of the human race,—all the positivists, the "free thinkers" of Europe and America, are apparently unconscious of any interest in a Final Cause. Can anybody point to an historic religion founded on a Final Cause? There are religions founded on gods dying for men, on gods governing men; but it would be strange to find religious enthusiasm gathering around a teleological god. Theological enthusiasm for any metaphysical theory which renews the lease of a failing dogma is comprehensible. No doubt, this supposed teleological or final-cause instinct would be found by analysis to be a survival from the long ecclesiastical régime under which our particular race was shaped. Prof. Fiske's feeling about the Final Cause reminds me of the major-general in Gilbert's opera, who repairs to a church on his estate to do penance for his prevarication before the tombs and effigies of his ancestors. True, he was not descended from them; but he had just purchased the estate, including the tombs, and they had become, by purchase, his ancestors, so that he must live worthy of them. The major-general, by the way, assumes that these ancestors.

in whose monuments he has invested, were noble beings. And some such assumption runs through these teleological pleadings. It is assumed that, if we do find a source of phenomena, we shall all fall on our knees. There is such a large investment in the family tree of creeds and churches that a sort of "corner" is formed in theology, to keep the stock from moral depreciation. To what else than unconscious bias can be attributed Prof. Fiske's invitation to worship the Final Cause of a world, whose cruel, brutal, predatory constitution he has written a thousand pages to prove? By what logic does he credit all that Sahara with the oasis of good which man is trying to defend from its consuming breath? With equal reason the pessimist claims that the oasis itself is a mere bait and delusion of a supreme Will Power that makes for evil and unhappiness. That I do not believe; but I believe that bad is bad,—genuinely,—and that out of unmitigated abhorrence of it are generated the energies which shall finally swallow up this inorganic death in and around us in the great human victory. The fact that man is clever enough to extort some good from evil experience is no credit to the evil. If a brutal father breaks his son's back, and the lad in his confinement becomes more scholarly and spiritual than he might otherwise have been, shall the youth say, "I thank thee, O father, for my broken back"?

Calvinism says, Yes. Prof. Fiske repudiates Calvinism in word, but let us look into that.

Organic life is developed amid inorganic; and, for aught anybody knows, vitality and matter are coeternal. Some part of every organization is inorganic. Paul was more scientific than he knew, when saying that he bore about with him a body of death. Our actions may be distinguished as organic and inorganic, as our human will is less or more restricted by its heritage of forces determined by elements and laws foreign to itself. Our bad actions may be caused by inorganic obstructions in us: it may be more than analogy to speak of a tempest of passion. But, because a furious man acts inorganically, it does not prove that his moral nature is evolved from his inorganic part, any more than that a mineral poison evolves the life it destroys.

That inorganic world which climbed into man's physical constitution climbed also into his conception of the universe.

Primitive man being much more at the mercy of external forces than civilized man, and of undeveloped reason, conceived a spiritual unity between himself and the elemental forces which environed and penetrated him. He ascribed personality like his own to external objects and forces. He thus conceived a natural demonology. He might call his demons gods, but that was only to flatter them: they were images of his terror, whom he sought to soothe by sacrifice and prayers. Nobody would pray, in the original sense of prayer, to a being incapable of doing him mischief, unless by force of custom. These demons, at first called deities for compliment, followed the progress of human knowledge, were moralized by man's improvement, and in the end represented systems of nature. The Egyptian, Greek, and Teutonic cosmologies are expressed in their theologies, now turned to mythologies. We find in them personifications of creative force, fatal law, generation, destruction, and other phenomena. Under the development of wider unities in the conception of nature, the deities decreased in number; supremacies grew; ultimately, a god in heaven, an underworld god, and an earth-god were sufficient final causes, the other deities being subordinated into angels or secondary causes.

But the laws personified remained the same.

Proclus said, "All the gods are contained in each." Of this, Jehovah is an example. In him, all the personifications of polytheism are found. He is the god of war; god of the sea; of the storm; the consuming fire-god; the deity of darkness, of light, of good, of evil. All the old nature-demons climbed into Jehovah, as into a cosmologic Trojan horse.

It was this monotheistic pantheon that Jesus saw to be a moral pandemonium. Prof. Fiske falls into the incidental error of saying that Jesus set forth Jehovah as the Sustainer of the universe and Father of mankind (*The Idea of God*, p. 77). But Jesus never spoke of Jehovah, and his most pointed allusion to him was when he told the Pharisees that their father was a devil. The "Father" invoked by Jesus was much more like Ormuzd, whom the Persians called "the Father of the Good Mind." In fact, Jesus headed a great antitheistic revolution. Jehovah lapsed out of religious faith before the power of the moral sentiment. He remained in nominal discredit, even after the restoration of his despotism, until Calvin made him into a theologic cross, and nailed Jesus to it.

Calvinism established a Judaism, such as the Jews had long outgrown,—even if they ever knew it, which is doubtful,—added to it the coarser features of Roman dogma, and systematized the whole into a Cosmic Theism, whose moral corollary would be devil-worship. All the ancient gods and demons are in it,—that is, the phenomena of nature are in it. Calvin's God cannot forgive: every sin must have its expiation. So with natural law: it never swerves, never forgives. The smallest sin against God must be paid with eternal torture, even as in nature the mistake of a moment may be followed by life-long misery. A sin against this God may be expiated by the innocent: man suffers for Adam's sin, Jesus for man's sin; and this suffering of the innocent for and with the guilty is a law of nature. By the law of Calvin's Jehovah, sin is hereditary, also its punishment,—just as diseases are hereditary, and moral weaknesses, to the third and fourth generation. God cursed nature, says Calvinism; and the earth is full of thorns and ferocities to attest it. God elects some for his favors, some for his hatred: such are predestined for their several salvation or damnation,—a dogma which fairly translates the internal and external differences amid which human beings find themselves through no fault or choice of their own. Calvinism is thus a genuine though bald transcript of the phenomena of nature, having been derived from ancient scriptures which record the impressions made by nature on primitive man; there being selected from those impressions only such as are terrible, because to build a deity on the beautiful and gentle phenomena of nature would be to weaken the fears in which priestly power is founded.

Thus, by ecclesiastical selection, theology has been developed out of the phenomena of the inorganic world in their pressure on the life of man, and those parts of the organic which act inorganically,—those not subject to the human will. Wherever man is able to act freely, it is on principles opposed to these natural laws; wherever man is not overruled by nature, he does not curse the earth with thorns, or refuse to forgive, or punish the innocent for the guilty, and so on. At every point there is a contrast between the human moral order and this divine moral order. If nature expresses the true moral law, then all our morality is based on human depravity.

Now, let us see what parts of this system called Calvinism survive in the new Cosmic Theism. In this new system, the same laws appear—neces-

sarily, for they are in nature—in more scientific statement. A law of natural selection and natural reprobation goes on,—some forms fitted for honor, some for dishonor. Nature is the scene of a struggle for existence. Pain is the universal law. Every tint on a butterfly's wing was painted there by an agony. The bird gained its wings from the pursuing serpent. Untold myriads of cruel deaths preceded every progression; every progression entered a new chamber of tortures, the extremest being reached by man, that spiritual and conscious being whose verdict is now required on the moral character of the process.

The verdict of the human heart has long been given. The annihilation hoped for in the East, the heaven hoped for in the West, were alike condemnations of this world. The hope of happiness in another world was nature's evolutionary device to preserve the race from despair, or reversion to unconsciousness. But, that this immortality should not threaten to repeat the miseries of earth, the faith was developed that this particular planet had somehow fallen under control of the devil. That was a way of declaring earth a hell; and, lest men should try to escape from it to paradise by suicide, it had to be added that all suicides in the devil's dominion belonged to him. In some regions, a stake was driven through the suicide's body, I suppose to make sure that it would not rise when the trump sounded. By this means, man adapted himself to his burden. But Calvinism was an exception to this faith. It refused to concede that the agonies of earth were caused by the devil, or that they would be compensated in heaven. Its deity was quite equal to the infliction of all pain; and the devil was reduced to be his agent for torturing the majority of people in the next world,—inasmuch that they were glad to remain in this, bad as it was. Nature cared not which theory prevailed, so long as mankind remained to carry on the struggle for existence.

Prof. Fiske's Cosmic Theism resembles Calvinism in its removal of the Catholic chloroform, while his attempt at a scientific etherization seems to me a failure. While the law of evolution, as he expounds it, proves the agonies to be part of the constitution of nature, he will not allow us to ascribe them to an evil prince of this world. They come from the universal Source of phenomena, and are "His" modes of action. We may not even limit them to this earth. He insists on a uniformity of the universe,—a chemical and other identity of the planets,—which forbids the hope that these predatory laws of evolution may be local. When we turn to his essay on *The Destiny of Man*, the gloom deepens; for our Cosmic theologian will not allow us rest even in the grave from this eternal round of tortures. He says, "I believe in the immortality of the soul, not in the sense in which I accept the demonstrable truths of science, but as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work." (p. 116.) But what this reasonableness of God's work is, he has told us: it is represented in "a scene of incessant and universal strife, of which it is not apparent on the surface that the outcome is the good or the happiness of anything that is sentient"; one in which we often "find the higher life wantonly sacrificed to the lower." (I. of G., p. 122.) If this be the reasonableness of God in one world, why not in all? If the worlds are under one law, their substance the same, why may not the harried wretch of this world look forward to birth in the slums of another, and the resurrection of all his diseases and infirmities? "He that is filthy, let him be filthy still." No miracle of transformation is allowed in this Cosmic Calvinism, not even for the elect. Ignorance finds no promise of being

changed to wisdom, or rags into shining raiment, or thorns into roses. From a world where goodness is often crucified, where the most spiritual are apt to suffer most; from laws impartial between serpent and dove,—good, bad, and indifferent, beguiled no longer by the sweet reasonableness of Jesus, are delivered up to the bitter reasonableness of the nature-god. To the promise of such immortality, we may well reply with poor Claudio:

"Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprisoned in the viewless winds
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and incertain thoughts
Imagine howling!"

Shakespeare drew these weird similitudes from that same play of inorganic nature from which primitive man drew his demonology. That demonology faith raised into theology; and it has become the hard heritage of Cosmic Theism.

Prof. Fiske would be surprised at such criticisms as these. His theory is held in connection with his personal liberalism, his catholicity, his humanity. But, once given out, the new theory goes forth to be bound up with dogmas which will turn it to their own image. "Another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not." A Persian poet, speaking of doctrines, reminds men that, while thorns are green the camel may browse upon them; but, when they are old, they tear his lip. It may be that this rehabilitated Calvinism, tender with its author's sympathies, may feed the hope of some pious hearts; but its larger and ultimate effect must be to strengthen the hard and oppressive dogmas which grew out of an earlier cosmic theism of the same kind.

So, at any rate, I believe; and therefore have I spoken. I have done so at cost of personal feeling. I do not believe that this new theology is true or beautiful or good. I believe that the theory of Zoroaster, Plato, and Jesus, in the past, revived for the modern world by Leibnitz, and largely favored by Mill and Von Hartmann,—the theory which sacrifices divine absoluteness to divine goodness,—is far truer to the facts. This demand for a concept of unity between organic and inorganic, good or bad, is a mere empirical relic of a transcendentalism half emerged from Unitarian theology. Von Hartmann thinks that God created the world under a pressure of will to act, and before his "omniscience" was developed. Now that his wisdom is complete, God is supremely unhappy about his creation, and is doing his best to deliver sentient beings from the results. To brains, like my own, fashioned in a certain theologic mould, it is a relief to turn from another line of development general and unconfined. But this idea of a Deity struggling with and in the universe is inconsistent with any with the evolutionary growth,—than any other,—that it is more rational. It is proved to be an ended

Omnipotence, men turned their hearts to Mary, to the saints, who, as they thought, were doing their best for them.

The very essence of the religious ideal is the desire to save. Man has developed his form, his civilization, by a steady war against the inorganic world. He personified it as the adversary, and was led by a vision of finally chaining him. Well, the adversary is largely chained, the storm and the lightning are partly harnessed, and many ferocities have been tamed. But, by this process, we have discovered that the adversary has no personality at all: all the rage against a devil was that of a silly child beating the log over which it stumbled. But such waste of energy is continued by the monotheism which still tithes man's means and his enthusiasm for the service of a phantom formed from the very phenomena man must control. The cosmic forces shall kneel to man, not man to them. It is a delusion to think that inorganic nature has a soul that wells up in man as consciousness. Our consciousness holds some response to every phase of organic life,—to the bird on its nest, the ant in its commonwealth, the earthworm, whose soft siege turned the primal rock to a soil where a flower might grow. These are our kindred. But the elemental universe is to our consciousness only as to the sculptor is the stone he will carve to his thought.

If the sculptor shall fall on his knees before the rude block: if he believe that, apart from his art, the marble will make for righteousness, will evolve an angel,—what adequate work will you get from that sculptor? I agree with Prof. Fiske that organic evolution culminates in man, and that future evolution will be the progressive perfection of his form and his society. But if man harbors the notion that some providence outside of himself is striving to humanize this world, that delusion will surely impede his progress. The stars in their courses do not fight against our Siseras; every inferior species is striving to make the world into its own image. If the world is ever made into the stature of a perfect man, it will be because a purely human selection is substituted for natural selection. This has long been going on. In many minds there is a love of nature, a religious reverence for nature, which is really founded in a nature of man's own creation. Man has exterminated the ferocities of his planet, domesticated its wild creatures, surrounded himself with a garden, and credits to nature the fruits and flowers he has made. He forgets that nature never made a rose or a peach or a melon, or the vegetables and cattle by which he is sustained, but only the wild stocks of these things, many of them injurious.

The only deity who can move the human heart is that spirit which steadily delivers humanity from the cruel laws of natural selection,—laws imposed by inorganic nature upon the development of life. The substitution of love for selfishness, of justice for might, of self-restraint for natural impulse,—these mark the constitution of a quasi-supernatural world. Its divine ideal is expressed not in any cosmic god, but in a god suffering with man, and dying to save him from the cosmic law.

A world whose faith lingers in the far time of natural selection, clinging to what promises most pay in time and eternity, while its social life is of human selection, made up of motives not mercenary, must be expected, for some time yet, to combine its cosmic and its human concepts in one god-
ad. It wants the Saviour, hanging on a tree, to save; but it wants, too, the powerful fairy who raise him from the tomb and give him a new life. The purely human god must abide his time until mankind learn that a real religion cannot rest on promise of heavenly any more than of

earthly estates. Its hell is the evils from which it is saving man, its heaven the perfect earth for which it works. Individual conscious survival after death can only be proved, as the "Spiritualists" claim. It has never been proved to mankind otherwise. Whether it be the resurrection of Christ or of Katy King, it is the same species of evidence. Beyond that, it is what Prof. Fiske calls his "supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work"; and such faith can supplement a dualistic as well as a monistic theory of nature. Indeed, the Jews, who believed in one cosmic god, seem to have borrowed the doctrine of immortality from a people which believed in two opposed and equal principles, good and evil, sharing the universe between them. Here, Cosmic Theism has really nothing more to promise than even Materialism, which can equally believe that some molecular seed in the brain survives surrounding decay, and flowers in new life.

I cannot help feeling, however, that, as these naturalistic theories of immortality take the place of the supernaturalistic heavens, and man is brought to contemplate a mere continuance of his consciousness by necessary law, under conditions that he cannot modify, either by morality or religion as he begins to face the possibility that Goethe dreaded, of going downward instead of upward in the scale of organization,—this doctrine of immortality will less and less influence the religious sentiment. Without attempting to deal with this vast question in itself, at the close of my address I will only remind you of the wisdom of the Greeks, as expressed in the fable of Prometheus. When the human-hearted Titan brought men fire and the arts by which they might master and renovate the world, he took away from mankind belief in immortality, leaving only the hope, in order that they might not dwell in the future, but in the present; should concentrate themselves on making earth a heaven, instead of overshadowing its possibilities,—as the energies of young men are often overshadowed by the certainty of entering on fortune in the future. Christendom has been for ages feeding its religious enthusiasm on the psalm and prophetic poetry of Hebrews who did not believe in immortality, and whose spiritual elevation declined when they came to believe it.

The true Promethean gift to modern man is that brought by Darwin. If it has shaken the old faith in immortality, if it has revealed the cruelty of natural selection, it has taught us the secret by which that cruelty may be evolved out of the earth. It is good to have the giant's strength, and that Darwin gave us; but it is terrible to use it like the giant, and that is what Cosmic Theism leads to. Are we to sanctify nature as a god, and raise its predatory laws of evolution into a moral code? Nay, man has learned nature's art of war, in order to subdue nature, to evolve its red fang and claw out of existence; cultivate fang and claw into useful tooth and hand; summon science, wealth, art, to build the true supernatural world.

THE PRESIDENT.—Mr. Conway has taxed your intellects. The finance committee now wish to tax your purses, and will quietly perform that ceremony. Meantime, Mr. B. F. Underwood, whom I now present to you, will take up the speaking.

ADDRESS BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

An Unclerical and Untheological View of Religion.

I am no theologian and represent no theological system or theory; but of religion I may properly speak, and what I shall offer upon this subject on this occasion will be from a wholly unclerical and untheological point of view.

When men say that they "do not believe in religion," they mean that they do not believe in

the truth of the doctrines nor in the wisdom and utility of the forms and ceremonies which make up the various religious systems. Religion, as a *fact* in the world, whatever be thought of it, does not possibly admit of doubt. When the question is propounded, "Has religion a scientific basis?" it is pertinent only if asked in regard to theories, rituals, and practices of a religious character. If they are not mentioned, they are implied, and probably not absent from the mind of the questioner. We do not ask whether a fact—the existence of a star or a stone, for instance—has a scientific basis. Science is classified knowledge,—knowledge of *many* facts grouped and arranged after their kind, so as to constitute a basis for induction, to afford data for rational conclusions, to reveal relations and principles which, viewed separately, these facts fail to disclose.

Religious beliefs and observances prevail all over the world, among civilized and uncivilized men. Time and labor are lavishly given to their support. In their defence, millions are ready to fight and to die. And thus it has been as far back as history and tradition reach. In one form or another, religion has persisted through all changes of human condition,—the migrations of races, the rise and decay of empires, and all those vast revolutions in the conceptions and habits of men which have formed a part of the process by which the present condition has been reached. It has, too, stirred to its depths every passion, giving intensity to the highest and lowest in human nature. Mr. Abbot has well said: "If there is one word above all others which articulates in a breath the supreme sublimity and the most melancholy abasement of human nature, which carries imagination up to the heights of a heroism so pure and lofty that common lungs gasp for coarser air, and then plunges her into dungeons of superstition so foul with blood and filth that the choke damp of the coal mine seems innocuous by comparison, it is assuredly the word 'religion.'" An element of human activity and a factor in the evolutionary process so prominent as religion cannot, save by very unphilosophical and superficial minds, be ignored or treated as of slight significance.

The science of religion is just as properly a science as the science of government. Each particular science is but a segment of the circle—a division of knowledge—made by ourselves for our convenience. All phenomena are related, and all the sciences are but portions of one science,—the science of the universe. Religious thought, emotion, and practice belong to the phenomena of human life, and must be included in the study of man. We must look to anthropology, and not to that pseudo-science called theology, for the solution of religious problems. Indeed, while theology has been loudly proclaiming its *a priori* speculations in regard to God, his nature, his purposes, and his plans, as absolute truths, so evident that they must not be questioned, so sacred that doubt of them implies moral depravity and excites divine wrath against the sacrilegious offender, anthropology has been exposing the weakness of the theological assumptions, the puerility of its threats, the primitiveness of its method of thought, and showing that its "absolute truths" are but speculative fancies, which, instead of having a scientific value, begin where all science and correct reasoning end. Theology is no more entitled to be called a science than is astrology.

Let us now consider what is religion. By many, it is looked upon, as it was viewed by Miss Nesbit in *Dred*, "in the light of a ticket which, being purchased and snugly laid away in a pocket-book, is to be produced at the celestial gate, and thus secure admission into heaven." Theodore Parker

thus refers to the popular religion: "A man is a Christian, if he goes to church, pays his pew-tax, bows to the parson, and is as good as other people." And Emerson says, "Fashionable religion visits a man diplomatically three or four times,—when he is born, when he is married, when he falls sick, and when he dies,—and for the rest never interferes with him." These definitions do not aim seriously to define religion, but what the writers would probably regard as perversions of it, or religion with its essential element left out.

Shelley defines religion as "man's perception of his relation to the principle of the universe." Coleridge says that it is the "union of the subjective and objective,"—the Me and the Not-me. Schelling says it is "the union of the finite and the infinite." Schleiermacher defines it as "immediate self-consciousness of the absolute dependence of all the finite upon the infinite."

In all religious systems, we find the recognition of Power to which man sustains a relation of dependence, and a mental attitude corresponding with the conceptions prevailing: a feeling of dependence, accompanied by fear, wonder, reverence, adoration, and all those emotions arising from reflection upon the mysterious ongoings of nature and our relations thereto. That which is common to all religions, that which runs like a vertebral column through them all, that which is most fundamental, that which admits of neither denial nor doubt, is the recognition of mysterious power external to man and a sense of dependence upon it. Whether the power is one or many, whether it is good or evil, whether it is intelligent or unintelligent,—these are questions involved in theories respecting the universe and our relations to it; but deeper, more fundamental than these questions and the basis of them is the inextinguishable consciousness of a relation of dependence to the power manifested in the phenomenal world. Whatever doctrines or ceremony, whatever uttered word, whatever unexpressed emotion, stands for this common element, is religion in its essential nature.

The feeling of our relation to the universe precedes all conceptions in regard to it. The conceptions are built up out of the feelings before they can give rise to the more complex emotions. More fundamental, therefore, than any religious theories or conceptions is that deep feeling of dependence, more like that of the infant's early sense of dependence upon its mother than even those higher, those more complex emotions which result from the contemplation of nature. In the process of mental evolution there has been continuity, the higher conditions having been evolved from lower ones. The complex religious nature of the enlightened man—if evolution be true—must have grown out of conditions in which none of its highest characteristics were present. And this fact gives rise to the difficulty of deciding as to the universal existence of religion among men. Sir John Lubbock says, "If the mere sensation of fear and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than man are sufficient alone to constitute a religion, then we must, I think, admit that religion is general to the human race." But, if this definition is adopted, Mr. Lubbock says, "we cannot longer regard religion as peculiar to man"; for he sees as much religion in "the feeling of a dog or a horse toward its master" as in some ceremonies which have been described as worship by travellers. If the highest races of men have come up through stages in which the lowest on earth now are,—many of them in a state of arrested development, of fixedness,—who can doubt that our early ancestors were as destitute of all that is now commonly regarded as religion as are the Arafuras off the coast of New Guinea, or the tribe of Bechuanas,

described by Moffat and Livingstone as destitute of religious beliefs and ceremonies? The fact that religion, even the highest, is rooted in the depths, and not simply upon the surface of consciousness, explains its permanence and persistence through all the mutations of human history, and the inability to restrain and direct it by moral considerations until ages of intellectual and ethical culture have strengthened the later and higher parts of our nature. Reflective thought through countless generations, exciting a multitude of emotions and adding vastly to the wealth of man's emotional nature, has added to the complexity of the religious sentiment, infused into it elements derived from intellectual and moral education, so that in the enlightened mind it is not merely recognition of mystery, a sense of dependence, a feeling of relationship, but a consciousness in which, with the deep primary religious feelings, is intimately associated and interwoven much that seems to bear as little resemblance to its early beginnings as does the tree full grown, its branches bending with fruit, bear to the tiny seed from which it grew.

The aversion, so common among some of the older school of free thinkers, to the expression "man's religious nature,"—an aversion that had its origin in opposition to the old theological conception of religion as a supernatural revelation or endowment,—disappears when the subject is viewed in the light of modern science. If man did not possess a religious nature, he would not have religious beliefs and feelings, he would not have religious exercises and practices, just as, if man had not a combative and destructive nature, there would be no war. Man, like the animals below him, acts according to his nature, and whether wisely or not depends upon whether his conduct accords with his *higher* or his *lower* nature.

Religion as a belief and the practice of devotional rites and ceremonies has been slowly *acquired*, with the development of reason and imagination, by man's contemplation of the power ever manifested to his senses, and which, invested with human qualities the greatest known or conceivable, has aroused fear, wonder, awe, admiration, gratitude, and reverence. And the results of these thoughts and emotions repeated through countless generations have become established in the race as religious tendencies. We are now familiar with the definition, "Instinct is inherited habit." It is not in fact the *habit* that is inherited, but an aptitude, a predisposition to do as the parent did. There are islands having species of animals and birds which, tame when first discovered by man, have acquired an instinctive fear of him. This is shown by the young, they having inherited the results on the brain and nervous system and the corresponding mentality, through successive generations, of the fear excited by man's power over them and his cruelty to them. They have inherited no knowledge of man, but an instinct which, when he is seen, excites dread and impels them to flee. Thus, that which is learned, whether from personal teachers or by contact with nature, repeated through centuries, may produce states of mind which, by heredity, appear in the descendants in the form of predispositions. We all come into the world with organisms whose actions and reactions are largely determined by the form and quality of structure, including all those results of generations of experience which appear in us as aptitudes and intuitions.

Systems of religion are maintained, it is true, largely by organized effort, including a vast amount of scheming and craft; but, everywhere, they have the advantages of the accumulated results of ages of religious belief and devotion, organized in the

race, making it easy for men to feel and think in religious matters, as in others, as their ancestors thought and felt in olden time.

Here we have plainly a hint of the difficulty in opposing error and superstition not always sufficiently considered. He who assails the superstitions of his day encounters not only the living, but, in their stubborn opposition,—stubborn because of this fact,—the combined ignorance and bigotry, intolerance and perversity, of millions on millions who are dead, whose bodies are dust, but the effects of whose thoughts and deeds persist, with slowly diminishing influence, as the later and more enlightened ages neutralize by their teachings and influences the inheritances from earlier, from less civilized periods. Often, acquired beliefs and inherited tendencies are in conflict; and the results are inconsistency of conduct, discontent, instability, and various intellectual and moral anomalies. A good illustration of this is seen in the life of Carlyle, as recorded by Froude. A prominent religious paper, with the usual superficiality of such journals, quotes from Carlyle, "My life here these three years has been sere and stern, almost frightful," and ascribes the absence of joy in his whole life, by implication, if not directly, to his rejection of the religion of Jesus Christ. It fails to see that, among the causes that made this great life "sere and stern, almost frightful," most powerful was that Christian theology, the sad effect of which on Scotch character is described by Buckle, and the influence of which (chiefly by inheritance, but partly by education) affected profoundly the entire life of Carlyle. He outgrew belief in it as a system, but he could not outgrow the effects of generations of ancestral belief and the mood induced thereby. It is doubtless true that his life would have been more harmonious and happy, could he have remained in that belief. Much that was anomalous, incongruous, and discordant in his disposition was due to an intellectual development involving the extinction of this faith, and the persistence of traits and tendencies which through many generations had been largely formed and fostered by it, and which in his strong nature, severed from their source of renewal and in conflict with his positive convictions, made him continually at war with himself as well as in antagonism to others. We have all outgrown, intellectually, beliefs the inherited results of which still powerfully affect us, especially when our emotional nature is strongly excited. Asked whether she believed in ghosts, Madame de Staël replied, "No; but I am afraid of them." And so it is with all men, who, having outgrown superstitions, so far as their intellect is concerned, are yet more or less subject to them in times of illness, depression, or danger, when reason is impaired and the old tendencies assert themselves, much to the mortification of their possessor, when the unimpassioned light of the understanding is no longer dimmed by the revived ignorance and fear of the past. Many who reject the popular theology are so much under its influence and so little appreciative of the thought and methods of men of science that declamation, dogmatism, and indiscriminate denunciation with them are more popular than the careful reasonings and judicial fairness of the great men whose names they have learned to speak. Saturated with the influence of theology, these minds do not become liberal in any true sense of the word by dissenting merely from one and assenting to another class of views.

In this period of transition, many, outgrowing one form of superstition or mysticism, are naturally attracted to others of essentially the same nature, presented to them under other names. There are multitudes, having renounced the ortho-

dox theology wholly or in part, who are now as naturally attracted to other professed solutions of the great problems of being as young ducks taken from their mother and their native pond are attracted to any other body of water that is within sight.

One has but to announce a new system, or claim to have discovered an esoteric meaning in some old one, or to make claim to extraordinary powers of looking into the future, or of getting into exceptionally intimate relation with the Infinite, in order to become an object of special interest to a large class in this "modern Athens." It is necessary, however, that the system taught or the claim made shall admit of neither elucidation nor proof, that it shall rest alone upon the authority of its expounder (?), science, philosophy, and intellectual effort being thus dispensed with, and the arcana of nature being mastered by a "short and easy method." The mind, thus kindly relieved of the disagreeable drudgery of collecting facts and of the strain of reflective thought, is free to expend its energies in other directions. Marvellousness usurping control, finds satisfaction in whatever is at once incapable of proof and incredible to reason. Almost any obscure expression, if it only have reference to the Infinite and is flavored with a little weak sentiment, may be accepted as a proposition expressing the very essence of true philosophy, different from other philosophy, it is believed, if, indeed, there is the faintest conception of any philosophy at all, because of its "esoteric" character,—and, too, by many who have largely outgrown the old theological creeds as formal statements.

The religious emotions, which through countless generations have been fed and stimulated by religious faith, if deprived, through change of belief, of the forms to which they have been accustomed, are sure to find expression through other forms; and the less reflective and enlightened the individual, and the less his change has been a growth, the more his need of a form of faith, by whatever name it is called, essentially like that he has cast aside. Fortunate it may be regarded, if these transitions, when due less to the process that produces its results from within than to the direct agency of external forces, are accompanied by no irregular and abnormal manifestation of religious feeling, and lead not to the adoption, under alluring names, of ideas and methods which imply reaction rather than progress.

It is sufficient for my purpose here to indicate that the so-called religious instinct, from the existence of which so many unwarranted conclusions have been drawn, is not a primordial endowment, but an acquirement, and, instead of implying what is so extravagantly claimed by theologians, it implies simply the mind with its power of feeling and thought, capable of change and growth, and the transmission of the results of experiences in the form of predispositions, together with the external world with all its varied and mysterious phenomena, impressing us from birth to death and exciting to contemplative thought.

Religion with human development and culture becomes more or less suffused with the spirit and dominated by the principles of morality. Yet the religious nature may be strong and the moral nature weak, or the moral nature strong and an almost entire absence of religious emotion, as well as what is ordinarily regarded as religious belief. A knowledge of this fact led Bentham to say, "There is no pestilence in a state like zeal for religion independent of morality." Elsewhere, he broadly defines religion to be "the whole duty of man, comprehending in it justice, charity, and sobriety." Rev. James Martineau speaks of it as

"the culminating meridian of morals"; and Matthew Arnold defines it in the well-known words, "morality touched by emotion." But these are definitions of religion as it is after it has become subordinated to the moral nature. And the same is true of the definition that "religion is the recognition of an ideal," and "religion is the effort of man to perfect himself." Socrates could say that the true philosophy of religion is an infinite search or approximation; but this is hardly true of the savage, in whom fear and a sense of dependence and desire to escape danger, like any wild beast, are the predominant religious characteristics.

Religious belief and emotion may both be strong, while morality is in a rudimentary, degenerate, or distorted condition. The Thugs, a religious sect of murderers, are very devout, do what is enjoined by their priests, and observe strictly the ceremonial rules of their religion. No Thug ever offers an insult to the woman he is about to murder.

The most corrupt periods of history have been periods in which the religious feelings were the most active, and religious observances the most intimately associated with public and private life. Writing of the Byzantine empire, Mr. Lecky says: "There has been no other enduring civilization so absolutely destitute of all the forms and elements of greatness, and none to which the epithet *mean* may be so emphatically applied. The Byzantine empire was pre-eminently the age of treachery. Its vices were the vices of men who ceased to be brave without learning to be virtuous. . . . Constantinople sank beneath the Crescent, its inhabitants wrangling about theological differences to the very moment of their fall." Speaking of the period that just preceded the advent of Christianity, Mommsen, in his History of Rome, says that "the more lax any woman was, the more piously she worshipped Isis." On the other hand (it is the Christian theist, Max Müller, who says this), "the highest morality that was ever taught before the rise of Christianity, was taught by men with whom the gods had become mere phantoms, and who had no altars, not even an altar to the Unknown God."

Often, the most religious persons among us to-day—those who revel in the excitement of religious revivals—are habitually immoral, and even criminal, as in the cases of Guiteau and the James brothers. "Unusual piety is, in the popular eye," Lange observes, "either genuine saintship or a wicked cloak of all that is vile. For the psychological subtlety of the mixture of genuine religious emotions with coarse selfishness and vicious habits, the ordinary mind has no appreciation."

"If a man has been in Mecca as a pilgrim," says an Arabian proverb, "do not live in the same house with him; if he has been there twice, do not live in the same street with him; if he has been there three times, leave the country where he lives."

It is said that, during the revolt of Texas against Mexico, Col. David Crockett made a tour through the Southern States, appealing to the passions and prejudices of his audiences, to collect money and to enlist soldiers. In his speeches, he dwelt particularly upon the strong points that the Mexicans prohibited slavery and Protestantism, and once capped a high-piled climax by exclaiming: "The cursed yellow-skinned Mexicans want us to abandon our glorious religion, and go to work ourselves. God everlastingly damn them!"

How little real humanity and morality there is in much of that orthodox faith now happily declining, supposed to be most powerful in promoting charity and love, is illustrated by the following quotation from the *Widow Bedott Papers*, by Miss Miriam Berry:—

"Rev. Mr. Price: How does Mr. Shaw feel?"

"Mrs. Shaw: I regret to say that he does not feel his lost and ruined condition as sensibly as I could wish. Oh! oh! If that man *only* had faith, had saving faith, and if Serapheen [her daughter] was *only* a Christian, my happiness would be complete.

"Mr. Price: Y-e-s. I trust that you wrestle for them, without ceasing, at the Throne of Grace.

"Mrs. Shaw: I do, Mr. Price. I do so.

"Mr. Price: And do you feel that, in case the Lord should see fit to disregard your petitions, and consign them to everlasting misery, you could acquiesce in his decrees, and rejoice in their destruction?"

"Mrs. Shaw: I feel that I could without a murmur.

"Mr. Price: Y-e-s. I am very happy, Sister Shaw, to find you in such a desirable state of mind."

It is evident that the Free Religious Association has done well in using the expression "ethics and religion" in its constitution as amended; for religion does not *necessarily* imply ethics.

Schleiermacher said: "Religion belongs neither to the domain of science nor morals, is essentially neither knowledge nor conduct, but emotion only, specific in its nature and inherent in the immediate consciousness of each individual man. Hence comes the vast variety of religious conception and of religious system observed in the world,—variety, not only thus to be accounted for, but apprehended as a necessity of human nature."

From the statement that religion belongs not to the domain of science, I must dissent, since it is included in human thought and feeling, and can be studied by observing its varied expressions in the individual and in the race. But the following comment on the passage by Dr. Willis, Spinoza's biographer, is to the point:—

This view of Schleiermacher was an immense advance on all previously entertained ideas of the nature and true worth of the religious idea, and has not yet been generally appreciated in all its significance. When we recognize it, however, we readily understand how religious emotion may be associated with crime and immorality as well as with the highest moral excellence; how a Jacques Clement and Balthasar Gerard may confess themselves to the priest, and take the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour by way of strengthening them in their purpose to commit the crimes that have made their memories infamous; how punctilious attention to Bible reading and devout observance among criminals of a less terrible stamp do not necessarily imply hypocrisy and cunning, as so commonly assumed, when these unhappily constituted beings are found again engaged in their objectionable courses. The piety—the religion—displayed is a perfectly truthful manifestation of the emotional element in the nature of man which seeks and finds satisfaction in acts implying intercourse with Deity, but neither seeks nor finds satisfaction in acts of honesty and virtuous life in the world. We have here an explanation of how it happens that our penitentiaries are filled with the worst sort of criminals, whose lives, prior to the detection of their crimes, were characterized by eminent piety and a strict regard for religious observances. That religion, *per se*, has no restraining influence upon the conduct of men is a truth confirmed and attested by our daily and hourly experience, and needs no elaborate argument to substantiate it.

When this statement is fully comprehended, it will be seen that what is needed is not a revival of religion, but a moral movement that shall elevate religion and make all intellectual acquisition contribute to the advancement of the best interests of the individual and of society.

One of the gentlemen who spoke from this desk, last year, on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" said: "An institution has a sci-

entific basis when the thought, the emotions, the rites or customs, and the actions involved in it are found to accord with the scientifically ascertained nature of things. And any institution, being a fact, has a right to exist until by the use of the scientific method it is proved not to be in accord with the nature of things."* What is meant by the "nature of things" is evidently the constitution or aggregate powers of the universe. We thus speak of the nature of the brute, human nature, etc. Who shall say that anything in this world does not accord with the nature of things? When it was said to Anaxagoras, "The Athenians have condemned you to die," he replied, "And *nature*, then." Whatever exists is a part of Nature; and whatever occurs is in accordance with her laws, which we know only as her uniform modes of action. Nature gives poisonous fangs to the cobra as well as beauty and power of flight to the humming-bird, brutality to the savage as well as intelligence and refinement to the civilized man. She destroys life and property by tornadoes and floods, sparing neither age nor innocence. Who shall say that these destructive forces are not in accord with the nature of things? The fact is, Nature is often the direst enemy of man, who uses every effort to avoid the consequences of her relentless forces. But man is himself a part of Nature. With his intelligence, he learns to guard against dangers which threaten him on every hand. He improves the natural world around him, in which no moral order is discoverable, and adapts it to his needs. Men do not now deem it a virtue to submit to the external world as it is; but they recognize it within their power to make it conform, to some extent, to their requirements; in other words, to make those parts of Nature in which is seen no moral order subserve the purposes of that higher development of Nature attained in the reason and conscience of man.

All institutions accord with the nature of things; but the question should be: Is that for which an institution stands true or false? Is it founded on enlightened reason or in mere superstition? Is its specific purpose praiseworthy? Does it aid or hamper human progress? The mere fact that it exists is evidence only that it has been a necessity under the conditions that have prevailed; but it is no evidence that it is now needed, that it is still useful, that we should support it. It is our privilege to modify the institutions of our ancestors, and adjust them to the *present* conditions and wants. Ourselves a part of nature and its highest products, it is our privilege to correct the errors of nature's children of the past as well as to improve those parts of inanimate nature whose imperfections are forced upon our attention daily, making the unmoral world without correspond as far as possible with the ideal moral world within.

The recognition of mysterious Power, upon which man depends and of which he is but one of many products, being the real essence of religion, Humanity never can be substituted for that which always has been the object of the religious sentiment. The recognition of this Power must remain when all existing forms under which it is contemplated shall be regarded as we now regard the mythologies of Greece and Rome. With advancing intelligence and culture, the object of the religious consciousness is divested of its anthropomorphism, and the consciousness itself becomes less and less distinct. There are those who object to this view (from which I see no logical escape, unless religion is exempt from the process of evolution), because they say "the Unknowable" can never become an object of worship. Such persons overlook the fact that, as the human

qualities with which the eternal mystery has been invested cease to be regarded as divine attributes, worship ceases to consist in exercises to please or propitiate God, leaving, indeed, only that which is not commonly regarded as worship, nor by the masses as religion even, but which is in fact the essence of religion and all that is permanent in worship,—the recognition of a mysterious Power to which we are related, with the emotions to which such contemplations give rise. That this Power is a personality, that it is a being possessing qualities like our own mental faculties, or that it is *supernatural*, is merely a theological belief more discredited and doubted now among great thinkers perhaps than ever before in the history of human thought.

As, in the evolutionary process, religion is divested of its concreteness, its object is not changed, but the ethical element is necessarily brought into great prominence in conception and life; for with this growth, involving the religious change indicated, there must be intellectual and moral growth, however imperfectly realized in individuals whose transitions are necessarily marked by anomalies in belief and conduct. And the well-being of man is seen to demand, not expenditure of time, energy, and money in the expression of feelings toward God, but in studying man's manifold relations and improving his condition here and now; and the excess of feeling and enthusiasm which before found expression in prayer and praise, in religious rituals, now directed by enlightened thought and high moral purpose, seeks satisfaction in working for Humanity.

THE PRESIDENT.—We have with us a friend recently from Germany, his native land, who will tell us how the American problem of free religion looks from his German standpoint. I introduce to you Dr. Paul Carus.

ADDRESS OF DR. PAUL CARUS.

Germany is the country of free thought: it is the home of bold thinkers, the foremost philosophers, and patiently working scientists. Nevertheless, free thought is shackled in Germany perhaps more severely than anywhere else; for there is no freedom in the country. The people are considered by the authorities not so much as citizens, but subjects, who are not allowed to have an opinion of their own; and, if they have any, they should not utter it unless they are duly asked. Certainly, every one is free to speak his mind, but he has to bear the consequences; and woe to him who, for his existence, has to depend on the government! If he is a free thinker, he will rarely, if ever, find advancement in his career, unless he be a hypocrite and conceal his convictions. The simple fact of being a free thinker suffices for being asked to resign an official position. No wonder that to us Germans the highest ideal is liberty. And it is this ideal which has stimulated many to leave their country for America. The United States of America are praised all over the world as the land of liberty; and, truly, their institutions are such that there is no freer country upon earth. Accordingly, we are wont to consider this republic as the grandest hope of humanity. But, when I came hither, I was disappointed in one respect. There is freedom here, but very little free thought. In this great country there are comparatively few who are free and confess bravely their convictions. I soon observed that here, also, as in Germany, is a powerful tyranny exercised upon the minds of the people. But, while the oppressive influence in Germany is from above,—since it comes from the thrones and those in power,—the pressure experienced in America proceeds from the masses, who are not sufficiently educated to think freely them-

* Rev. M. J. Savage.

selves or be tolerant with those who are free thinkers. When I meet in Germany a gentleman of average education, I take it for granted that he is a free thinker, unless I know it to be otherwise. Among ten there will be found scarcely one who would prove an exception. It appears as if it were the reverse in America. Unless you know it to be otherwise, you had better make it a rule to suppose every well-educated American as addicted to some of the many creeds of this country.

Accordingly, the work to be done in Germany is to gain more freedom, by means of a greater political independence of the citizens, as well as the employés in the service of the government. For America, however, the next task is to sow the seeds of a more thorough education; and in due time there will be a richer harvest of free thought. There is no true free thought, unless it grows from earnest study and honest intellectual labor. Any other free thought is false: it is generally boastful and assuming, instead of tolerant and judicial, and its devotees often are more zealous and boisterous than even dogmatic believers. True free thought is unswerving, and, at the same time, charitable; nor is it dangerous to the community as is the license which preaches the usage of poison and dynamite.

I have come to America in the hope of being allowed with you to aspire after and to work for this noblest aim. The harvest is great and the laborers are few; but patient perseverance will overcome the difficulties. Let us be faithful, each one in his place, and we will realize more and more the ideal of true free thought.

Such free thought is not, as some people suppose, the death of religion, but develops the higher form of religion,—that of humanity. Religion, in the usual sense, means some creed and performance of ceremonies; the first of which is said to be the indispensable basis of morals, the latter is supposed to be works pleasing God. The religion of free thought does not know of any dogma: it is simply the warm heart throbbing for all ideals of human kind,—the devotion to truth, the enthusiasm for beauty, and, above all, the action of a good deed. Schiller, with regard to religion, says in a distich:—

"Which religion I have? I've none of all that you mention.

Well, then, and what is the cause? True Religion."

THE PRESIDENT.—There is good authority for saying that the first shall be last. I have reserved therefore the representative of the oldest religion in this hall this morning for the last address. Our Hindu friend who is here on the platform is not, as you may have conjectured, a member of the Brahmo-Somaj, or of Reformed Hinduism, but he is an adherent of the ancient Brahmanism. Nevertheless is he welcome among us. I introduce to you Mr. Joshee, of India.

ADDRESS OF GOPAL VENAYAK JOSHEE.

What is Lacking in Christianity?

I stand before an assembly of eminent writers, orators, philosophers, ministers, and scientists. Most of you have turned the Holy Bible upside down many a time in your life. Many have criticised every passage, nay, even every word of that sacred book. You therefore know full well what is lacking in Christianity. But it falls to my lot this morning to repeat what you have commented on, said, or heard. My countrymen, like Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, whom you have seen and heard in this very city of letters, Keshub Chunder Sen, and Rajah Rammohun Roy, have extolled to the sky the beautiful teachings of Jesus. What, then, will I say, *pro* and *con*, for and against, Christianity? Yet, my dear friends, I differ from its admirers

and its censurers. I have my best reasons for doing so. I should not judge of a religion from what it teaches, but what kind of influence it has on society. I therefore make bold to say that Christianity, as it is preached from the pulpit and practised by its followers of all shades and shapes, from the bigotted Catholic to the broad Protestant, is destitute of every noble attribute. I do not wish to touch on the Old Testament or the New one. I do not wish to say for or against Jesus of Nazareth, as I have no means of judging him rightly, one way or the other. But if he preached and practised as is recorded of him then I have no more respect for him than I have for this august body before whom I have the privilege of standing to-day. As I honor you for giving me this indulgence, so I honor him for inspiring any human Christian soul who endeavored to convert me to his faith.

Christianity lacks justice. As it was in the beginning, so it is in the middle age, and so it will be in the end, unless the current of force is changed. Man is born a sinner, and dies as such. Christianity, therefore, punishes us, whether or not we commit wrong intentionally. Look at the practical bearing this doctrine of original sin has upon mankind. The Christians condemn nations, and then devise plans of salvation. The conception of original sin is as erroneous as the plan of salvation; but look at the havoc, persecution, and ill-treatment of human beings carried on by the so-called Christian, in every land and soil! Believe as they do, or we are immediately damned. This is not done by one sect, but by all, including the broad Unitarian.

Christianity lacks righteousness. There is no character in the Bible, even that of God, which is natural and up to the mark. There is no character that I know of in Christendom which has not forced itself upon somebody. That character is righteous which has yielded itself to the claims of others. One man is seated on a spot of ground. Another comes there, and claims that spot of ground. The first quits it because it is claimed by another, without entering into the legality of the claim. He says: "Let him take it, as he wants it. I will go and stand elsewhere." But look at the Christian and non-Christian of the nineteenth century. They not only retain their own, but intrude upon their neighbors. Jesus claimed that he was God incarnate; so you writers, orators, philosophers, and ministers proclaim that you are the monarch of all you survey: there is none to dispute your rights. The natives of America have been slaughtered and driven away from place to place, and the intruders build palaces upon the stolen lands. Is this righteousness? Some will say that they have not done anything of the kind, but their forefathers did. But the man who steals and the man who has in his possession the stolen property are equally guilty: so that, if they did not slaughter the Indians, and rob them of their property, they still have the stolen things in their possession. None of the Christians who breathe on this land are righteous.

Christianity lacks humanity. I do not know if there is any one in this assembly who is humane, and who thinks that it is sinful to hurt others. It would not be righteous, but it may be justifiable, to kill those who kill us. I may, for argument's sake, excuse manslaughter, because of his being an obnoxious animal; but what harm do unto us the cattle and the innocent sheep and goats, so that they may be slaughtered in all civilized countries? Fashionable ladies and gentlemen give endowments, bequeath the property, for their pet dogs and cats, but never think for a moment how those big skeletons come on their tables.

Christian men and women ask for blessings on their bloody tables. Here, the innocent Chinamen and the Indian are butchered wholesale by the lawless mob; there, the devout men and women hurriedly go to churches, the judges and the lawyers go to administer justice, the President and the Senators talk lightly on the murderous telegraph gossips, without manifesting the least sympathy for the slaughter. The ministers are deeply engaged in vivifying the enormity of sin committed by unbelievers, and admitting to confession and Lord's supper those who have just come from slaughter-houses of both man and animal. The Christians of all casts and creeds, both literate and political, though themselves intruders in this land, feel no repugnance in advocating that foreigners, especially Chinamen, shall not come to this shore, and, if they come, shall be disposed of in a Christian-like manner. If foreigners should not come to this country because of its being forcibly and treacherously taken from the Indians, why should the American go to other countries? But I forget. What is good for the goose is not so for the gander. The Christian ministers paid no attention to the massacre of foreigners; but when they heard that the Chinamen would, in all probability, practise the same thing on their brother co-workers in China, by way of retaliation, they immediately rushed into the press, and appealed to the good sense of the American in general. What does this show, my dear friends? It is nothing short of inhumanity. I therefore say, Christianity lacks humanity.

It also lacks honesty of purpose. None need be surprised at this assertion. It is a fact that Christianity never proselyted on its own merit. Moses went behind the mountains, to receive messages from God. Jesus worked miracles that people might believe in him as a Messiah. St. Paul disbelieved Jesus while on earth; but, when he was crucified, St. Paul readily believed him to be the Son of God. The subsequent conversions were made by means of threats, force, persecution, and bribery. I do not really understand why people become "Christian"; but I know that, in all civil and criminal courts, we find men who bear personal testimony to a fact. Twenty witnesses on one side swear that they saw Mr. Smith, on the 27th of May, in New York; and twenty witnesses on the other side declare on oath that he was in San Francisco on the same date. Remember that it takes seven days for a person to come to New York from San Francisco. This is one way of conversion. Another way is that a weak, nervous, and credulous person is arrested by twenty robust apostles of Christ in the act of being involved in some worldly troubles. "Come to Jesus: you have sinned against God, and this calamity has therefore befallen you." That man, on hearing this message, falls into their clutches. This is the way Christianity is being proselyted all over the world. These ministers never attempt to go to their neighbors who do not believe in Christ, but they have the courage and means to haunt foreign countries. The question arises, Why do they leave alone their own people, and go to convert other nations? It is not for conversion that they go; but they go to educate them in luxuries and tastes for drink, that the large breweries and manufactories may be maintained at the cost of other nations. My countrymen certainly embrace Christianity, because they think that, by doing so, they will have a nice time and an easy life, like that of the American missionaries, who are supported by their people for sitting idle in easy chairs for six days, and preaching one day in the week in an unintelligible manner. But my people do not understand the Ameri-

can policy. They therefore come to grief, like the dog who, on seeing his own reflection in water, dropped his bit, in order to take that of another, and lost both. My dear friends, this is nothing but dishonesty. I therefore say that Christianity has no honesty of purpose.

Besides, the principle of charity is conspicuous by its absence throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. The Christians have no fellow-feelings; nor do they respect the prejudices and superstitions of other nations, in the same way as they expect others to respect theirs. "You must not speak against our religion and our national institutions; but we will go to your country, and say all manner of things against you. If you prevent us from doing so, we will send for man-of-war, and bombard your buildings." It is the same thing from a statesman to a loafer. "Put on our costume, eat as we do, or else you are no good." Ignorance is excusable, but deliberate connivance is an unpardonable sin. A prominent clergyman, who has visited my country three times, still does not know how we eat and drink. I was at table with him. All the animal dishes were offered to me, one by one, though I told him that I was not a carnivorous animal. When he saw that I could not accept any, he indignantly burst into exclamation: "What will you eat? You must starve now." My dear friends, this kind of indifference is not manifest in one house, but almost all. I therefore say that Christianity lacks charity.

Notwithstanding such glaring defects and absence of noble attributes, Dr. James Clarke, one of the prominent Unitarian ministers, has, in his *Ten Religions of the World*, asserted that Christianity is superior to all other religions, because of its universal application. One of the reasons he gave in support of this statement is that, wherever Christianity prevailed, there progress, civilization, and illumination of darkness kept pace with it. I also admit this fact; but let us not forget that that is the most disgusting and filthy to look at which is the best fertilizer. Are we ready to adorn our parlor tables with filth?

Now, my dear friends, it is easy to inflict wounds, but hard to heal them. I should therefore like to tell you how the Christians should behave so as to be universally respected.

Let them be just in their conception of God. He is not a respecter of persons. No one can sin against or please God. He does not punish or reward. Our sins are social, and between man and man. Let the Christian, therefore, inculcate this fundamental principle of truth, and behave justly toward all. The idea of original sin is demoralizing, and tells very badly on society. The Hindus or the Brahmans of India have never debarred people from entering heaven because of their different beliefs. When they said that the Brahmans have sprung from Brahma's head or mouth, and the Sudras from his feet, they simply signified their respective positions in the order of things. The work assigned to the head is entirely different from that assigned to feet or hands; and yet all these parts are equally important and cherishing to the central soul, which, perhaps, suffers more from the infliction of pain on the head than on any other limbs, but enjoys more pleasure from other parts of the body than from his head, when healthy. Let the Christian, therefore, take the Brahmans for their guides, and give up Moses and Abraham and Jesus; for this reason, that the former elucidated truth, and the latter imposed upon the credulity of their followers.

The Christian should be righteous, like the Buddhist. No man can be righteous when he has rights to assert. In the house of God, all things

belong to him. He permits us to use them, that we may live on; but what right has one man over another to accumulate things, and then call them his own? If he does so, he is not righteous. Higher the man, lesser his greed after earth; but the Christian knocks down everybody, and runs away with their property.

Christians should be humane. Let them obey the commandment of the Bible, "Kill not." It literally means, "Take no life." Eat all that is dead and fallen. The Buddhists do not even rob cows of their milk, which God has created for their calves, and not for man. The Buddhists starved themselves in order to feed their guests. They were humane. They suffered for others, but the Christians of the present day cause others to suffer for themselves.

Let Christians be honest in their dealings and confession. They say, "We are all one family, brothers and sisters, come from one God." But I do not remember having been treated as such in Christendom. I do not think I would have been allowed to speak here, if it had not been for introduction. Why do we need that when we belong to one family? But there is a world-wide difference between confession and practice in this country. In other countries, we tell you at the threshold that we are not universalists. We receive those who belong to us without any attempts at further acquisition. We are, therefore, honest and honorable. Let the Christians be such; let them cease to preach "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and then cut his throat, or throw him out of the window. To a stranger, your houses are closed, your churches are closed, your institutions are barred: no honesty of purpose in Christendom.

Charity, the Christians have never dreamed of it! Knock down a man; and, when he is half-dead, pour down his throat, with contempt, something that he cannot swallow. Ask a man a thousand questions; and, if he does not say a word in defence of your religion and country, sneer at him, or coerce him by bribery to flatter you. In my country, the poor are fed with respect, as if they were our equals. We love a man who praises his country and religion. Let the Christian be, therefore, the follower of the Brahmans of India in charity.

I have detained you long. Though Christianity does not possess any noble attribute, yet this country is most prosperous and wealthy. As I said before, Christianity is the best fertilizer, but a most disgusting thing to look at. I thank you, dear friends, for the kindness with which you have heard me.

THE PRESIDENT.—If there are any Christians of the Evangelical type in this hall, perhaps they now begin to understand how a pagan may feel when he hears his religion characterized by an Orthodox Christian. Mr. Joshee has turned the tables. This is the way Christendom looks to his unsophisticated eyes. It will do us no harm to reflect on the picture, and there are lessons which we may well take to heart in his drawing of it, though it does not flatter Christian pride. The Convention is now adjourned till the afternoon session.

I DON'T know that there is anything more noticeable than what we may call *conventional reputations*. There is a tacit understanding in every community of men of letters that they will not disturb the popular fallacy respecting this or that electro-gilded celebrity.—O. W. Holmes.

THE common problem, yours, mine, every one's, Is not to fancy what were fair in life, Provided it could be, but finding first What may be, then find out how to make it fair Up to our means.

—Unknown.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association.

II. The objects of this Association are to encourage the scientific study of religion and ethics, to advocate freedom in religion, to increase fellowship in spirit, and to emphasize the supremacy of practical morality in all the relations of life. All persons sympathizing with these aims are cordially invited to membership.

III. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

IV. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

V. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

VI. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

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AN Hungarian conjurer spreads a newspaper upon the floor, and places a young woman upon it, whom he covers with a piece of silk, and then causes to disappear. We have never seen this trick here; but we have known a man to put \$50,000 on a newspaper, and it has disappeared before he could cover it with anything.—*Commercial Bulletin.*

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LITTLE Johnnie had been unduly familiar with a forbidden jam-pot, and had, consequently, indulged in grief and lamentation when Retribution, with a large and rolling "R," had swooped down upon him. He sat smarting and tearful for a long time in silence, broken only by an occasional sob. Then he looked up solemnly in his mother's face, and said with emphasis, "Mother, I'm sorry you ever married my pa."

The following is from the *Christian*, London, of April 22: "A missionary from China said, at the Aldersgate Street meeting, last Wednesday, that they had to be careful not to let our illustrated papers fall into the hands of the Chinese. One of their converts saw a picture in the *Graphic*, representing some fashionable affair in which several ladies were represented in full dress. The innocent Chinese explained to a companion that no doubt this was a dispensary, and the diseased ladies had removed their upper garments in order to facilitate the doctor's examination!"

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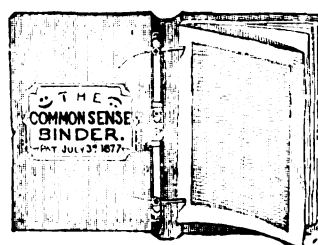
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BY B. F. U.

ANDREW CARNEGIE has made the munificent gift of \$250,000 to Allegheny City, for a free library.

THE question of Home Rule for Ireland now goes for settlement to the electors of Great Britain. The struggle will be one with justice and the progressive spirit of the age, on one side, and historic hatred, religious bigotry, and class prejudice, backed by wealth and the influence of the throne and titled nobility, on the other.

A STRANGE scene was that in the prison chapel of the Joliet (Ill.) penitentiary on Sunday, June 6, when Archbishop Feehan, of Chicago, confirmed one hundred and fifteen convicts. The chapel was trimmed with white flowers; each of the convicts wore on his breast a white bouquet, and the music was furnished by the convict orchestra.

THE preaching of Mormon missionaries in Switzerland has not been without results. Secretary Bayard has received information that in 1885 there were in that country 28 elders, 16 priests, 34 teachers, and 521 members. During the year, 95 converts were baptized and 52 emigrants sent to Utah. Nearly all the converts are made from the Protestant class. The general assembly, held at Berne, the head-quarters of Swiss Mormonism, on the 19th and 20th of December, was marked by great enthusiasm, and the hall was crowded to overflowing. "Women's aid associations" have been organized by the Swiss Mormons, and Sunday-schools are sustained at various points. When converts are about to leave for Utah, every precaution is taken to conceal their destination, and thus to avoid detention by the local authorities.

GENERALLY speaking, strikes do not pay. It is workingmen who suffer most from them. Within six weeks, the usual number of chattel mortgages filed for record in the Recorder's Office, at Chicago,

has been more than doubled,—a fact which can be explained, it is said, only by the strikes and labor troubles. During one week, three hundred and ninety-seven instruments of this class were recorded, representing an average valuation of about \$251. Of these, two hundred and sixty-three were mortgages upon furniture, but few of which represented an amount in excess of \$100. These facts indicate that many who have been living comfortably are out of employment and out of money. A Western county commissioner says that, when cold weather comes, there will be an increased demand of probably fifty per cent. upon the country for fuel, food, and help generally.

SPIRITUALIST papers are beginning to recognize the fact that their cause is suffering greatly from the character and doings of many mediums, and they are emphasizing the importance of more discrimination and care than have hitherto been exercised in examining phenomena claimed to be spiritual. Henry Kiddle, in an article on "The Elevation of Mediumship," in the *Spiritual Offering*, says: "Public mediums should be accredited in some way,—at any rate, required to present evidence of good character; and they should be required to hold their sances under proper conditions, both for the purity and verification of the manifestations." This is the position persistently maintained for years by the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, in the face of much opposition from credulous Spiritualists and from a multitude of mediums and their adherents and supporters. The *Journal* has received not a little abuse for its course, which we are far from saying has always been wise; but its influence is beginning to show itself in a very marked manner, as we cannot help observing, on looking through the half-dozen Spiritualist journals that come weekly to this office.

THE Baltimore *News* proposes to the city council that it make an appropriation for the weekly purchase of a ton of chloroform, so that each family may obtain a supply for Sunday. The legislature, it says, has closed up everything that can be made to contribute to human comfort. Barbers' shops closed, no one can get shaved; the ice-men have demanded exemption from Sunday deliveries; the bakers are talking of stopping the delivery of bread; and the milkmen will, probably, soon refuse to deliver milk on Sunday. The *News* sees no prospect of anything for that day except hot weather, stale bread, sour milk, and hydrant water. On Sunday mornings, the people can go to church; and those not "sufficiently interested in the pretty bonnets can be soothed by a soporific sermon. But, for the rest of the day, the public will need chloroform, or there will be intense suffering this summer." It is suggested that the police be required to go around and administer it, and see that everything is safely and surely arranged. "Thus," the *News* concludes, "we should secure not only surcease of ennui, but would present a quiet front that would paralyze the stranger within our gates. A sleeping city! How sweet and beautiful it would look in the glaring sunlight and the arid drought! All its people safe from heat and

perspiration and privation, and not one guilty of the slightest harm. Blessed ideal! Bring on the chloroform."

W. D. MOORE, a Pittsburgh lawyer, in a recent lecture on "Flowers, and what they teach us," exclaimed: "Evolution is an incarnate lie, unless I am totally mistaken. If it were true, the seed of the flower would find its outcome a head of cabbage. It is an absurd caricature, that, if true, would bring chaos to the world. No such doctrine is written in the volume of the rocks. The cosmos of the world was not aided by transformations. No: flowers were since earth began; and I will conclude by saying with the cross-crucified and thorn-crowned One that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of these." This Mr. Moore is the same flowery but superficial and uninformed declaimer that he was a few years ago, when he was preaching. As to evolution, Mr. Moore is probably "mistaken." Nobody looks for a head of cabbage from a flower-seed; yet cabbage-heads, of which there are many varieties,—all admitting of more or less improvement by cultivation, make an interesting and instructive study in connection with the evolutionary processes of Nature.

THE Orangemen of the chief city of gentle Ulster have proved themselves quite equal to their Catholic countrymen in raiding and rioting, sacking stores and dwellings, and maltreating inoffensive citizens, as well as in hurling missiles at the guardians of public order. A hundred houses of prominent Catholics destroyed, and a score of deaths from collisions with the police, are among the results of the Orange outbreak at Belfast last week. These defenders of law and order in the abstract threw paving-stones at the police, to the tune of "God save the Queen" and "Rule Britannia." In their patriotic opposition to an imaginary oppression, due largely to the influence of inflammatory and seditious speeches, like those of Lord Randolph Churchill, the rioters attacked beer and whisky saloons kept by Catholics, which, in some cases, proved the strongest foes they encountered; for, the more powerful their attacks on the barrels, the more were they overcome by their contents. The hatred of the constabulary was carried to a point which can be inferred from this description by an eye-witness of the mob's attack on the Bower's Hill police station: "Women with pokers pried up paving-stones, and broke them into suitable sizes for the use of the rioters, when they ran short of missiles. Women and young girls desperately entreated the men to continue the fighting whenever they flagged, offering them aprons full of fresh stones; and, when entreaty failed, the women and girls drove the men on by savage threats." Evidently, the Protestant women of Belfast are no more lacking in courage than are their Catholic sisters of Limerick. After an outbreak like this in a Protestant city of two hundred thousand people, upon the announcement of the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule bill, "the argument from Ulster" may have less weight with the world than it has had hitherto.

A SUCCESSFUL CHARITY.

The question is sometimes sceptically raised, "Are our charities doing any good?" No one can read the last annual report of the Massachusetts Home for Intemperate Women without the conviction that the managers of that institution can have the satisfaction of returning an emphatic *yes* to this question. The Home is situated at 41 Worcester Street, in Boston; and, so far as it is not self-supporting, which it is to the extent of sixty-seven per cent. of its expenditure, it is maintained by private beneficence.

The institution originated, as have others of our best charities, in the devoted private work of one kind and skilful woman in her own home. The Channing Hospital, for poor women incurably sick, began in the tender but effective sympathy of the noble-hearted Harriet Ryan, who, finding from time to time certain helplessly sick women in poverty and neglect, took them to her own rooms, and gave them her personal care. Such actions enlisted the sympathies of others who saw or heard of them; and her beautiful charity soon overflowed from her modest rooms into the abandoned vestry of the old Federal Street (Dr. Channing's) Church, and thence grew into the incorporated and excellently managed society which now continues the beneficent work in a convenient building on McLean Street. In like manner, this Home for the, if possible, still more unfortunate and pitiable class of intemperate women began in the personal work of its efficient matron, Mrs. Mary R. Charpiot. The report before us says: "Her conviction that intemperate women could be reached and succored by sympathy, kind treatment, and judicious oversight, led her to open her house for that purpose. By visiting the courts, and obtaining leave of the judges to take on probation such small numbers as she could from time to time accommodate, she soon proved the practicability of her scheme. The success attending her efforts attracted the notice of others; and, in order to secure the greater strength and efficiency which come from united action, the Home was regularly incorporated in 1881." A large house was then purchased, and a still larger one is now needed. There have been during the five years since incorporation more than one thousand women at the Home. The whole number in the past year has been one hundred and sixty-five. The number at any one time seems to be about thirty-five or forty.

It is claimed that a very large proportion of these women are sent out from the institution reformed. And not only are their habits changed, but the larger part of them are trained while there in a useful and profitable occupation (that of laundry work), so that, when they go out, they may get positions for employment, which shall make them much less liable to temptation. Most of the directors at the outset were sceptical whether women, who had become victims of intemperance, had not so far lost self-respect and self-control as to be incapable of redemption. But the statistics of the institution have removed all their doubts. Not only the victims of alcoholic drinks, but those addicted to opium drugs are admitted to the Home. Most of the inmates are poor women; and a large number of them—one-half of all who were admitted last year—have been sent there directly from the courts, on probation. Only one has had to be surrendered to the courts in three years. There is a small number of paying patients, who come from families of means,—the wives of merchants, bankers, phy-

sicians, etc. But the notes of cases, as kept by the matron, show that in both classes reformation is effected.

Extracts from these "Notes" of the matron are printed, and make the most effective part of the report. Here are a few specimens of them: "Mrs. W., before coming to us, attempted suicide; remained in the Home three months. After leaving us, she remained in Boston over three years, doing well; then went West three years ago; and, when we last heard from her, she was still doing well." "Mrs. F. came to us over six years ago; was a very hard case. After leaving us, she returned to her family, and has since been a good wife and mother, and helps provide for the house by doing dressmaking." "Mrs. R., widow of a contractor, had been intemperate twenty-five years when she came to us; is now thoroughly reformed, and living with her family." "Mrs. M., a morphine patient, is the wife of a physician. She is now thoroughly reformed, and living with her family." "A daughter of a wealthy merchant, since leaving us, has married; is now keeping house, and is very happy." "When M. came to us, six years ago, she was considered hopeless. To-day, she is keeping house, and supporting herself by honest labor." "Mrs. —, an intelligent and educated woman, . . . was both a morphine and alcoholic patient when she came to us. She is now reformed, and earning a good living at dressmaking." "R., a young girl, was considered a very hard case when she came to the Home; is now doing well."

The monthly visitors' reports contain similar testimony. One of them says: "On one of my visits, two nicely dressed women went out the door; and Mrs. Charpiot said, 'Those are two of my former inmates come to call upon me.' They had both been several months here, had learned to wash and iron very nicely, and are now working in a laundry at the South End, where they earn from eight to twelve dollars per week. They are boarding in a respectable family, and bring part of their earnings each week for Mrs. Charpiot to take charge of." And again, "A large number of the girls are in good families in the country, and they often write very grateful letters for what has been done for them."

Facts like these must come as a benediction upon those who are doing this work. They see that their sympathy is not wasted, that their virtue already has its reward; and that human nature, however seemingly ruined, need not be despaired of. There is a vital germ which, if touched aright, may bring moral recovery and redemption. One important principle of the institution is that the inmates shall have regular employment. There is a sewing department for those adapted to that kind of labor; but the laundry established in the Home, and well patronized by the public, is the chief mode of industry. From the laundry alone was derived last year an income of \$4,727,—considerably more than half supporting the Home. The women are trained in the nicest kinds of laundry work, and this insures for them employment at good wages after going away.

But over all departments of the Home, as the secret of its success, it is evident, presides the womanly genius of its matron,—a woman as instinctively wise in executive methods as she is benevolent and motherly in heart. We have no personal knowledge of her; we only judge what she must be from reading the report of her work. That such women exist, and do not quail before the overwhelming avalanche of human wickedness in modern days, gives us a stronger hope for the future of the race.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CONCORD SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

The programme for the next session of this institution promises much less than was given in 1884 and 1885. In each of these years there was a discussion of some momentous theme. Among the thinkers thus brought forward were Davidson, Fiske, Abbot, and Montgomery. The other work was done, in one year, on Goethe, and, in the other, on Emerson,—two of the most interesting of modern authors, and two who, together, cover the whole field of thought. This year there is to be no formal discussion, and no modern author is to be taken up. One of the two now selected, Dante, is, of course, a great poet; but his system of thought, taken as a whole, is as antiquated as a Chinese junk. Some of his ideas about heretics and devils may still be found floating about in our kitchens, but his statements of theology and philosophy are passages which readers skip.

Plato is much more worthy of study, and might well receive a longer series of lectures than will be given him this summer. The greatest honor that could be paid him by his admirers at Concord, however, would be to imitate him in his willingness to listen to objections. He knew so well that no system can stand long, if it leaves opponents unanswered, that he actually devoted two of his ablest dialogues, the "Sophist" and "Parmenides," to stating the strongest possible objections to his fundamental position. His hero, Socrates, cared for nothing so much at his last hour as to have his disciples rate his arguments for immortality no higher than their actual worth.

If Plato and Socrates were now making out a list of lecturers, it would certainly take in representatives of various views, and would allow the systems of Locke, Mill, and Spencer, to be stated at some length by men who believe in them, so that they might be discussed fairly. This has never been done in the Concord school. Fiske and Abbot were called in only as experts, to testify in favor of theism. Their philosophical ideas received little comment. The originality of Dr. Abbot's system and its opposition to that hitherto taught in Concord are so marked that he should not be passed over in this year's programme. He has at least a right to hear why his philosophy is not accepted by the gentlemen who invited him to address them a year ago. They owe him an elaborate answer. Students of Aristotle, Bacon, Locke, Hume, Mill, Bain, and Spencer, have a right to ask, Why do not these Concord philosophers answer the objections made by authors with such influence? If they expect to propagate their views by simply ignoring opponents, how can they call themselves a school for adults?

Such questions are justified by the fact that the programme for this summer's session refers all inquirers for information to the Concord *Guide-Book*, which contains the following statement, originally issued with due authority, and still substantially correct: "It has been thought best to make the school distinctively one of philosophy, using literature only as its vehicle or adjunct, and dispensing with science, as commonly understood. A few lectures, perhaps, will be given to show the relation which natural science bears to philosophy; but the whole field of empirical and phenomenal investigation will be left for those who have a taste for it." This is simply saying, "We are not going to listen to objections." It is as if an association of protectionists were to get up a tariff school, and give out notice that "Political Economy will be dispensed with, and the whole field of investigation of statistics will be left for those who have a taste for it." "The whole field of empirical and phenomenal investigation!" Why, this means

all the region so gloriously traversed by Aristotle, Bacon, Locke, Hume, Mill, Bain, and Herbert Spencer,—the whole range of psychological investigation, all the vast domain of mental science! It is only those who know that the facts are against them, who can thus say, "So much the worse for the facts!" What are phenomena but facts? The position of the school is the same as that of its great authority, Hegel, who said: "Thought is the basis of all existence." "The reality of everything is thought." To have no reality but that of thought is precisely what might be said of the travels of Robinson Crusoe and Baron Munchausen, to distinguish them from those of Agassiz, Darwin, and Humboldt. These great men speak from experience, from "phenomenal investigation," about realities of fact. The system which claims only a reality in thought confesses itself a fiction.

F. M. HOLLAND.

THE UNITY OF SCIENCE.

II.

The kinetic theory of gases, which explains their restlessness and elasticity by the movements of their molecules, is of absorbing interest. The hydrogen molecules, estimated to be only about one-fifty-millionth of an inch in diameter, are believed to have a motion, even at 60° Fahrenheit, of over six thousand feet per second.

Although we find science discoursing thus familiarly of molecules, it is true that the best microscope has only power to make visible to us, even in the brightest part of the spectrum, objects of only about $\frac{1}{100000}$ to $\frac{1}{50000}$ of an inch in diameter; and "Sorby calculates that the smallest sphere of organic matter which could be clearly defined with our most powerful microscopes would contain many molecules of albumen and water, and it follows that there may be an almost infinite number of structural changes in organic tissues, which we can at present foresee no mode of examining." (Lubbock.)

Even the terms of science cease to take the character of a dialect belonging to the separate departments, but now assume the dignity of a universal language; and thus speaking one tongue makes all scientists akin.

The physiologist and the naturalist no longer taunt the chemist with entering their domains only as an iconoclast, tearing down substances by decomposition which he has no power of rebuilding, learning in vain their molecular constitution, while their atomic relations remain a sealed secret, known only to that subtle property of living matter,—vital force; for the chemist has learned to approach the investigation of organic substances from the physical side. And the impassable barrier which was supposed to exist between organic and inorganic substances has been broken down, first by Wöhler, in 1828, in the synthetic production of urea, and later in many other substances, as alcohol, vanilla, indigo, hydrocyanic acid. "Yes; but," objects the narrow-minded critic, "Dewar could not affect the synthesis of its atoms in the production of hydrocyanic acid, except at a temperature far above white heat; while, in nature, it is produced spontaneously in certain fruits at a temperature of 70° Fahrenheit." Very true; but what does this prove? Simply the transmutation of forces, and also that heat, as a force in nature, produces an energy infinitely less in power than that which resides in vital force. Physiological botany is a production of this interchange of scientific truths, as well as comparative anatomy and comparative embryology. Both physiology and biology as well as embryology and botany are under mutual obligation each to all the others for

light shed upon these different subjects, and especially are the mysterious processes of generation in both plant and animal rendered less problematic by this interchange. The President of the British Association, in his recent opening address at the Montreal meeting, said, "The neglected borderland between two branches of knowledge is often that which best repays cultivation, or, to use a metaphor of Maxwell's, the greatest benefits may be derived from a cross-fertilization of the sciences." And, again: "It is not always that which seems at first the most important that proves in the end to be so. The history of science teems with examples of discoveries which attracted little notice at the time, but afterward have taken root downward and borne much fruit upward."

In 1652, Harvey, from his study of the production of the chick from the egg, uttered the then so-called dogma, "Omne vivum ex ovo,"—every living thing comes from an egg. Was this sophistry? Was it mere speculation? Or was it the inspiration of truth? To Harvey, the egg of the fowl stood as an alphabet of great capital letters with which to spell out a common law of generation for both plants and animals. And yet, notwithstanding his famous scientific declaration, his theory was not confirmed until 1827, nearly two centuries later, when Baer made the discovery of the human and other mammalian ova. Now, the ovum is no longer a theory, but a fact, and one which belongs to two kingdoms of nature, the animal and the vegetable. Out of this search into primitive forms of living matter, in the next decade Schleiden and Schwann promulgated the "cell theory," as applied to growth in both plant and animal.

In considering the tendency of the progress of truth to unify science, we must not forget that word of such universal application, *protoplasm*. Whence it derives its properties, so constant wherever found, we know not; but protoplasm remains a scientific fact,—the unit, or elementary form, of all living or organic matter, vegetable or animal. "Where there is life there is protoplasm, and where there is protoplasm there is life," says Prof. Allman; and the expression "vital properties" belongs to this elementary form of living matter. Protoplasm is the physical basis of all vital action,—of that mysterious thing which we call Life. At the meeting of the American Scientific Association at Nashville, a few years ago, Prof. Marsh, in his paper on "Evolution," said: "In this long history of ancient life, I have said nothing of what life itself really is; and for the best of reasons, because I know nothing. Here, at present, our ignorance is dense; and yet we need not despair. Light, heat, electricity and magnetism, chemical affinity and motion, are now considered different forms of the same force; and the opinion is rapidly gaining ground that life, or vital force, is only another phase of the same power."

When electricity was discovered, it was supposed that very few substances contained this subtle agent. It was known, as early as six centuries before Christ, that amber, rubbed with silk, is capable of attracting light bodies; and, to this day, amber beads are supposed to possess some healing virtues, while the word "electricity" is derived from the Greek *electron*, meaning amber. In the sixteenth century, some two thousand years later, it was discovered that some other substances, such as sulphur, sealing-wax, and glass, also contain electricity. It seems incredible that the human intellect is so slow of comprehension. But here we have one of nature's forces, playing so prominent a part in science of to-day, dimly recognized by the ancients, but not practically discovered for more than twenty centuries later, with

still another pause of two hundred and fifty years before man sufficiently understood its laws to make it of any use.

In the familiar experiment of the pith-ball suspended by a thread, it was found that a glass rod which had been vigorously rubbed with a piece of silk, when brought near the pith-ball, had power to attract it in any direction. But the moment that the glass rod touched the pith-ball, imparting to it its own electricity, at once all attraction ceased. A stick of sealing-wax, however, rubbed with flannel, was found to have power to attract the pith-ball which had refused the glass. But, the moment the wax is brought into contact with it, this also is repulsed, and finds itself no longer a source of attraction; but the glass rod will again attract the coquettish pith-ball as before. Two conclusions, of course, were reached by this experiment: first, there are two kinds of electricity, vitreous and resinous, or *positive* and *negative*; second, opposite electricities *attract*, and like electricities *repel*. Subsequent study of this force soon proved that glass does not contain only positive, nor wax only negative electricity, but that all substances contain in greater or less degree both kinds, although certain substances are relatively positive, while others are relatively negative; and that friction will withdraw one kind from one substance leaving it charged with the other, while similar treatment will produce opposite results in another substance. Friction, therefore, does not produce electricity, but only produces a state of *electrical separation*,—the only condition under which it can manifest itself; while the magnet represents a state of permanent electrical separation, or a substance with its positive at one end and its negative at the other. But the law by which electrical separation is effected, by which electricity in motion is produced, and which renders it such a wonderful force in nature and such a power in applied science, seems to be a common law of nature,—the law of *attraction and repulsion*, the eternal going out of the positive after the negative. We also find this true in regard to that most mysterious of all the physical forces, chemical affinity, that the same general law obtains. The power of this force also depends upon *difference*, or the *heterogeneity* in the composition of the matter which it affects. We see here an exhibition of the law of attraction as affecting three of nature's forces, which corresponds to many other phases of the law of attraction in the universe.

In the decomposition of compound substances by electrolysis, where electricity is used to overcome the power of chemical affinity, it is found that certain atoms always cluster about the positive pole, while others go to the negative. In the electrical analysis of common salt, which is the chemical union of chlorine and sodium, it is found that the chlorine atoms always collect at the positive pole, and are therefore negative, and the sodium atoms at the negative pole, and are therefore positive, according to this universal law of attraction of opposites. Hence, we have all elementary substances classed as positive or negative; and the quality of the combining power in chemistry depends upon these properties of the atoms thus combining. Goethe, in his *Elective Affinities*, admirably illustrates chemism, or chemical affinity, in the opening chapter of a book, to read which is like the dissection of a dead body,—full of unclean and repulsive things, and which only the quest of knowledge could justify or render a wholesome occupation.

The vital properties of living matter are chiefly *contractility* and *irritability*. What either of these really means no scientist can tell. If we accept the

interpretation which electric and chemical action in inanimate nature would suggest, we might regard contractility as *attraction*, and irritability as *repulsion*,—another form of expression for a common law of animate and inanimate matter. So, in like manner, the great forces of the universe,—the centripetal and centrifugal,—which keep the millions of worlds from jostling each other as they perform their annual and diurnal motions, are, after all, only expressions of a law of attraction and repulsion, the negative or attractive force, the positive or driving force. So, also, thermal force acts under the same law. Heat is motion, cold is rest; heat is the driving force, cold attractive; heat, positive; cold, negative. A body when cold stops, or absorbs (attracts), the same ray of light which is driven out from it when heated. Analogous to this phenomenon, we find that a string of a musical instrument in a state of rest stops, or absorbs, the same note which it gives out when in motion. Passing, we will at least recall the interesting coincidence of the number seven in sound and light,—the seven notes of the musical scale and the seven colors of the spectrum; also, the correspondence in the wave lengths between the lowest note of the scale and the color red, and those of the highest note with the color violet.

We give plurality to the forces of nature, naming this quintuple power light, heat, electricity, chemical affinity, and motion. And yet science has demonstrated that electricity alone is convertible into all the others. The correlation of all these is an accepted fact. After all, we may reasonably question the existence of so many distinct forces, and presume only that of a single force of dual character manifesting itself in different ways now regarded as separate forces. The striking analogies of phenomena under each of these, and the analogies among natural laws, hint at unity of forces. The two qualities of force so easily demonstrated in electricity, which we call positive and negative (attraction and repulsion), may be identical with the dual manifestations of all forces.

May not all these terms—contractility and irritability; heat, cold; acid, alkali; motion, rest; positive and negative; centripetal and centrifugal; attraction and repulsion—be, after all, a play of words by which, in our state of dense ignorance, we seek to express the different manifestations of the same force? And, if science shall demonstrate to us the unity of her forces, may it not, after all, be vital force—that mysterious thing which we call life—which acts upon all forms of matter producing these varied phenomena?

It will be objected that we have animate and inanimate nature, organic and inorganic matter, and that the forces which move in the inorganic and inanimate cannot be confounded with vital force, which operates only in the organic, rendering it animate. And why not? The one seems analogous to kinetic, the other to potential energy. In the inanimate zinc and carbon slumbers potential energy, which chemism is capable of liberating and imparting to inanimate and inorganic metal, giving to it the power of flashing your living thought beneath the waters of the Atlantic to friends upon the other side, thus seeming at last to render inorganic matter animate. "Very good!" exults the materialistic scientist: "then you consider the forces of nature sufficient to account for all the operations of matter, animate and inanimate? And you would regard life, therefore, as only a property of matter?" On the contrary, I would regard matter as accidental to life, without which no such thing as matter even could exist. Matter is life materialized. Says Carlyle*:

"All visible things are emblems. What thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly speaking, is not there at all. Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some idea and body it forth." Matter is but the scaffolding for the use of the immaterial, upon which it climbs to gain a broader survey of the universe, aided by science as a field-glass.

It were folly to have any quarrel with the materialist over terms, or to feel chagrin when taunted by him with our inability to define life. Life is not the only word which wanders through science undefined nor the only thing beyond the grasp of human knowledge. Even so simple an every-day fact as gravity is equally beyond our power to define. We talk learnedly of the centrifugal and centripetal forces of the universe; and yet we are really no wiser concerning them than the little girl who, when asked, "What keeps the earth in its orbit?" replied, "God beckons to it."

As the elementary form of all matter is the cell, so the elementary action or manifestations of many of nature's laws seem to be in a circuit, from the circulation of the vital fluid even in lower forms of life and the afferent and efferent motions of the nerve current to the motion of all worlds in the universe. The oxygen so essential to the animal kingdom is exhaled by the vegetable; while the carbonic acid which we throw off in every act of respiration is breathed by the plant, which appropriates the carbon and sends us back the oxygen.

The dual activity of the forces of nature, which we have assumed to be analogous to the two fluids of the electric current,—the positive and the negative,—appears also in dual form in that vital force which we call life, which manifests itself in even the slightly as well as the highly differentiated forms, in two grand divisions, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, which we call sex. And sex can no more be accounted for by the scientists than life. Of the attempts which have been made, none rise even to the dignity of inviting intelligent criticism. In a study of the spiritual forces of the male and female character, we cannot shut our eyes, even here, to the striking analogy to natural forces. Here is the positive, driving force of man, set in opposition to the negative, attractive force in woman. We cannot help recalling Katharine Hanson's *Spiritual Forces*:—

CENTRIPETAL.

"With eager impulse outward tending,
Keen to explore the solemn Whole,
Hot life-throbs toward far verges sending,—
What shall restrain this reaching soul?"

CENTRIFUGAL.

"By sweet, calm sway of inward might,
Held in an orbit's large control,
Illumined by the Light of light,—
What shall mislead this trusting soul?"

We also find that, in both these kingdoms,—the animal and vegetable,—a unity in the law of reproduction obtains. Here, also, we find the same law of attraction and repulsion, the same eternal going out of the positive after the negative, which gives the pollen power to burst its cells, and guides it with its countless antheridia, with unflinching certainty, to the waiting and attracting stigma of the flower. It is this unerring power of attraction which guides the microscopic antherozoid through the long cells or channels of the stigma and style down to the waiting oosphere, and whose union gives us alike the acorn and the mustard seed. In the Indian corn, it is so wonderful a process, and so evidently an expression of the universal law of attraction, that the scientist staggers before it, under a burden of doubt. But, here, the wind and the insect are alike discredited as the

agent of fertilization. We find here the pollen formed upon the so-called "tassel" of the corn several feet above the stigmata, at the ends of the corn "silk" growing out of the embryo ears of corn, each separate thread of which is traceable to an embryo kernel. Yet the pollen dust falls, lodges upon the silk; its cells burst, and its escaping antherozoids find, with unerring accuracy, in spite of unfriendly winds or storms, the open mouths of tubes at the ends of the corn-silk, and make their way through these long pistils, each to find its oosphere in the ovum of the embryonic kernel below! And yet this is a process which only the higher power of the microscope can spy out. Is it chance, is it the wind, is it insects, that secure this wonderful fertilization of the corn? Verily, "God beckons."

It is a theory of materialistic origin that the colored petals of plants are the result of a necessity for the aid of insects in the fertilization of flowers; that originally there were no petals, only stamens and pistils, but that the bright leaves appeared in response to a need for insect aid. It goes so far as to claim that the different flowers put forth the particular color most pleasing to certain kinds of insects; in other words, that the longing of the plant for the perpetuation of its kind (and being unable to accomplish this without the meddlesome interference of the insect) gave it the power to put forth its bright petals as a means of accomplishing this desire. Who shall deny, then, that the longing for individual immortality, "which springs eternal in the human breast," will give us the power to put forth our spiritual wings?

LEILA G. BEDELL.

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY.

III.

But with all the freedom there is a powerful restraint placed upon the students, which checks the excess of license without infringing upon their liberty; and that is the examination, which forms the end and consummation of the student's career. If he has been idle, he must make up for it, or he must bear the consequences, which means that he is unable to pass his examination. And we must confess that there are always some who go to the wall, because they yield to and lose themselves in the temptations of a dissipated life.

You probably wonder that under these circumstances there are no more lost than perhaps a few per cent. The reason is that students, before they enter their university course, have received a thorough scientific training in the so-called gymnasium. The gymnasium bestows on a German youth a scientific education, which forms a basis for any study to which he may devote his life afterward; and the instruction in a gymnasium is so methodical and systematic that its fruits are not so easily lost or forgotten. The chief result of this training is intended to endow the student with scientific independence. He is taught how to study without the aid of a professor or teacher, and how to go back to and find the last source of knowledge. And, in this way, he is prepared for and enabled to make a good use of his academic liberty, for which generally the school-boy craves with longing impatience.

Thus, the German university stands on and is conditioned by the German gymnasium; and the usefulness of academic liberty is dependent on the previous methodical teaching in these schools. The lower classes of gymnasiums (or, as they are called in some districts, lycæums) answer to the so-called collegiate institutes, or preparatory schools, in this country. The higher classes are,

* Sartor Resartus, p. 43.

with regard to the subjects taught, equal to American colleges. A German gymnasiast who has passed his examination of maturity for a university has a scientific erudition of at least a Bachelor of Arts in England or America. And you may be sure that even a mediocre man who has passed this pretty severe ordeal will be able to read any passage of Homer and Plato, short of exceptionally difficult periods, at sight. In Latin, he must write and translate with fluency. In mathematics, the *pensum* encompasses conic sections, and stops short at the differential and integral calculus, which is no longer included. Insufficiency in German, of course, insures the failure of the candidate, it, as the mother tongue, being the main subject.

In French there is not more required than translating easy passages from German into French.

The papers given take a whole week's time, and are as follows:—

Monday, translation from German into Latin, perhaps a passage taken from Quintilian, Cicero, or Muretus.

Tuesday, a translation from German into Greek, perhaps a passage from Plutarch or another historian, maybe, also, from some orator.

Wednesday, a German composition,—for instance, "Die Bedeutung Klopstock's" or "Ein Vergleich Shakspere's mit Sophocles" or "Friedrich der Grosse und das Deutschthum," etc.

Thursday, mathematical problems, stereometrical, etc., calculations.

Friday, a Latin composition on such subjects as "Uter major sit Caesar aut Alexander quaeritur?" or "Qua ratione Vergilius Homerum emitaverit?" etc. Such compositions average about ten folio pages.

Saturday, a translation from German into French.

For all papers, with the exception of the French one, five hours are allowed. The French, being shorter than the others, takes three hours. On Saturday afternoon, the Hebrew and English papers are given.

All subjects, save Hebrew and English, are obligatory. After the examination papers have been duly corrected and censured, an oral examination ensues in the same subjects, and also in religion, history, and geography. For a time, in the Latin examination, the intercourse of the examiners with the candidates is carried on in Latin.

All students who frequent a university are thus uniformly educated. The enrolment in the scrolls of the university is called matriculation; and no one is duly matriculated except on presentation of his testimonial of maturity. However, besides the fully and properly matriculated students, other auditors are admitted to the lectures, of whom the greatest numbers are foreigners; and I dare say that the universities do not care very much for their presence, yet, because of the academic liberty, they are suffered to make as good a use of the lectures as they can. So the professors know what kind of audience they have to deal with, and need not trouble themselves with primary subjects or preliminary introductions. The student is not so much ordered and obliged as advised to follow a certain course of lectures, although, as before mentioned, he is by no means bound to it. The courses of study are semi-annual, or, in academical term, semesters. Medical students have to pass an examination in natural sciences, anatomy, and physiology in their third or fourth half-year, or semester, before they are admitted to the clinics. Philological, juridical, and theological students may require to be examined after six and medical students after eight semesters. This so-called governmental examina-

tion gives the physician a license to practise, the theologian the right to preach, and to the philologist the *facultas docendi* (or privilege of teaching). The juridical candidate, this examination passed, works a few years *pour le roi de Prusse*,—that is, without any salary,—and has then to stand another examination, which bestows on him the honor of Assessor. The medical examination takes almost a quarter of a year before all branches are passed. German scholars who have thus systematically pursued their university career average from twenty-four to twenty-six years of age, and a juridical man will scarcely earn a penny until he has passed his thirtieth year. You see much light casts dark shadows, and the thoroughness of study limits its use to the well-to-do classes.

The degree of Doctor, as a rule, is given on presentation of a printed and, for this purpose, published essay, which is called the Doctor Dissertation. After the so-called *Rigorosum*, an oral examination, the creation of Doctor, or, as it is generally called, the promotion, takes place. The chief trial in olden times was a disputation, which, however, has been abolished in most universities nowadays. I may add that the fees to be paid for the Doctor's degree are pretty high. They vary, in different universities, between \$100 and \$300.

The highest dignity, however, which the faculty of a university can bestow upon a person—who, of course, must be of scientific eminence—is to grant the dignity of Doctor without any examination,—*honoris causa*.

An introduction of the German system of universities, with their academic liberty and variety of study, would be very desirable for any country; for liberty, unconditioned liberty, is the basis of all sincere inquiry into truth. It is obvious that sectarian colleges, although they may prosper, will never worship the high ideal of truth; for they stand on the supposition that their creed and truth are identical. But, on the other hand, let us not forget that in Germany academic liberty and variety of study stand on the uniform training of the gymnasium. And, so long as the plan of a strict, thorough, and, to some extent, uniform education is not carried into effect in America, university institutes like those in America must prove failures. However, to lay down the standard of such a uniform preliminary training as ought to be introduced here in America is a problem to answer which would lead us now too far. It, I think, is at present the most difficult educational problem, which cannot be weighed carefully enough.

PAUL CARUS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

OUR neighbor, the *Christian Register*, has taken up the defence of the action of the majority in the Western Unitarian Conference at Cincinnati with so much ability and zeal that *The Index* may well be content to leave the battle in its hands.

WE received a printed hand-bill last week, which reads as follows: "Gopal Venayak Joshee, an unconverted heathen from India, will deliver a lecture in the Town Hall, Lunenburg [Mass.], on Sunday, June 13, at 2.30 P.M., under the auspices of the Lunenburg Secular Society. Subject, 'Christian Missionaries.'"

SIDNEY S. RIDER says of Dr. Janes' *Study of Primitive Christianity*, in his "Book-notes": "This book is a cool, quiet, painstaking, and fearless examination of the foundations of the religious

belief of Christians. It is no mere compilation of the words of others; but, as Mr. Chadwick well says, 'it is the outcome of an independent mind,' and that a singularly just and patient mind. Believing that truth will avail, Dr. Janes seeks earnestly that which is true, with a determination to cling to it whenever or wherever he finds it."

IN the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of recent date is printed a Boston letter from a Spiritualist, giving some account of fraudulent performances in the name of Spiritualism at the Spiritual Temple, this city. The writer concludes thus: "Your readers have now had a plain statement of the case. It virtually represents the great issue that now divides Spiritualists. On the one side, those who are convinced that materialization, as a whole, is unreliable, and an absolutely unknown and, under present conditions, an unknowable quantity; on the other side, those who accept as a manifestation of spirit whatever is offered at a materialization exhibition, even though it be a masquerade of the medium in toggerly, surreptitiously introduced into the séance room."

THE *Boston Evening Transcript* reprints the entire letter from the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* (which, it says, "is the ablest Spiritualist newspaper in America"), prefacing the same with this complimentary mention of its editor, and of the good work he has done: "Mr. Bundy has earned the respect of all lovers of the truth, by his sincerity and courage. He has been unsparing in his exposure of the frauds which are constantly discovered, carried on under the banner of Spiritualism. He has done more in this direction than any professed enemy or opposer of Spiritualism in the country. He has been so vigorous, indeed, in this work of exposure that he has earned the jealousy and hate of great classes of Spiritualists; although we do not remember any instance where he has been proved to be in the wrong, or where the thing which he has 'exposed' has not stayed exposed."

THE *Boston Knight* is the name of a little paper published at 71 Oliver Street, Boston, and edited by Remly S. Sidelinger, President of the Barbers' Protective Union. Its excellent motto is "To uphold the dignity of labor." The general character and tone of the paper are creditable, but we regret to see that it advocates boycotting. It seems from the following paragraph that the editor of the *Knight* has himself begun to experience some of the evils of the bad method which he thinks justifiable, when employed against others: "I hear a great many people complaining about the boycott, and saying that it is unjust. I was recently talking with some of my customers about it, who were greatly indignant; and, just to show the inconsistency of mankind, those same customers, since they discovered that I was an outspoken Knight of Labor, have practised the system of boycotting, by keeping away from my shop."

THE *Critic*, in an editorial on the "Press and the President," declares, what has long been evident to intelligent readers, that the great morning journals, "while enlarging their scope as mere news-collectors, have been sinking slowly but steadily into deeper abysses of literary and moral abasement." "What," it asks, "becomes of the boast that the newspaper is an educator, or that journalism should be ranked with the literary and learned professions, if they must look for support and appreciation to a class which delights in the abominable stuff with which the columns of our 'great dailies' have recently overflowed? . . . Every decent newspaper man ought to blush—does blush, doubtless—for his calling, when he

thinks of the degradation in which the reporters have wallowed, and which the editors have extolled. A modest young girl hounded with remorseless pertinacity, tracked like a pickpocket, described like a painter's model, watched at door-window, and keyhole, followed to shops, made the target of beastly innuendo, pictured in caricature, lied about, laughed at, persecuted with an ingenuity of torture worthy an Apache. . . . "He [the President] stole through a private door to escape publicity, and a reporter was there to way, lay him; he crossed the river in a ferry-boat, and reporters stood at the windows of his carriage; he visited his future bride, and reporters knocked at the door, to get a look at him; he received a parcel from a tailor, and a reporter was at the servants' entrance, to inspect it; he ate supper, and a reporter was in waiting, to steal the menu; he departed with his bride of an hour in a special train, and the reporters followed in another; he sought a refuge in a mountain retreat, and the reporters hid behind bushes, to note the hour when the house was shut up and when it was opened. The recital is enough to make the face of a book-agent burn."

LAST Saturday afternoon, in the presence of about three hundred persons, was unveiled the monument recently erected by the Turners of this country, in Forest Hills Cemetery, Boston, to the memory of Karl Heinzen, the strong, uncompromising advocate of intellectual and political freedom. Eloquent addresses were made by Robert Lieber, chairman of the monument committee; C. Hermann Boppe, of Milwaukee, editor of the *Freidenker*, and Johann Toensfeldt, of the North American Turner Bund. We give one passage from Mr. Lieber's address: "One malady menaces us, all the more dangerous because of the flattering form which it assumes. It is the descent from tolerance into indifference, from philanthropy into powerlessness of moral judgment. Karl Heinzen never suffered from this disease. He had a passionate hatred for everything that was evil and unjust, as passionately did he love the noble and the good. He who cannot hate, cannot love; and so, while we fight for tolerance, let us preserve Heinzen's power of hating,—of hating everything evil, low, base, unclean, hypocritical, half-hearted, and untrue." Mr. Boppe said of Heinzen: "The revolution Heinzen wished was a revolution in the mind of the people: the struggle to bring it about was the struggle after the ideal. He had a higher idea of revolution than that of most of those who used the word. He understood by revolution the silent power of humanity transforming society and the world. His aim in the interests of the people was self-help and the free use of political rights. His motto for the republic was, therefore, evolution. He sought to influence men only by the power of reason. His exterior was rude, and he did not easily enter into friendships with men; yet what tenderness and depth of feeling revealed themselves in his poems! Those are not the best friends of the people who flatter them; and Heinzen could not flatter, nor did he seek that popularity which is sought with the aid of fine phrases. He hoped much from the republic, though he saw its faults."

How GREAT thy might let none by mischief know,
But what thou canst by acts of kindness show.

A power to hurt is no such noble thing:

The toad can poison, and the serpent sting.

—Anonymous.

ALL smatterers are more brisk and pert
Than those that understand an art,
As little sparkles shine more bright
Than glowing coals that give them light.

Samuel Butler.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

ENCELADUS.

BY W. D. GUNNING.

The first want of man was force. When he was level with nature, his arm was a poor defence against the pard or panther. He put a ring around his wrist to give him force to hurl the spear or bend the bow, as the Umatilla Indian, to-day, ties a feather in the tail of his horse to give it speed. He ringed or tattooed his arm for strength against visible foes. The invisible he tried to hold at bay with other talismans. They might enter his body through the ears or nose. He pierced his ear, and hung from the wound some glittering shard, a talisman to keep out a ghoul. He pierced his nostrils; and at "the gates of breath" he placed a talisman as sentinel, to frighten away the sprites who wish to enter with the air. He wanted force against the nature he saw, and he invented religion against the nature he could not see. Experience with the visible taught him that an amulet on his arm was not strength. For help he went to the camel and the horse. He made falling water a servitor to grind his corn, the wind a servitor to move his boat. He became civilized, and found that neither sinews of the horse, nor falling water, nor moving air gave him force commensurate with his need.

Nature lies crude and raw at the foot of man. He must have force to lift her and mould her to his use. Where shall he get it? Time was when the elements of the globe were a reservoir of force. Oxygen satisfied its likings for silicon, aluminum, sodium, potassium, and, uniting with them, formed the crust of the earth. The earth's crust is a product of spent forces. Oxygen satisfied its desire for hydrogen, and the wedded gases formed the ocean. The ocean, still a mechanical force, is the product of a spent chemical force. Carbon alone, of all the elements, is found in the globe's crust potential of force; for it has not combined with oxygen. Fossil coal is chemically pure carbon. Whatever else it may contain is an impurity; that

is, it is held in mechanical mixture, not chemical union.

The attention of the world is held now by fossil carbon in chemical union with hydrogen. This leaves it still a potency.

Carbon is to life what phosphor is to thought. Haeckel has woven from carbon the most tenable theory of the origin of life. It is, of all things, the stuff of life; and, as hydro-carbon, the force given to life. The colt begins to frisk and play the very day of its birth. The human babe lies helpless for months. The mare's milk is rich in hydro-carbon. Human milk is poor in this element. The chick breaks the shell and walks away. The robin leaves the egg with strength only to lift its head and open its bill. The hen's egg is generous in hydro-carbon, the robin's egg is poor. Hydro-carbon, so potent now to move the mills of Pittsburgh and Findlay, is the chief motor to start the very mills of life.

I am writing this paper in a blaze of illumination, and amid the hiss and roar of up-rushing gas, —a volume of noise almost equal to that of Niagara. I write in Findlay, whither I came to study natural gas. Humboldt said that, in South America, while gazing on a herd of llamas willing to be shepherded, he felt as one who was looking on the cradle of civilization. Looking out on the pyramids of flame which leap from the cleft earth, I feel as one who stands before the cradle of a new civilization. My thoughts turn first to the past. This which I am seeing is no new thing under the sun. Plutarch tells us that, in Ecbatana, Alexander "was much surprised at the sight of a place where fire issues in a continuous stream from a cleft in the earth." Hydro-carbon flows up in a chain of springs along the margin of the Dead Sea, and, mingling with its waters, makes them heavy and bitter and vile. It bubbles up through the sea off the northern slope of Vesuvius. It oozes from clefts in the strata along the coast of California, from Santa Barbara to San Diego. Along this coast, in ages past, its flow formed lakes of asphalt. On the coast of Venezuela, between the Cordilleras and the Rio Zulia, is a region called "The Infernal." Columns of steam break up through the sand with a roar like that which I am hearing now from the "Hargwell." Gas rises with the steam, ignites, and flashes like weird lightning among the dark treetops.

The classic land of nature's oil and gas is a peninsula, which juts from Persia into the Caspian. The Apsheiron, from its base in the Caucasus to its terminus in the sea, is a high sandy plain, blackened with oily exudations. Here and there from clefts in the Caucasus, and here and there all over the plain, gas streams up in pyramids of flame. Here, the wonder of the early Persian was exalted to worship, and flame became the symbol of Deity. Here, the Gueber built his fanes; and here he worshipped the "Unknown," —the fire he did not understand. "The eternal fires of Baku," burning in the days of Zoroaster, are burning to-day. Moore's description of this wonderland is not greatly overdrawn:—

"On the land side, those towers sublime,
That seemed above the grasp of Time,
Were severed from the haunts of men
By a wide, deep, and wizard glen. . . .
Like distant thunder, from below,
The sound of many torrents came,
Too deep for eye or ear to know
If 'twere the sea's imprisoned flow,
Or floods of ever-restless flame.
For each ravine, each rocky spire
Of that vast mountain stood on fire;
And, though forever past the days
When God was worshipped in the blaze
That from its lofty altar shone,
Though fled the priests, the vot'ries gone,
Still did the mighty flame burn on,

Through chance and change, through good and ill,
Like its own God's eternal will,
Deep, constant, bright, unquenchable!"

Time was when these natural fires impressed all men who saw them with awe, and gendered superstitions, not always so innocent as fire-worship. Victor Hugo has Torquemada, the inquisitor, point to the eternal fires of Apsheron and fitful fires of Vesuvius, and say, "This world is a hideous roof, pierced here and there and everywhere by graves, through which falls into the eternal hell a ceaseless rain of souls"; and Torquemada tried to cauterize hell with the inquisition. *Similia similibus curantur.*

Plutarch says that "the manner of the production of this naphtha admits of divers opinions." We think not.

Carbon, essential to every form of life, itself is the product of life. Let us see what is going on in nature to-day. Everywhere under the air, the world is wasting away. Everywhere under the sea, the world is building anew. Rivers pour into oceans the waste of continents that are, the seeds of continents to be. These sediments, all save the sand, which she throws down as a fringe along her shores, the ocean holds for her myriad mouths, which will lay them to rest in new rocks. Between rocks that are and rocks to be, the go-between is a mouth. Between rocks that were and rocks that are, the go-between was a mouth. Low forms of plant life, called diatoms, swarm on the face of the polar sea, encase themselves in its silica; and, at death, the white sculptured cases fall to the bottom. The floor of the polar sea is as white with diatoms as the face of the polar land with snow. These diatoms will form rock like that which yielded oil to the Greeks at Zante.

Between the polar circles, the sea swarms with low animal forms, called rhizopods, or ray-streamers. Like the low plant, this low animal is encased. It takes lime from the sea, and houses itself in a shell of many patterns. Ray-streamer dies, and atoms of silica, potash, and iron filter through the perforations of the shell, unite, and form a cast which falls to the sea bottom. Put the dredge down through the sea where the depth ranges from three to twelve hundred feet, and you will bring up the casts of ray-streamers. These casts will form green sandy marl, like that of New Jersey, or "gault," like that which underlies the chalk of England. Put the dredge down through depths ranging from eighteen hundred to twelve thousand feet, and you will bring up a cream-colored ooze. This is composed of ray-streamer shells, not the casts of shells. It will become chalk or white marble. Let your dredge drop now through the abysses of ocean. It will bring from the abysmal world a brown-colored ooze. This is formed of the skeletons of rhizopods and other low organisms, after a portion of the lime has been dissolved away. This ooze is material for shale, or slate. Explore the shallow bed of tropic seas, and you will find the myriad polyps taking lime atoms from the water, and building them into limestone. *All sea-male rocks have been through the mill of life.*

Now, these rock systems attain a thickness, in the Alleghanies and Rockies, of forty thousand feet; in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, of four thousand feet. Diffused through these rocks is a portion of the carbon which once throbbed in living tissues, that made the rocks. The system of shale called Huron underlies almost all of northern Ohio, and attains a thickness of three hundred and fifty feet. Ten per cent. of this ooze from the abyss of a palæozoic sea is carbon from tissues of palæozoic life. The gas wells of Findlay probe a deeper rock than this. It is the Trenton or Cin-

cinnati limestone. The carbon of what Gladstone calls "the first water population of the globe" leaps up in these wells of Findlay, invisible in the embrace of hydrogen, to give heat and light to men. When was formed its union with hydrogen? On the answer Nature gives to this question may hang an impending revolution in the genesis of force.

In studying the silver mines of Leadville, I was impressed more by Nature's failure than by her success. Over a floor of limestone lies an immense bed of porphyry, the original matrix of all the silver in the mines. The porphyry was once covered by a lake whose waters held chlorine, the residuum of a more ancient sea. The water, percolating the porphyry, leached out the lead sulphide with its contained silver, and carried them down to the more impervious floor of limestone, where it left them as lead carbonate and silver chloride. But the process of leaching was arrested. The porphyry still holds in a state of diffusion not less than five billion dollars of silver. This is a measure of Nature's shortcoming in the process of mine-making. It is the residuum left after the close of a process. Is the carbon diffused through shale and limestone analogous to the silver diffused through Leadville porphyry?

When we think of the enormous flow of oil and gas from the Apsheron, and when we remember that this flow has been continuous from the day of Zoroaster till to-day, we can hardly conceive of the source as a fixed reservoir. The carbon diffused through the strata is a reservoir from which Nature, by percolating waters, is all the while drawing. The genesis of hydro carbon must be a continuous process. We know what that process is. We know that seaweed or sarcode of jelly-fish, imprisoned with hot water in a retort, will break the bond which held the gases together, take hydrogen, and form gas or oil. Now, of all the water that falls on the earth, not more than one drop out of four finds its way back to the sea in the surface circulation. The rest goes down, a portion goes deep. There it becomes thermal, and is under pressure. Thermal water under pressure is a universal solvent. Water not thermal, if it carries alkaline carbonate, is a universal solvent. Such percolating water may leach the carbon diffused through the rocks, and carry it down where Nature has the laboratory heat to distil the two into hydrocarbon. Nature in this, her gas, is not a mere *fact*, but a *factor*. As long as she has one element diffused through the globe's crust, and another through the ocean's, she may continue her gas-making.

I have said that, in presence of these gas wells, I feel as one who might be standing before the cradle of a new civilization. We have found Enceladus. Slain by Jupiter, he was buried deep in the earth, where he lived again with fettered limbs and breathed out jets of flame on the world above. We have broken his fetters, and he comes up an ethereal giant to help men to better ways of life. In this little city of Findlay, the grosser forms of fuel are unknown. Housekeeping has lost half its terrors. Turn a faucet, strike a match, and your house is heated or lighted,—no ashes, no smoke, no soot. Enceladus will emancipate us from the demon of soot, evoked when we evoked coal from the mine. When you approach a city, the first herald to greet you is a veil of pollution in the sky. From one of her highest towers I have looked down on Chicago. Here and there, through a rift in the curtain of soot, I saw a fleck of liquid mud and smoke called "the river," here and there a grimy spire, and here and there, through the gloom, the smirched walls of her marts of trade. I have stood on a bluff overlook-

ing Pittsburg. I saw neither spire nor roof nor wall, but swirls of soot up-wreathing, out-spreading—a tremulous sea of soot, with rifts here and there through its billows, revealing the glare of a furnace flame below. I have seen Sheffield and Huddersfield and Halifax and Leeds begrimed with soot and canopied in soot. Over as fair a land as ever sprang into verdure to greet the sun, I have seen the air so foul with grime that trees aborted and grass withered. I have noted the pale faces of those who toil under this soot-laden, ozone-wanting air. The soot cloud challenges science on the triple score of wasted force, of shattered health, and of marred beauty. Emancipation is coming through gas. Once emancipated, a city will never return to that beggarly element called bituminous coal. Even if our ethereal Enceladus has not come to abide, he has already stayed long enough to teach us a lesson. He has taught us that gas is to be the fuel of the future. The gas from a ton of coal will do more than twice the work of the coal itself. We want the *spirit*, not the body. The time is not far off when not a ton of bituminous coal will be burned in a city or village. We will distribute heat as we now distribute light, from one communal coalbin.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE FORCES.

Editors of The Index:—

On this chilly, uncomfortable day, I am reminded, by the subtle fragrance from my sofa pillow, filled with the buds of the old fir balsam, of mild sea breezes and of aromatic odors from the fir-crowned bluffs overlooking the white beaches of Maine's rugged and picturesque shores.

Questioning of the visible to the outward-looking sight, and the invisible, except to the internal vision, I ask, What is this pungent perfume which these buds, encased in their silken envelope, convey ceaselessly to my sense of smell? I take a delicate piece of lace from my drawer, and find it strongly impregnated with the attar of rose, one tiny drop of which fell on it long years ago.

"You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

One pressed blossom of the sweet jasmine, enclosed in a letter, crosses ocean and continent. The envelope is opened in a distant German city, and immediately the room is filled with the sweet aroma of the silvery petals of this poetic flower; and he to whom the letter is sent immediately sees before him, instead of his studio, a room in a cottage in his native land,—the home circle, the plant-filled window, and the climbing jasmine, with its gleaming starry blossoms.

Science tells us that no smell can be perceived, unless particles from the substance containing the odor touch the olfactory nerves. Giving out ever of themselves, and never exhausted, where do the buds and leaves of the balsam obtain their supplies? More wonderful and real are the *invisible* forces of nature than those we can see with our eyes and touch with our hands. By what secret alchemy do the sweet-smelling flowers and leaves manufacture from the surrounding elements the fragrance they are ever emitting, and which lingers still in their faded leaves and petals? There is also the physical aura, which emanates from all animals, men, and brutes,—that by which the dog can perceive and follow his master's footsteps, which makes persons physically agreeable or disagreeable, and warns animals of the approach of enemies. Even more sensibly felt is that *spiritual* aura, or photosphere, which, seemingly independent of the physical system, makes itself manifest in that subtle influence which is termed magnetism. Why do we feel the presence of differing characters in a room? We cannot be indifferent to them; and, "if we do not hate or dread them, we must feel their very shadows agreeable." What strength, what inspiration, some people bring into your presence! What is this? A something name-

less, invisible, potent for good, reaches you: you feel it, know it, and rejoice.

There is also a power, a magnetism, we may call it, which has an opposite effect from this strengthening, lifting, purifying influence. If it does not persuade you to wrong thoughts or deeds, it depresses you, makes you uncomfortable in the society of those from whom it proceeds. Among flowers there are some which emit an odor as repugnant as that of the rose or the lily is sweet and agreeable. Some animals have a sickening, disgusting effluvia, which has a repelling effect on all who approach them. Thus there are in the vegetable, and also in the highest and lowest orders of the animal kingdom, opposite states of physical magnetism. The same is true, as we have seen, in the moral and mental intercourse of human beings,—some elevating, inciting to pure thoughts and deeds; and others, if not repelled by the higher moral and spiritual nature of those they come in contact with, debasing and incentive to evil.

Not only from individuals themselves, but from their productions,—books, paintings, statuary,—this all-pervading force for good or evil is given out. It has been truly said that "genius never dies." Ever acting, ever creating new thoughts and impulses in those who read and study his works, the author may, with truth, be said to be immortal. "The man of genius is he who has discovered a real law, and who, consequently, possesses an invincible force of action and direction. He may die at his task; but what he willed will go on in spite of his death, and often because of his death." This law which governs these seemingly mysterious agents in the manifestations of occult powers is, according to the theory of some philosophers, that of magnetic currents, or, in other words, the astral light or soul of the earth.

In order to counteract all vicious influences, we must surround ourselves and children with everything of an opposite character, that all these magnetic currents may impel us in the direction of justice, truth, and purity. Many sad effects of not understanding and obeying these laws we find in historical facts and in the daily record of human life. "Jean Jacques Rousseau was led to the most tragic act of his life—the abandonment of his children—by the magnetic current of a circle of libertines and the magnetic current of the banquet table." It is said that "enthusiasm produces a magnetic current, and is preserved and increased by it." This, if true, explains the contagious excitement which spreads from one to another in all great gatherings, religious, political, or patriotic.

It is important, then, that we should be enthusiastic in a right direction, and in a worthy cause. For this, we should choose books, studies in art and nature, friends and society for ourselves and our children, which will attract the magnetic currents that will increase and perpetuate our enthusiasm in everything elevating and purifying, in all that will give the moral and spiritual forces the predominance. For this, schools for ethical culture or classes in all schools for this study are needed. The lives of men and women of great moral and intellectual excellence should be studied, as examples for guidance and inspiration.

The love and interest manifested in the researches of science, especially in natural history, have a very refining effect, of which we have abundant proof in the known purity, honesty, and sincerity of those who have devoted their lives to this pursuit.

At this time there is a wide-spread interest awakened in behalf of our wild song-birds, whose melodious music enlivens the solitude of our forests, and adds so much to the pleasures of life in rural towns and cities. Attention to this wholesale destruction—which the greed for money, the selfish love of gunning for sport, and the tyrannical demands of fashion, has caused—needed only to be called forth, when hundreds of women, who had *thoughtlessly*, by the love of ornamentation natural to their sex, been helping this cruel warfare, pledged themselves never to wear another bird, wing, or feather for decoration. May the magnetic currents increase and perpetuate this enthusiasm till there will be no birds or wings displayed in the windows of millinery establishments, when a woman will be ashamed to be seen wearing any ornament which has been purchased by the murder of one of our most captivating and innocent songsters! We hope that such a public sentiment shall be created by the discussion of this sub-

ject that a man found in the woods with a gun, for the purpose of shooting birds or other harmless animals, will have to pay a sufficient penalty for his violation of law to deter him from ever again engaging in this cruel, inhuman sport. May mothers so instruct their boys in this branch of ethical culture that they will never be found in the unmanly, degrading pastime of robbing birds' nests of their eggs or of their little helpless offspring, so dear to the mother bird's maternal instincts!

R. F. BAXTER.

A LABORER'S VIEW OF LABOR QUESTIONS.

Editors of The Index:—

The articles from J. V. Blake and T. W. Curtis in a late issue of *The Index*, setting forth their respective views on the rights and wrongs of labor, and the sphere in which labor organizations should operate, are at the present time full of interest to the thoughtful candid inquirer. No intelligent person, whose mind, if freed from all bias, will, I think, deny to laborers the right to combine for mutual protection, —not for the purpose of discouraging legitimate enterprise or antagonizing the interests and welfare of their employers, but for a better understanding of their interests and for a fuller recognition of their rights as free men.

Mr. Blake's imaginary conversation with a member of a trades-union does the latter, I think, an injustice, in assuming him to defend the right of workmen to destroy property, when their demands are not acceded to. Few such things have been done during labor troubles, but are the work of a disorderly, law-ignoring element, which labor organizations are seemingly powerless to control. Wanton destruction of property by dissatisfied workmen has never been sanctioned by labor organizations with which the writer has had any connection. To hold an organization as such responsible for acts of violence which the few who cannot curb their passions commit is ungenerous, to say the least. While I think labor organizations make a great mistake when they order a suspension of work for no other reason than that the employer refuses to discharge from his employment men who will not become members of the association, yet I think it would be better for the employer if he would encourage his men to connect themselves with unions conducted by clear, cool-headed men, rather than sustain them in their opposition to that which would doubtless benefit both. The feeling of hostility expressed by some employers of labor at any effort at combination among their workers belongs to a past age, and is, I am pleased to observe, rapidly dying out. That some employers have not only discouraged organization among their men, but have made employment conditional on a forced pledge not to connect themselves in any way with workingmen's associations, cannot be disputed; and there can be no question but pursuing this foolish tyrannical policy has been the cause of much of the strife and general discontent manifested in the industrial world at the present time. What bids fair for a more peaceable settlement of labor difficulties in future is the different attitude assumed by the employing classes. Throughout nearly every department of industry, employers are realizing that, by intelligent combination on the part of their workers, holding friendly conferences from time to time, unifying their interests, and that by bringing each other nearer together in their relations, a better understanding will be reached. The animosity that feeds the fires of conflict will be buried, and in its place will spring up a sympathetic feeling, that will respect each other's rights, and combine to advance each other's interests.

Neither can I accept the statement made by Mr. Curtis, that the "employé has been willing to arbitrate, and the employer has not." My experience as a laborer leads me to believe that the great mass of working people are strangers to the principle of arbitration. Arbitration is the peace principle. It aims at adjusting the differences that arise between labor and capital, by the exercise of reason and intelligence, instead of stupidity and brute force. It recognizes that the brain is mightier than the bayonet. The people, lacking to a large extent this brain quality, and accustomed more or less to the brute form of warfare, it stands to reason that they have not as yet been sufficiently disciplined in the spirit of adjusting in a peaceable manner their disputes.

With the majority of work-people, comparative strangers to the principle of arbitration, it is absurd to suppose that they can apply it.

They have neither the power to apply it themselves nor the patience to wait till others apply it. I know from experience in labor difficulties, in which I have taken a part, that, had arbitration been proposed, or, when proposed by the employers, the workmen had accepted it in good faith, an understanding could have been reached, and, no doubt, the trouble avoided. It is true, also, that employes have at times refused to submit their case to a board of arbitration. This serves to indicate that such people are still in a state of ignorance in regard to the operation of such principles. It must be said, to the credit of working people, that they are rapidly evolving from their old, obsolete methods of dealing with labor problems. They are opening their eyes to the fallacy of keeping up a perpetual warfare on capital. They find that capital and labor must act in harmony, in order to prosper. And to effect this, the principle of arbitration will have to be adopted in future. Strikes and lockouts, with all their concomitant afflictions, will have to cease; otherwise, the toiler's future is without a hope.

Many surface indications point to a time in the near future, when labor troubles will be adjusted in accordance with *reason, justice, and human love*. President Cleveland's recent message to Congress, in which he recommends the creation of an arbitration commission, for the purpose of collecting necessary information, and adjusting, when possible, the differences that arise from time to time between capital and labor, thereby tending to remove the conditions which foster strikes, strife, and general discontent, is wise; and, at the present time, it is extremely necessary that some action should be taken immediately in reference to it. It is to be devoutly hoped that the men paid for making our laws, and protecting the welfare of society generally, will give this most important measure their early and judicious consideration.

We have not as yet reached that desired stage of social evolution dreamed of by some enthusiasts, when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together. The time has not yet come when labor and capital are prepared to forget past and present grievances, and shake the hands of peace and friendship over the bloody chasm of bygone conflicts. But the time has come when the intelligence of the age demands that other and more peaceful methods be tried in the settlement of labor disputes.

While society continues to be divided into two great factions,—the employed and employing classes,—different opinions regarding the line which separates the rights and interests of each will assert themselves. And, if those differences are not sought to be adjusted in the proper way and in the proper spirit by the parties directly concerned, we shall have in the future—as we have had in the past—a painful repetition of fierce conflicts, the nature of which makes us shudder even to contemplate. It must be acknowledged that capital on the one hand, with its greed and insatiable spirit for gains, and labor on the other, with its numerous wants and lack of discretion, have each committed errors, and acted at times in a most stupid manner; and, to avoid the blunders of the past, it becomes the representatives of those important interests to act at all times in a considerate manner. Let each be absolutely just in giving due weight to the evidence on each side, exercise more reason and less dogmatic authority,—in short, recognize that each has rights that should be considered; and differences, when they do arise, if approached in a broad, humanitarian spirit, will be more easily and more speedily reconciled.

DAVID ROSS.

SCIENCE AND MATERIALISM.

Editors of The Index:—

On looking over one of our leading religious journals the other day, I was startled from my customary quiet mood by words more common in "blood and thunder literature" than in philosophical writings. "Science has dealt materialism its death-blow," were the words which, in one of the periodicals, caught my eye. "Materialism is ruled out, gone by, relegated to the limbo of discarded crudities," etc., appeared in prominent characters. "Religion has disbelieved and denounced materialism for ages."

continued the narrator. "She has been haunted by it as by a ghost, which all her conjurations could not lay," etc. And here a little bit of consolation is thrown in; and then we are told in truly solemn words that "there is a sort of grim irony in the fact that, while Religion has always been stigmatizing science as materialistic, she herself has never been able to demonstrate the opposite of materialism, but has had to wait for science to do it for her; and this (magnanimous murder) science has at last done."

Rev. M. J. Savage, who is the writer of the article from which I have quoted, plainly conveys to his readers the impression that his statements are backed by the authority of Tyndall. But the paragraph from which Mr. Savage quotes contains not the slightest allusion to any combat between science and materialism; in fact, they are never placed as antagonists to each other. And I will venture to say that, in all Tyndall's writings, not a sentence implying any such antagonism can be found. On the contrary, for more than twenty years Tyndall has been the stanch defender and upholder of materialism, and is so to-day. Who, twelve years ago, delivered that notable address at Belfast, which provoked wrathful criticism of the whole religious world, on account of its outspoken materialism? And who was it that Rev. James Martineau denounced in such earnest and unmeasured terms for delivering this same address? Was it not this veritable Tyndall? What authority has Mr. Savage for saying or presuming that Tyndall has so far turned round as to oppose to the very death a principle he held with the greatest determination ten years ago? Has Mr. Savage some recent information from the distinguished physicist? I should certainly think so, were he not so given to mentioning the names of scientific men, and making them unwarrantably stand sponsor for his statements.

For instance, when he reads in Tyndall (p. 211) that, "so far as the eye of science has hitherto ranged through nature, no intrusion of purely creative power into any series of phenomena has ever been observed"; "that both life and its conditions set forth the operations of a Power utterly inscrutable to man: we know not its origin, we know not its end,"—Mr. Savage straightway prepares an article for the *Unitarian Review*, announcing that, "within this generation, for the first time in the history of the world, science has given to religion a temple,—a universe-house" (with ample offices, anterooms, and outbuildings, etc.),—"whose builder and maker is God."

In like manner, Spencer declares that "we are incapable of comprehending that which is behind appearances." Nevertheless, Mr. Savage tells us with the utmost confidence that "the form, behind and manifested in and through what we call matter, is really spirit." Spencer's "causal agent, and posited not to be known at all," is really, according to Mr. Savage, the best known and the most prominent object in the universe. Such is a sample of Mr. Savage's tactics in dealing with these men!

But this is not the extent of his waywardness. In his treatment of the passage on which he bases his attack on materialism, and to which I wish to call special attention, he has garbled a quotation; and, on this garbled quotation, he bases the charge of "incompetence," on which he ultimately deposes materialism from her legitimate position; whereas, the passage, in its original entirety, places both science and materialism in the same category. "If materialism [says Tyndall] is confounded, science is rendered dumb." I quote from the second volume of *Fragments of Science*, sixth London edition, 1879.

"Materialism, therefore [says Tyndall], is not a thing to be mourned over, but to be honestly considered; accepted if wholly true, rejected if false" (p. 221). "It ought to be known and avowed that the physical philosopher, as such, must be a pure materialist. His inquiries deal with matter and force, and with them alone" (p. 72). "As regards knowledge, physical science is polar" (p. 52). "It is the advance of [this] knowledge that has given a materialistic color to the philosophy of our age" (p. 222). "We may fear and scorn materialism; but he who knew all about it, and could apply his knowledge, might become the preacher of a new gospel" (p. 221). "Through our neglect of the monitions of a reasonable materialism, we sin and suffer daily" (p. 224). "The practical monitions are plain enough which declare that on our dealings with matter depends our well

or woe, physical and moral" (p. 223). "It is our duty not to shirk—it ought rather to be our privilege to accept, the established results of physical inquiries; for here, assuredly, our ultimate weal depends upon our loyalty to truth. Is mind degraded by this recognition of its dependence [on matter]? Assuredly not. Matter, on the contrary, is raised to the level it ought to occupy, and from which timid ignorance would remove it" (p. 221). "Matter is not that empty capacity which philosophers and theologians have pictured it, but the universal Mother, who brings forth all things as the fruit of her own womb. Nature is seen to do all things spontaneously, without the meddling of the gods" (p. 193). "Matter I define as that mysterious thing by which all that is, is accomplished. How it came to have the power which it possesses is a question on which I never ventured an opinion" (p. 193). "I discern in matter the promise and potency of all terrestrial life" (p. 251). "Does life belong to what we call matter, or is it an independent principle infused into matter at some suitable epoch"? (p. 131). "There does not exist a barrier, possessing the strength of a cobweb, in opposition to the hypothesis which ascribes the appearance of life to that 'potency of matter' which finds its expression in natural evolution." "Divorced from matter, where is life?" (p. 192). "To man, as we know him, matter is necessary to consciousness" (p. 192). "Every meal we eat, and every cup we drink, illustrates the mysterious control of mind by matter" (p. 50). "If these statements startle, it is because matter has been defined and maligned by philosophers and theologians (who were ignorant alike of its mystical and transcendental powers)" (p. 51). "Two courses, and two only, are possible: either let us open our doors freely to the conception of creative acts or, abandoning them, let us radically change our notions of matter" (p. 191). "Without this total revolution of the notions now prevalent, the evolution hypothesis must stand condemned" (p. 133). "If we look at matter as defined by our scientific text-books, the notion of conscious life coming out of it cannot be formed by the mind" (p. 191). "Spirit and matter have ever been present to us in the rudest contrast: the one as all noble, the other as all vile. But is this correct? Upon the answer to this question, all depends" (p. 133).

After referring to the lives and sentiments of some such men as Holyoake, called atheists and materialists, and comparing their conduct and sentiments to some religionists, Tyndall sums up by saying, "It may comfort some to know that there are among us many whom the gladiators of the pulpit would call atheists and materialists, whose lives, as tested by any accessible standard of morality, would contrast more than favorably with the lives of those who seek to defame them" (p. 368). "If I wished to find men who are scrupulous in their adherence to engagements, whose word is their bond, and to whom all moral shiftiness is a stranger, I should seek and find them among the atheists and materialists to which I refer" (p. 369). So much for Tyndall. I reserve for another letter some remarks in regard to Huxley's position.

W. MITCHELL.

THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN VIEW.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In an editorial note of May 6, accusing the Southern people of "an absence of good taste and of wisdom, if not of fealty to the government he sought to destroy, in the recent honors showered upon Jefferson Davis," your paper makes several statements that were upheld by the North during and after the war, but were always exactly opposite to the opinions of the South. As the welfare of each section was then involved in these subjects, it is reasonable to infer that neither was in a condition fairly to see their truth or falsity. But, now that they have not been investigated for twenty years, and both North and South can afford to admit their mistakes, it seems as though it should not be unpleasant to look at both sides of the contradictory beliefs. I now quote the statements referred to, and follow them with the Southern views.

1. "Jefferson Davis recently described the attempt to found a Southern Confederacy as the 'glorious dream of idealized liberty.' And yet, of that Confederacy, human slavery was to be the corner-stone."

When investment in negroes ceased to be remun-

nerative to the North, she disposed of all her slaves to the South, and then demanded their emancipation, without offering to pay for those she had sold. Slavery embraced nearly all the wealth of the South; and, to save it, she tried to establish a separate government.

2. "He [Davis] refers to the Rebellion as a 'holy war of defence,' when he knows that it was offensive against the Union from its first act of aggressive warfare,—the firing upon Fort Sumter."

The only way to induce the majority of the Northern people to consent to a hostile invasion of the South was to make the Southerners appear to desire war by firing the first gun. Secretary Seward accomplished this important design at Fort Sumter. He constantly assured the South, through Judge Campbell, that Sumter was to be evacuated; while President Lincoln was sending down a large number of soldiers to re-enforce it. The South did not wish to have war, and only fought in self-defence.

3. "Only by the wonderful magnanimity of the nation he had sought to divide were his life and liberty spared at the close of the war."

Davis was kept in prison over two years, while his trial for treason was being delayed. The reason that the intended trial was finally abandoned was because it became evident that, if the subject was fully discussed, the world would decide that he was not guilty. He owed allegiance to the State of Mississippi. When the State seceded, he was no longer a citizen of the United States. As Alexander H. Stephens plainly proved, no Union would ever have been formed, if it had been understood that States that joined could never withdraw; and three of them, in their ratifications, stated that it was the understanding that, if at any time their welfare should appear to demand that they should abandon the Union, they would have a right to do it.

A. E. BLACKMAR.

NEW ORLEANS.

"SIN" ONCE MORE.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Among those who see the great need of reform in the orthodox theology, some individuals show a special repugnance to the word "sin," seeming to suppose that it necessarily includes the Calvinistic notion of an inherent enmity to God and goodness in every human being. Mr. John Cotton Dana, in his two articles, in many respects admirable, in *The Index*, May 13 and 20, seems to understand by sin "a love for that which is wicked simply because it is wicked." He seems, however, to admit the existence of wrong doing, of evil desires impelling to evil deeds and leading to the actual commission of evils deeds. When such wrong doing violates human laws, it is called crime; and a voluntary act consciously impairing the welfare or violating the rights of one's fellow-beings or one's self, whether contrary to human law or not, is what I understand by "sin." What I mean by sin is wrong doing in its relation to God,—not to such a God as Mr. Dana argues against, "manlike in his love and hate," and with a personality including the limitations and deficiencies of man's personality, but to Him who purposed that unceasing purpose which runs through the ages.

We may agree with Mr. Dana in refusing to regard evil conduct as something which can always be "entirely repressed" by those who are moved by it, and yet we may distinguish the very numerous cases in which such repression can be effected by following the higher impulses and resisting the lower. When Ovid saw and approved the good, and yet followed the evil, I understand him to have committed sin and incurred responsibility; and I think the signification of the word "sin," thus interpreted, is one which we cannot afford to lose from the English language. The act of stealing or of getting drunk, after a deliberate consideration of the reasons for and against, seems to me to be the commission of sin; and I do not see why the erroneous teaching of Calvin and the Westminster Assembly should prevent my calling it so. If, to take Mr. Dana's own concession, "we conscious beings can so guide our ship as to escape many a stranding and many a hurt in the shoals and rapids of life's stream," the deliberate neglect of such guidance is one of the things I recognize as "sin"; and I do not see how it can be shown that he who thus neglects is not responsible for it to himself and to God.

Again, Mr. Dana seems to me to misstate, when he

says that the person about to act must determine his choice, if by reference to anything at all, "by reference to his belief as to God's command, and to nothing else." On the contrary, his reference in most cases is to what is pleasant on one side and to what is right on the other. And the deliberate choice of the pleasant in violation of the right is what I mean by sin. The offender's self-condemnation when, after the act, he no longer feels the temptation, seems to show his recognition of the fact that he could have chosen the better part, and therefore ought to have chosen it. He thus admits his guilt. And, if this internal decision shows him responsible to his own conscience for right behavior under temptation, he may well also consider himself responsible to a just God, whose rod as well as his staff is used for the benefit and permanent welfare of his children. The recognition of such a Divinity by no means implies belief in the reality of the Moloch of the Ammonites, the Jehovah of the Hebrews, or that uglier idol described in the catechism of the Westminster Assembly.

C. K. W.

For *The Index*.

TO —.

More brave than Cæsar, thou hast felled a foe
That bade thee cast thy manhood to the dust;
More wise than Bacon, thou hast followed slow
The oracle the markets name the Just.

Upon life's sea they sought to lead the way
To ports abhorrent ere thou fittest unrest:
Ah! thou wert watchful of the coming day,
And bared thine honor to the sullen test!

The lips of tempest closed when thou wert brave;
The waters hushed, as though to spare thee pain;
They who had feared to lose thee now could save,
And what seemed discord touched a magic strain.

The days of honor usher to our doors
The tempter golden with the pride of state:
The heart that labors upward never pours
Its treasures lowly by the market gate.

Thy lips refused to pass the word of wrong,
Thy heart smote all temptation and all lust;
The doubt that came to see thee kneel, along
A wondrous path was taught a higher trust.

The life of man is writ on scrolls of flame,
And many loved of earth of gods get hate:
I seek unheeding souls whom gilded fame
Hath bent before, when long compelled to wait!

HORACE L. TRACBEL.

A CORRESPONDENT finds the following interesting document among his papers:—

"Dear Sir,—I can influence you either the LL.D. or Ph.D. degree from a highly respectable University in America at the total expense of £20, including the handsome diploma on vellum and certificate of registration. Or I can let you have both the Ph.D. and M.A. degrees on one diploma for one single fee. I can get you examined in London. There will be no difficulty about that. Waiting your reply, I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully," etc.

We suppress the name of the vender of these bogus diplomas. Our correspondent hopes that this and similar swindles are now numbered with the iniquities of the past. We know they are,—and with the iniquities of the present time also. "Non est ad astra mollis a terris via." So said Seneca, but this age is more accommodating.—*The Inquirer* (London).

NEVER defend an error because you once thought it truth.—*Franklin*.

Do not think of the sacrifice thou dost make:
Think of the prize, the goal that's to be won.
—*Schiller*.

THE wider the intellect, the larger and simpler the expressions in which its knowledge is embodied. The inferior race, the small-minded individual, live in the details which, to larger minds and more advanced tribes of men, reduce themselves to axioms and laws.—*O. W. Holmes*.

WHATEVER a man may pray for, he prays for a miracle. Every prayer comes to this: "Great God, let twice two not make four." Only such a prayer is a real prayer, face to face. To pray to the Spirit of the universe, to the Supreme Being, to the abstract, unreal god of Kant or Hegel, is impossible, unthinkable. But can a personal, living, imaginable God make twice two other than four? Every true believer must answer, "Yes, he can." And he is obliged to convince himself of it. But what if his reason rebels

against such nonsense? Then Shakspeare comes to his aid: "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio." But if you seek to controvert him in the name of truth? He has merely to repeat the well-known question, "What is truth?" And so let us eat, drink, and be merry,—and pray.—*Ivan Turguénief*.

BOOK NOTICES.

SCRIPTURES, HEBREW AND CHRISTIAN. Arranged and edited for Young Readers as an Introduction to the Study of the Bible. By Edward T. Bartlett, A.M., Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, and John P. Peters, Ph.D. Vol. I. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886. pp. 545. Price \$1.50.

The editors of this compilation of Scriptural history intend to follow this volume, which relates only to Jewish history, from the creation to the Babylonian captivity, by a second and third. The second volume will treat of the story of the Jews from the exile to the time of Christ, and will also give the Hebrew laws, customs, and literature. The third volume will give selections from the New Testament. Bible phraseology is used, but with considerable condensation and rearrangement, in order to systematize and simplify the narrative. The "object of this work is to serve as an introduction to the study of the Bible," and to furnish a sufficient clew for the guidance of the ordinary Bible reader and student. The present volume is divided into four parts: Part I. being the "Hebrew Story, from the Beginning to the Time of Saul"; Part II., the "Kingdom of all Israel"; Part III. treats of "Samaria, or the Northern Kingdom"; and Part IV., of "Judah, from Rehoboam to the Exile."

MRS. BURNETT's fascinating "Little Lord Fauntleroy" continues in the June *St. Nicholas* to deepen the reader's interest in a character scarcely second to Dickens' *Paul Dombey* in charm of portrayal. J. T. Trowbridge begins one of his characteristic stories for boys in this number, entitled "The Kelp-Gatherers." "A Boy's Camp" is described by one of the campers. Horace E. Scudder writes about "George Washington." "The St. Nicholas Dog Stories" series gives five well-told stories of intelligent dogs. "Fishes and their Young," by C. F. Holder; and the description of Paris, given by Frank Stockton, in his serial "personally conducted,"—are brimful of useful information.

THE *Art Amateur* for June is specially devoted to decorative art, and the amateur in this department will find abundant wealth of suggestion for all sorts of work. The decoration of the library is fully considered, and the very practical lessons on the Art of Embroidery are continued. The Boston correspondence gives a eulogy on the late distinguished architect, Mr. Richardson; and we have accounts of the Paris Salon and the Impressionist Exhibition. Amateur photography gets its full share of attention. It is a useful number, more interesting to the practical artist or designer than to the general public; but it is well worth the reading.

THE handsome frontispiece, "Preparing for the Feast of Dolls," in the June *Wide Awake*, is designed to illustrate Prof. Edward S. Morse's piquant article in the same number, on "Japanese Boys and Girls." Sarah Orne Jewett tells a thrilling story in verse of "York Garrison" in 1640, very fully illustrated. "The Royal Girls," sketched by Mrs. Sherwood for this month, are the three Danish princesses: Alexandra, Princess of Wales; Dagmar, wife of the Russian Czar; and Thyra, Duchess of Cumberland. A biographical sketch of Dante is given, also one of Henry D. Thoreau, with a portrait of the hermit poet of Concord.

JOHN BIGELOW contributes to the June *Century* interesting extracts from twenty-four hitherto unpublished letters of Benjamin Franklin; and the frontispiece of the number is a portrait of Houdon's bust of the philosopher, showing a strong characteristic face. A charming dialect story is "Meh Lady: A Story of the War," by Thomas Nelson Page. In the "Open Letters," E. R. Sill discusses the question, "Shall Women go to College?" and Washington Gladden, the "Labor Question." We have already called attention to Dr. Buckley's strong article, dealing with "Faith-healing and Kindred Phenomena."

AMONG the various topics considered by the contributors to the *Catholic World* for June, we have space only to call attention to the following well-treated and timely articles: "Trade Brotherhoods, Past and Present," by W. Seton; "The Royal Irish Constabulary," by an ex-Inspector; "Charms and Charm Medicine," by Mrs. L. D. Morgan; "Woman in Ireland of Old," by Charles de Kay; and "Day Nurseries in France," by L. Binssae. In addition to the longer articles, this number contains poems, stories, and "Book-chat." New York: Catholic Publishing Society.

POEMS for recitation, stories by "Pansy" and "Margaret Sidney," short sketches of Harriet Newell and of Josiah Quincy, with eight full-page and many smaller illustrations, several pages of "Pansy's" characteristic letters to the little ones,—these are a few of the attractions of the June *Pansy*. D. Lothrop & Co.

THE May number of the *Revue de Belgique* contains elaborate articles on co-operation, on the disposal of sewerage as a fertilizer, and on the negroes who dwell along the Congo.

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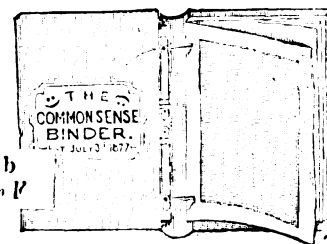
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE girl graduates of the Vincennes (Ind.) High School, who refused to receive diplomas in company with a colored miss, will probably be heartily ashamed of it when they come to reflect upon their absurd and silly conduct.

THE Calcutta *Liberal*, in explaining the meaning of its own name, says, "Liberalism, in one word, is theism." The editor may yet come to see that Liberalism is not limited to any particular theory in regard to the origin or nature of things.

THE Overseers of Harvard College have at last yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon them by the students and a liberal public sentiment, in voting to make attendance at the chapel exercises voluntary. The change will go into effect next year. One more victory for justice and freedom in matters of religion, after years of opposition to this reform and much foolish talk about the necessity of compulsory religious observance in the interests of morality!

REV. DR. BUCKLEY, of the New York *Christian Advocate*, advocates Christian unity within certain bounds, but is opposed to such conventions as that of the churches lately held in Cleveland. He wants ecclesiastical relations only where there is "unity in essentials." "Conventions of Christian churches," he says, "which welcome Unitarians, Universalists, Swedenborgians, and Roman Catholics, instead of promoting genuine Christian unity, promote the disintegration of all organizations called churches, except those that are built upon something else than the common faith and a common devotion to Jesus Christ."

In the death of Edwin Percy Whipple, Boston has lost its foremost critical writer, an essayist of European as well as of American reputation. Mr. Whipple, although deficient in constructive power, excelled in analysis; and subtlety of thought and fine discrimination were among his most prom-

inent intellectual characteristics. His essays are mainly criticisms of life or books. He was a well-equipped writer, and discussed subjects not only with penetration, but with a fulness of knowledge as conspicuous as his acuteness of thought and clearness of style. That he was not in all respects up to the newer criticism of to-day must be said; and this is not strange, when we remember that he commenced writing half a century ago, and that much of his best work was done between 1840 and 1850. Mr. Whipple did not have the advantages and escaped the evils of a college education; and his culture, thought, style, and method were acquired by himself outside of schools. He was catholic in his sympathies and independent in his judgments. Sham of every kind he hated. From that envy of other writers' success and reputation, which is not uncommon among literary men, he was quite free. By those who knew him well, he was not only admired for his ability as a writer, but esteemed for his many private virtues.

THE Universalist *Christian Leader*, commenting on the vote of Western Unitarian Conference, that it "conditions its fellowship on no dogmatic test, but welcomes all who wish to join it, to help establish truth and righteousness and love in the world," says that such a scheme misses its aim inevitably. "The rule, to which there are scarcely any exceptions, is that platforms made broad and indefinite, in order not to exclude anybody, exclude nearly everybody. Only the very small number of persons in any community whose opinions have no cohesive centre will cross the street to get on such a platform. It hence comes to pass that, just as the 'basis' broadens, the superstructure shrinks. All the large sects are definite and dogmatic. It is the fashion to decry creeds. But sharp, clear, pointed affirmatives are what nine men out of every ten will be attracted to. Generalities may diffuse sentiment: they gather no armies." There is much truth in the *Leader's* remarks, and food for reflection, too. The sects that are the most "definite and dogmatic," that have "sharp, clear, pointed affirmatives," in regard to matters not within the range of experience, and not admitting of verification or proof, are the sects to which the multitudes are attracted. The adherents of such sects must "think in herds." Freedom of thought they cannot exercise. In proportion as men think for themselves, they must doubt, differ on some points, protest against "sharp, clear, pointed affirmatives," in the absence of proof, and lose faith in creeds, and reverence for hierarchical authority. So little do the mass of people know of science, philosophy, history, so incapable are they of getting out of old ruts of thought, old traditional beliefs, of distinguishing between assertion and evidence, of examining carefully the creeds to which they assent, that only those sects that are definite and dogmatic have any attractions for them. But it does not follow that those who have outgrown creeds must keep on affirming them, or that those who hold to them, provisionally, qualifiedly, or doubtfully, must continue to put them

forth, definitely and dogmatically, as the truth, and make them a condition of fellowship. There are those who, while differing on speculative points, are opposed in common to the method and practice of teaching theological dogmas as truths too sacred to be questioned, and are in favor of the fullest and freest discussion of the creed of every sect and the doctrines of every school. Such may wisely unite for the attainment and promotion of truth, without being "definite and dogmatic" in statements of belief, and with a higher motive and purpose than to command the attention and favor and immediate influence which numerical strength is necessary to secure.

THE editor of the *Popular Science Monthly* has been looking over the reports of charitable institutions, and finds too little information of value, in a scientific point of view, and "any amount of sentimentality and gush, pious ascription of thanks to Providence, considerable laudation of the officers engaged in the work of the institution, and long lists of donations, with the names of the donors, of course." What is needed, he thinks, is information regarding each inmate, whether he or she is really an orphan; and, if so, how the condition of orphanage and dependence arose, why private aid from friends or relatives was not forthcoming, whether the existence of a convenient asylum had anything to do with it, what moral effects flow from absence of parental influence, what the special influences of the home or asylum seem to be in different classes of cases, and what the life of children released from the home has been. The editor of the *Popular Science Monthly* declares that fuss and vanity enter largely into many of the schemes of charity, so called. "They reek with sentimentality; and, therefore, it is no wonder that those who work them content themselves with reports at once jejune and nauseating,—jejune in facts, nauseating in phraseology. The best possible way to check these flabby imitations of real charity would be to summon them somewhat peremptorily to give such facts as might furnish material for a really scientific study of their operations. They could not in decency refuse the demand, if made by a certain number of their respectable supporters; and yet we are convinced that to comply with the demand in anything like an honest and thorough fashion would be to show that their work was, in part at least, hollow and even hurtful. We believe that a vast amount of harm is being done, not only by thoughtless private charity, but by ill-organized, ill-directed, and over-ambitious corporate charity. However, let scientific thinkers—men who have taken to heart all that is implied in the great truth that two and two make four—settle right down to work on the reports of some of these pretentious concerns; and, where they find information lacking that ought to be given, quietly ask for it. The world would be none the worse for the puncturing of a few of the bubbles blown by vanity and floated by sentimentality; and the way to puncture them is to bring the 'scientific method' to bear on their very unscientific operations."

NOT REPRESSION, BUT LIBERTY FOR EXPRESSION.

The objection has sometimes been made to the Free Religious Association that, on account of the large breadth of its fellowship, and the openness of its platform to all earnest opinions, its members have little or nothing to say for themselves to the world, and that therefore, in their individual work, their power is rather diminished than increased. We will not stop here to discuss the position whether the things which the Association says together in its constitution are of little or no importance to the world. It suffices now to say that they are as important as the fundamental principles of intellectual liberty, practical ethics, and human, unsectarian fellowship in seeking truth and promoting right. But we wish to point out the fact that this objection rests on an entire misconception of the relation of the members to the Association. They do not agree to repress any of their own individual convictions of truth, nor any of their individual beliefs as to what may be the best methods of working for the promotion of truth and right. On the contrary, one of the primary objects of the Association is to guarantee full liberty for the expression of such individual convictions, both on its platform and elsewhere, and full liberty to work by such ways and organizations, as may seem to any individual member good. That the members expect in their various individual positions, as writers, speakers, or workers of any sort, to confine themselves to stating and restating the general principles which they have declared in their constitution is a gross error; and that they have no definite convictions to utter is equally an error.

For instance, Mr. F. E. Abbot, though rejecting Christianity, has always been a pronounced theist; and he has never felt himself hampered in the advocacy of either his theistic views or his objections to Christianity by the fact that the constitution of the Free Religious Association, which he helped to frame, made no declaration on either point, but, on the contrary, expressly said that no speculative opinion or belief should be a condition of membership. That he did not wish to impose his beliefs on the Association as a test of membership did not preclude his urging them, on its platform and elsewhere, with all his earnestness and ability. Mr. M. J. Savage, with kindred earnestness and ability, advocates Christian theism, and never dreamed that he was prevented therefrom by the fact that he was a member and director of the same Association. Col. Higginson has adhered more closely than many of his fellow-members of the Association to the intuitional and transcendental view of religion; and he has felt perfect freedom to advocate this view, though the constitution makes no mention whatever of it. The present president of the Association believes that religion, rationally understood, is a very vital element in the many-sided culture and progress of humanity, and it is the main work of his life to set forth and inculcate the principles of such a religion to a regularly corporated religious society; nor has the fact that, for nineteen years, he has been secretary or president of the Free Religious Association ever appeared to him to stand at all in the way of his doing this work, though that Association does not in the least define these religious doctrines which he holds and urges, and even expressly says that it will not make them a part of its constitution. There are, also, not a few agnostics who are members and officers of the Association. They are convinced that their views are true and good for the

world, and they utter them accordingly, by the voice and the pen. That the constitution is silent on agnosticism they have never interpreted as an injunction of silence upon themselves. Thus, these various thinkers and believers, though saying certain things together as members of the Free Religious Association, have never for a moment supposed that, in their individual speech and work, they were to pare their utterances down to these general statements which they have made in common. This would be but to revive in another form the vicious creed-principle, with the added evil of emasculating belief by taking away from it specific personal convictions. The Free Religious Association has had precisely the opposite intent. It has sought to secure the amplest expression of individual conviction; and it has brought persons of different views and beliefs together, not for them to repress or suppress their honest convictions for the sake of harmony, but in order to find, underneath the freest utterance of different beliefs, that deeper harmony which unites all souls who love genuine truth and right better even than their own present views of truth and right.

In the recent discussion concerning the action of the Western Unitarian Conference, we have noticed that the conservatives are repeating this old objection that has been urged so mistakenly against the Free Religious Association. They are saying to Messrs. Gannett, Jones, and their friends: "If you believe, as you aver, and as we know you do, in God, and in immortality, and in worship, and in the high spiritual purpose of Jesus, why are you not willing to say so, and together, to the world? Why be satisfied, in conference, to express only a minimum of your beliefs, or only generalities, and leave such specific beliefs as these unuttered? Such silence really misrepresents yourselves." At the close of the Cincinnati debate, Mr. Gannett in hushed voice uttered an earnest aspiration, called a prayer, which deeply touched all hearts. "Oh that we could say that to the world!" exclaimed Mr. Sunderland, earnestly, as they moved away. But Mr. Gannett is saying that to the world all the time. He does not write nor speak for himself without saying it. But he would not say it for a whole conference, because he thinks there may be some equally honest and earnest soul there who, though seeking essentially the same thing, might find a stumbling-block in his form of words. For the same reason, he and the others of the majority in the conference did not put the words God, Immortality, and Worship, into the conference resolution, though perfectly free themselves to use the words, and in fact using them in their own speech and work. Where the conference speaks for itself as a body, they would have it, in the interest of the largest fellowship, use only the great generic words, such as Truth, Righteousness, Love,—though whether words like these express only a minimum of beliefs may be questioned. But they do not thereby agree to confine themselves to these words in their own religious nomenclature, or to refrain from uttering whatever specific religious convictions may seem to them best calculated at any time to convey the highest truth. And the same liberty which they thus claim and use for themselves they would accord equally to a brother worker, who is working with the same earnestness and sincerity, but who finds that sincerity requires him to work with convictions and expressions somewhat different. In such a union there will be no repression, no touting down of individual beliefs, for the sake of peace, but a completer utterance. Each does his best at his own post, in his own way, to urge what he himself most deeply believes; and he is willing

that his brother shall do likewise. But since all profess to be working for truth, righteousness, and love, why may they not come together on one platform, to tell each other how they do it, and trustfully to help each other to do such work, and better?

WM. J. POTTER.

LA DIDACHE, OR THE TEACHINGS OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.*

Monseigneur Philotheas Bryennios published in the year 1875 a complete text of the Clementine Epistles, which he had discovered in the library of Saint Sepulchre, at Constantinople. This library belongs to the convent of the same name, so called because, though at Constantinople, it belongs to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The stir in the learned world was very great, but proved much greater when, in February of the last year, it was known that the Metropolitan Bishop was also to publish the book before us, the *Didaché*, or the *Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*, enriched with Prolegomena and Notes, condensing in the volume all the materials necessary to the most complete study of the work. The French editor, Paul Sabatier, has not unworthily followed after in what he calls the beautiful work of Monseigneur Bryennios.

It is written in entirely classic Greek, and not in modern, as has been erroneously stated. Its style is of great clearness, and the reading easy to persons very little familiar with the Greek language. He says, moreover, in regard to his own labors, he has tried to make the bibliography of the subject complete. In enumerating the leaves, the monographs, the volumes, provoked by the publication of the texts of the *Didaché*, he says that Germany has produced the great majority, of which some are made with science and erudition not to be surpassed. Yet, for all that, it has not made any particular noise beyond the scientific or religious circles who interest themselves in such studies. In other words, the great German public has very vaguely understood, and rather by hearsay learned, of this discovery of Monseigneur Bryennios. It has been very different in America, where the text of the *Didaché* was transmitted by telegraph, and was immediately reproduced in papers secular and religious, translated and commented upon in numerous volumes. But, in that effervescence, the scientific interest was far from being of the highest character. The different sects each thought to find in it what should support their own doctrines, and oppose those of their neighbors. Let us hasten, however, to say that, in the avalanche of works,—often of mediocrity,—there has appeared some serious, scientific, and independent studies. In England, they are far less preoccupied with the *Didaché* than in America; neither scientific nor ecclesiastical interest has been greatly excited. In France, the editor gives a respectable list, and hopes the happy relation made between the Greek Church and German universities may subsist also for France, by seeing its students seated, also, at the feet of the Faculty of Paris. In a note, referring to the *History of the Christian Church*, by Dr. Philip Schaff, our author says, "One such book does great honor to its author and to the American science, which we have judged elsewhere a little too precipitately." So much for the introduction which, in our hands, has been so greatly condensed as to seem quite inexpressive.

The *Didaché* lies before us in its beautiful, fine, and clear Greek text, over which we pass as needs

* Retrouvé par Mgr. Philotheas Bryennios, Métropolitain de Nicomédie. Publié pour la première fois en France avec un commentaire et des notes par Paul Sabatier, ancien élève de la faculté de Théologie Protestant de Paris. 1885.

must, having not even the little learning that would find it easy, to the well-printed French translation, with wide margin, making it fair and pleasant to read.

The summary at the head of the thirteen chapters is not, of course, in the original. The mention of a few of the points will give some hint to the reader of what he will find and of what he will not find. Metaphysics, doctrines, polemics, are not there. The old familiar "two ways" meet us first: the "two ways" of profane and sacred writers from the earliest time. In far antiquity, it is a natural thought. Hesiod gives it in poetry; Xenophon in the apologue of Hercules between vice and virtue; while, with the Jews, it was of constant recurrence, taking on a more religious turn, as with the old patriarchs and in New Testament teachings, whether of Christian or Judaic bias. "Behold, then, the way of life"; "behold, then, the way of death," it is said. The chapters with this text are double in number to the others. Baptism, fasts and prayers, the eucharist, the assembly of Sunday, ecclesiastical discipline, bishops and deacons, and things final close the subjects.

We do not propose to go over the arguments that have carried our author to his conclusions as to the time and place of origin of this legacy of the apostles to the faithful of their day. They are so fully stated on their positive and negative side, their internal and external evidence so skilfully drawn out, the objections of opposing scholars so candidly met, that we cannot withhold our assent to the author's decisions. The *Didaché*, then, belongs to the early part of the first century after Christ. The character of its catechetical teachings, its relation with an evangelic manual different from our Synoptics, the simplicity of its rites of baptism and the Supper, the ecclesiastical directions taking birth at the side of spiritual gifts, the conciseness of their final hopes, and, above all, the Judaic character of the document,—all carry us back to a period of origins, where the Christian thought, yet uncertain, formed rather a tendency of Judaism than of a new religion; to the time before Greek metaphysics and spiritual mysticism had given a psychological intent to the doctrines of the Church. These are but hints of the internal evidences, while those from the historic or traditional gleanings of the circumstances and life around them more than justify the conclusions reached. Perhaps the strongest point is in the eschatology of the document. If we place its birth near the middle of the first century, it lights with a vivid light this period so obscure. What, in effect, passed in those years which followed the death of Jesus? A great hope had traversed many souls: they awaited his return. A brief delay, and the noise of it spread; and on all sides they heard the cry, "What shall I do to be saved?" The *Didaché* responds to this question as clearly and as briefly as possible, for "the time is short: Maranatha, the Lord is at hand." This, then, is the salvation, this the immortality: that the faithful shall dwell with the Messiah on the earth and in the body, at his coming. Little by little, the illusions ceased, and they must set themselves to spiritualize the too concrete images of the first days. As yet, eminently Judaic must be the teaching of the apostles; a term by no means confined to the immediate followers of the Messiah. And the sincerity of the old document coming out from among the Syrian Jews and addressed to the numerous "proselytes of the Gate," forming at first the early Church, is a strong argument for its authenticity and early date. Such a document would not have been counterfeited at any late day.

Soon enough came the accretions, which some-

times were corruptions, of the early Church, as witnessed by the Gospels and Epistles, which remained oral traditions till a later time than this oldest of the sacred documents. Yet, as much as it differed in tone and teaching from the later evangels, it did not, perhaps, differ more from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, for instance, than some of St. Paul's letters from each other.

Evolution did not stay its course with the newly risen sect. Yet it is good to see the new-born Church, as yet not plagued with episcopates and bishops and deacons and a priesthood, all set apart from the brethren; to see, now, no doctrines of Logos or Paraclete, no redemption nor expiation, nor justification by faith, no real presence; as yet, no new and distinctive millinery,—garb of alb and chasuble and dalmatic; no bands and surplice; nothing like a hierarchy.

Out of a quiet harbor floated the early Church,—the Church universal, wearing as it must its race-signals, but hoisting no national colors of sect or kingdom,—to cross over the vast sea of humanity. Nor shall that ark of safety ever sink below the horizon.

The "period of origins" may charm us as with the thought of going home to our birth-place, but the life of the Church should better satisfy us that it has come to finer issues in the diviner spirit of humanity. It looked for a Messiah to the Jews: it could not comprehend the Messiah that should for ever and ever be coming on the earth.

HORATIA S. WARE.

THE UNITY OF SCIENCE.

III.

Our psychical attractions and repulsions we call love and hate. In the social sphere, man is the centrifugal, or driving, force, and woman the centripetal, or attractive, force. Man is the positive, woman the negative. And that peculiar, never-old-and-never-new psychical phenomenon which we call love corresponds with striking analogy to a state of electrical separation in two bodies of opposite polarity, by which the opposite currents attract each other with dual force. Happy for the persons in such anthropo-psychic electric state, if they will learn a lesson from the pith-ball, and so preserve their individual electricities by proper reserve that they shall not become charged with like currents, and thus change attraction to repulsion! Chemism furnishes us still other analogies for this psychical attraction which we have been accustomed to regard as not a subject of natural law. In chemistry, we find, in accordance with the quality of the combining power of atoms, that acids are negative and bases and alkalis are positive. The stronger acid, by its superior attraction, displaces the weaker in a compound already formed, and, taking possession of the base, forms an entirely new combination. So powerful is the attraction of some elements, as oxygen, for certain others that a union resulting in a new compound, often of less value than either of the original elements alone, may be the result of mere propinquity. On the other hand, some of the most valuable and useful compounds, as water, require extreme electric or thermal force to effect the synthesis of the combining elements. Chemical analysis, which is capable of divorcing such a pair, demonstrates to us that, in the wedlock of the acid and the base, neither has lost its individuality, though the twain have become one substance. Again, we are familiar with the unstable character of certain compounds and their great susceptibility to the influence of certain elements to which they may be brought near, and the necessity for keeping such compounds carefully isolated

from and protected against such influences, in order to preserve their fidelity to the original union. On the other hand, we are familiar, also, with the enormous disorganizing power of certain elements, enabling them to break up even the most stable compounds with great facility. The well-being of such demands that these, too, be carefully guarded and restrained. So obvious are the analogies here between natural laws and social laws that an attempt to point them out would be superfluous.

We will now stop to examine the influence of modern science upon religion. Is the relation of science to religion, in its present advanced state, that of enmity or friendship? Is it a help or a hindrance to the moral and spiritual evolution of man?

The man of science, "standing upon actual things among fixed laws," at first grows suspicious of theology, and scoffs at the supernatural. He will have only nature and law. Here, he avers, is enough of mystery for him. But here, at last, he suddenly finds himself lost in amazement over the supernaturalness of the natural; and, before he can fairly recover himself, its likeness to revelation leads him kindly and safely back to a new starting-point, where, in the light which science sheds upon religion, he now discovers himself actually looking forward to a time when science shall be called upon to "arbitrate between conflicting creeds," and when theology, stripped of the "adulterations and accumulations of centuries of uncontrolled speculation," shall accept the friendly aid of science to "disclose to a waning scepticism the naturalness of the supernatural,"* and thus justify man's faith in the unseen in the spiritual world upon the ground of his willing acceptance of the equally mysterious in the natural world.

The tendency of science, therefore, toward unity of law and expression, will be followed by a corresponding and inevitable tendency toward unity in religion. "In so far as doubt is a conscientious tribute to the inviolability of nature, it is entitled to respect" (Drummond); and the honest desire on the part of science to challenge all authority deserves a better name than infidelity.

"At this triumphal entry of science upon the stage of modern thought," says Brackett,† "religion is the only power that has as yet sounded the note of alarm." The known and the unknown, or the realms of science and philosophy, are only separated by an imaginary boundary line. Hence, as science progresses and the unknown becomes the known, as the realm of philosophy gives up its mysteries and faith is lost in sight, this boundary line must change. And this no more implies that philosophy has heretofore usurped unlawful possessions than that science has recklessly neglected to take possession of her own. If religion sets up human creeds in the pathway of science, the sappers and miners are liable to level them in their preparation for the onward march of truth. And why should we tremble at their downfall? Do we love our creed better than we love the truth? Said the Christ to his sorrowing disciples: "I will not leave you comfortless. I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, that he may abide with you forever." Are the dead forms of our religion more to us than this living Spirit of Truth, hovering ever near us to give us correct answers to the *how* and *why* which are the everlasting "interrogatories so profoundly instinct in humanity,—the instinct of cosmic interrogation upon which the evolution of the human mind depends"? And where should we expect to find this Spirit of Truth more than in

* *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Drummond.

† *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. xv., p. 168.

the real and tangible things of nature, written all over as they are with revelation concerning their Author, where, "in the impersonal authority of law, man may everywhere recognize the authority of God"? It is not against religion, but against human creeds, that science has instituted charges. But "*credo*" is such a dear word to us. It gratifies man's natural opinionativeness,—"*I believe*"! And, after all, it is not the "believe" which so infatuates us as that monument of selfhood, that perpendicular "*I*"!

"As other men have creeds, so I have mine:
I keep the holy faith in God, in man,
And in the angels ministrant between.

"I hold to one true church of all true souls,
Whose churchly seal is neither bread nor wine,
Nor laying on of hands, nor holy oil,
But only the anointing of God's grace.

"I hate all kings, and caste, and pride of birth;
For all the sons of men are sons of God.
Nor limps a beggar but is nobly born;
Nor wears a slave a yoke, nor czar a crown,
That makes him less or more than just a man.

"I love my country and her righteous cause,
So dare I not keep silent of her sin,—
And after Freedom may her bells ring Peace.

"I love one woman with a holy fire,
Whom I revere as priestess of my house;
I stand with wondering awe before my babes
Till they rebuke me to a nobler life.

"I keep a faithful friendship with my friend,
Whom loyally I serve before myself;
I lock my lips too close to speak a lie,
I wash my hands too white to touch a bribe;
I owe no man a debt I cannot pay,—
Except the love that men should always owe.

"Withal, each day before the blessed heaven,
I open wide the chambers of my soul,
And pray the Holy Ghost to enter in.

"Thus reads the fair confession of my faith,
So crossed by contradictions of my life
That now may God forgive the written lie.

"Yet, still by help of Him who helpeth men,
I face two worlds, and fear not life nor death.
O Father, lead me by thy hand! Amen."

—Tilton.

In the great "change of front on the part of the universe," which began in the sixteenth century, when Copernicus "shattered the crystal spheres of Ptolemy, and set the stationary earth in motion and sent it spinning around the sun" (Savage), and which the revolution of science has continued to effect down to the present time, religion has been slow to adjust itself to its new environment, and many times has failed to use prudent discrimination between a warfare against atheism and the world's spiritual enemies and a wholesale antagonism toward science and the denunciation of scientific truths, when uttered, as it avers, by godless materialists; while the infirmity of science, on the other hand, is, beyond doubt, a tendency to arrogance and to an unreasoning unbelief in what it terms the supernatural. Because it is the testimony of the everlasting rocks that the earth has existed a much longer period than six thousand years, and because evolution teaches us to believe in a subjective rather than an objective creation, and therefore discredits the Mosaic account of the origin of the earth and its occupants, as literal scientific truth, must we protest that therefore there was no creation at all, nor even a Creator? Does not evolution imply also involution? And, if man was evolved, through a long series of ages, from a simple primitive cell, does not this imply that the cell involved infinite potentialities, originating with an Infinite Intelligence?

"There can be no objection, of course," says the late Henry James, Sen.,* "to the scientific man's attempt to reduce, if he can, all organized existence to a common basis; but the objection comes in when he attempts to make any formula of his

* *Society the Redeemed Form of Man*, Henry James.

on this grossly gratuitous and impertinent subject of vital concern to philosophy. For, in doing this, he at once betrays his ignorance of what philosophy means, confounding, for example, every concept that is proper and dear to it with its exact opposite,—individuality with identity, life with existence, form with substance, cause with condition, creation with constitution. Philosophy is perfectly indifferent to what naturally constitutes existence or gives it outward body, but reserves all her interest for what spiritually creates it or gives it inward soul. To misconceive and misrepresent this, however, is the inveterate temptation of clever scientific men; and the infirmity has never been more aptly illustrated than in the development of our recent scientific materialism. 'Pursue,' says Prof. Huxley, 'the nettle and the oak, the midge and the mammoth, the infant and the adult, Shakspeare and Caliban, to their common root, and you have protoplasm for your pains. Beyond this analysis, science cannot go; and any metaphysic of existence, consequently, which is not fast tethered to this physical substance, which is not firmly anchored in protoplasm, is an affront to the scientific understanding.' . . . Here Prof. Huxley restricts his researches to the principle of identity in existence,—that point in which all existence becomes essentially chaotic or substantially indistinguishable. The philosopher, on the other hand, who sees science to be not the end, but the means of the mind's ultimate enfranchisement, enlarges his researches to the principle of *individuality* in existence. We have no reason to doubt, upon Mr. Huxley's own showing, that the initial fact of all organization is protoplasm; but, at the same time, it is impossible for us to conceive of a fact of less vital significance to philosophy. Philosophy cheerfully takes that and every similar fact for granted. The initial fact in the edifice of St. Peter's, at Rome, was a quantity of stone and lime. This fact was assumed by the architect as necessarily included in the *form* of his edifice, about which form alone he was concerned. The *identity* of his edifice, or what it possessed of common substance with all other buildings, interested him very little: only its *individuality*, or what it should possess of differential form from all other buildings, was what exercised his imagination. To conceive of Michelangelo concerning himself mainly with the rude protoplasm, or mere flesh and bones, of his building is at once to reduce him from an architect to a mason. And, in like manner, to conceive the philosopher intent upon running man's immortal destiny, or spiritual form, into the abject slime of protoplasm, out of which his body germinates, is to reduce him from a philosopher to a noodle."

LEILA G. BEDELL.

OF LABOR ONCE MORE.

Recently, I spoke of a manufacturer who has thought much how to make his men more independent of himself, of each other, and of circumstances, but found every plan that occurred to him, or that he had read of, ruthlessly cut off or seriously threatened by the possibility of a boycott. I think it will be instructive, in the present state of affairs, if I give a chapter from this man's history, as a pivot on which to hang the lesson of the value of a strong individual character.

He began life as a mechanic, working by the day in a little manufacturing town in New England. But his activity, intelligence, and industry stood him in such stead that, whereas all the other mechanics of the place were earning but \$2.00, or at the most \$2.25 a day, he was paid \$3.50. He more than earned the difference. Like many

other workmen in the place, he was employed to run a certain machine, the care and operation of one of which were considered, and in actual truth were, one man's work. He, however, succeeded by superior ability and energy in running three, or sometimes five, of these same machines, so he has informed me. Of course, he was paid for this extra productiveness. And here the question occurs, Was it not right that he, producing more and giving more value, should be paid more,—that is, receive more value? I see not how any one can deny such a claim; for, if labor be the source of wealth, as labor reformers, trades-unions, Knights of Labor, and other such, are never weary of saying, then certainly the more labor done, the more wealth made, for which proportionate return should be made. Who, I say, would deny this justice? Yet the workmen of that New England village twenty years ago denied it. My friend was waited on one evening, a little before the end of working hours, by a number of mechanics, who informed him that a union of iron-workers was to be formed, and asked him to join. He refused; and, on being pressed for his reasons, he told the men frankly that he could not permit others, individually or collectively, to go between him and his employer on the subject of wages. He declared that he must make his own bargains. "If," he said to them, "you form this union, you will undertake to regulate wages, which means that you will press down mine as one means of pushing the pay of others up; but that I will not submit to. I earn my larger wages, because it is for the interest of my employer to have my skill and activity. I will continue to make it for his interest, and to profit by it myself." The men answered, "Then we give you twenty-four hours to leave town." "I will not go." "Yes, you will; if not on your feet, then carried in a deal box," the meaning of which eloquent threat was plain. Then followed in fact sundry incidents, which it is needless to relate here. Suffice it that my friend did not leave town, did not join the union, was not killed or even hurt, though dogged about for a little while; that the union fell to pieces in three months; and that he, the ambitious mechanic, has gone on from his humble beginning to be a large manufacturer and employer. That was twenty years ago. The conditions since then have changed in this: that *now* this man could not defy successfully the kind of opposition and the imperious demand which then he resisted and vanquished. At present, his business, or his employer's business, would be maimed, and perhaps destroyed, and he himself beaten, if not killed. But the times have not changed as to the demand made on my friend. The same claims still are put forward, with a view of levelling wages, by cutting down as many peaks as may be needful to fill up the natural hollows. This is a kind of insensate democracy applied to work, taking no account of skill or of personal value, but putting all men on a level, on the basis of so much time told off by the clock. This destroys all individuality. Indeed, it is easy to see that, not individual value, but action in the mass wholly, is the basis of trades-unions, as now they are carried on. For example, it is no uncommon thing that an employer has paid his men generously, and in all respects satisfied them: yet, suddenly, they cripple him by a strike. Why? Because the men of some other employer, who has not been generous or just, are on a strike, and all men of that trade are ordered out to help them. What justice in this? And how plain it is that rights of the workingmen are as much ignored thereby as justice to employers! That they cannot see the injustice, as often is the case, no doubt,

makes no difference. This sinking of men into a mass is a characteristic of barbarism; and the results of it are barbarous, in whatever stage of civilization it may occur. Wherever such claims are enforced by violence or by threats of violence, the tyranny is enormous; and that this is done triumphantly is notorious. That the unions disclaim it is true, but by what discipline they repress lawless acts has not yet appeared. I said that my friend could not now defy the combination of his fellow workmen as then he did: an illustrative case is at hand. In the late railroad strike, in a town near Chicago, a ticket agent of a railroad was warned to leave the town immediately; and he obeyed, urged by the violence which he had seen used toward others. Yet his whole offence was that he had been active, as an officer of the road, in transporting laborers from a distance to take the place of the strikers.

It will be said that only unbalanced or bad men will engage in tyranny of this kind, which, no doubt, is true. But the very difficulty is that our trades-unions, as they now show themselves, seem not to discriminate as to personal character, and hence become largely confederations of unsound heads and surly minds. I met a case in point lately. I visited a very large meat-packing establishment in Chicago, at the famous stock-yards, where there have been at different times many strikes. As I stood looking at the processes, one of the workmen left his place, came and spoke to me, asked if I had ever visited such an establishment before, and then begged five cents for beer. On my refusing to give the money, he looked at me sullenly and sourly, and returned to his place, whence he continued to cast vicious glances at me as long as I remained in his neighborhood. Now, that man was a beggar in spirit, which signifies a cringing, crawling, servile fellow. If there is any reason why he should turn beggar to me more than I to him, I cannot conceive what it is. But I can see plainly that his state of mind is the same, though in a vulgar way, as that which he would be one of the most violent, by mouth or act, to charge on the capitalist; namely, the willingness to clutch money without earning it. It needs little wisdom to predict that that man, all his life, will be as servile in station as he is in nature. The pity is that he seems as good material for a trades-union, and as fully equipped to take his part in the union's counsels, as the most respectable workingman, and no doubt is in front, when there is opportunity to throw bricks with small risk. All trades-unions and associations should purge themselves of such men, because they are a disgrace to labor. But, more than this, labor societies ought to be composed of men who would not submit to be drilled like an army, and ordered in or out at the beck of majorities, who may have no connection whatever with the business or the obligations of the workmen whom they rule. Counsel, advice, discussion, of one kind, and good; but unreasoning subservience, and the sinking of individuality in masses, are of another kind, and bad. I believe a man, in whatever sphere of life, who feels his power to be valuable, will not endure to have others prescribe how valuable he shall be, and how much or how little he shall work, or what contracts he shall make for his labor.

Let me say, again, that I feel very sure indeed that labor has a grievance which ought to be righted. And I feel equally sure that, however a part of the grievance springs from the common heritage of social imperfections, with which we all are struggling, a large part also is the result of the intolerable greed of the prosperous classes, and of practices morally abominable, if not le-

gally criminal. But the wrongs will not be righted merely by an exchange of masters, and the sullenness of ignorance is as hostile to society as the coldness of selfishness.

That fellow who turned pauper toward me for a drink of beer,—pah! I cannot forget him. It is these beggars that nurse Cæsars.

J. V. BLAKE.

SUNDAY READING-ROOMS AND MUSEUMS.

The movement for opening these avenues of knowledge and bulwarks against intemperance has been carried on in many cities, and with uniform success. The Art Museum in Boston has been opened on Sunday afternoons for seven years. On March 7, 1886, there were 4,200 visitors. The average number for 1885 was 1,332; that on Saturday, also a free day, was 1,006; that of paying visitors on other days was 67. I am satisfied, from my own inspection, as well as from the reports of others, that these Sunday visitors are, to a great extent, mechanics, maid-servants, and shop-girls. They are always well behaved, and, in fact, give less trouble in touching pictures and statues than the people who pay an entrance fee. It should also be noticed that the attendants are paid by the day, and on Sunday get a full day's pay for half a day's work.

One of the best known instances of the advantage of opening public libraries on Sunday is in Worcester. The report of the librarian, Mr. S. S. Green, may be found in the *Christian Register* for Feb. 21, 1884; in the *Library Journal* for May, 1884; and in the *Sunday Review* (Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London) for June, 1885. This library was first opened Dec. 8, 1872. During the first twelve months there were 5,706 visitors. There has been a steady increase; and, during twelve months in 1881-82, the number was 14,946. All the books in the building are accessible for reading, though none can be taken out; but the call is mainly for newspapers and magazines. The attendants are not employed there on other days. The rooms are as quiet on Sunday as any parlor, and no effort is ever needed to secure order. Nor has there been any complaint of bad results. The visitors are largely men who do not belong to churches, and are without quiet, comfortable homes.

The reading-room of the Boston Public Library was first opened on Feb. 9, 1873. The average number of periodicals given out has increased from 476 in 1876 to 558 in 1885. In 1883, it was 582. The reading-room of the Christian Union in Boston has been opened since 1868, and there are three times as many readers as during the week. The Cincinnati Public Library, which has been open since 1871, soon averaged 1,100 readers; and the president of the Young Men's Christian Union, who at first opposed the step, has been fully satisfied with the results. The Mercantile Library in Philadelphia, which was thrown open in 1870, had 700 readers the second year. Other dates, also taken from the pamphlet, "How shall we keep Sunday," pp. 85, 86, are Milwaukee, 1869 and 1870; New York Mercantile Library, May, 1872; St. Louis Public Library, June, 1872. Public libraries are also open in Chicago and Detroit. It should be added that the great collections which belong to the Boston Athenæum and to Harvard University are now open for consultation on Sunday. All the extra labor in the latter case is done by one small boy, who is paid by the day. Those who wish to read arguments for these measures will find them ably put in sermons by Brooke Herford, Heber Newton, Robert Collyer, and Henry Ward Beecher. I think

it is the last who says that a Sunday reading-room takes ten young men from the street where it takes one from the church. Among the libraries open in England is that in Birmingham; and at least one workingman's wife has been heard to bless the day when this was done, for her husband, who used to spend his afternoons in the public house, never goes anywhere now but to the reading-room, and is there so long as it is open.

F. M. HOLLAND.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE members of the Parker Memorial Science Class and their friends will make an excursion (weather permitting) to the Blue Hills, on Sunday next, leaving the Boston & Providence Depot at 8.30 o'clock A.M. Carriages to convey the excursionists to the Hills will be in readiness on arrival of the train. The Committee of Arrangements request us to say that "well-filled baskets will be in order."

IN reply to a statement that he is wanting in the "historical sense," Charles Voysey thus writes to the *London Inquirer*: "The 'historical sense,' as I have seen it exercised by Unitarians, means simply the seeing in the gospel records what is *not* there, and the closing of the eyes to what is there. If a man claims to be my 'master,' especially 'our greatest master in spiritual things,' my first duty is to hear what that master has to teach; and, in the case of Jesus, I go to the only books which even profess to tell us what he taught. Now, both you and I find there teachings which we reject, which we would not accept on *any* terms; and I contend that, if we criticise his teachings at all, much more if we denounce some of them as evil and impious, then it is sheer folly to call that teacher 'master' any more."

DR. R. HEBER NEWTON, in a lecture in his church, on the labor question, on May 16, said in substance: We may reasonably expect that labor organizations here will educate themselves, as they have done in England, in the practical methods of self-help. The trades-unions of skilled labor are even now conservative institutions. They represent intelligence in intelligent action. You have all read lately the calm, wise words of Mr. Arthur, chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Power is safely lodged in such hands. Unskilled labor, comparatively ignorant and distrustful of its employers, will in time follow the guidance of skilled labor; and this is always conservative. Such an association as the Knights of Labor, which, because of its comprehensive character, seems to threaten so much danger, presents the very safeguard which society needs. So far from standing aloof from the Knights of Labor, it seems to me that all employers of labor ought frankly to recognize this order as an invaluable ally. Its principles are, upon the whole, excellent. The present head of the order may possibly lack the genius of a Napoleon; but his judgment is, upon the whole, sound, and his spirit temperate, and he may turn out a Wellington. What could be more excellent advice to our workmen than that which he has given officially in the secret circular which lately came to light? He is fighting within this national order the battle of society with the lawless elements which are threatening rebellion. That order has already prevented hundreds of strikes; and for its own preservation will tighten discipline, so as to prevent local assemblies from precipitating general contests. As it seems to me, employers cannot better help themselves, and society through them,

than by lending encouragement to such leaders of the ranks of labor as are honestly striving to turn the immense power of such an order in channels where it will drive the wheels of reform, rather than let it pour forth in floods of anarchy and revolt over the fields of industry.

THE New York Sun, commenting upon the Harrisburg resolution of the Young Men's Christian Association that "it is inadvisable for the associations to engage in any organized efforts for moral reform," asks: "Are we to infer that the Young Men's Christian Associations are less exacting in their requirements for membership than the White Cross Army is? Are they less intolerant of the seducer and the libertine? Are they afraid to demand 'personal purity among young men' who would come into their ranks or remain there? Will they go on praying with closed eyes, while a woman is flung into the gutter, and her paramour is allowed to go unrebuked and to be rewarded with honor? If they are disposed so to act, let them at once pass another resolution at Harrisburg, striking out the word Christian from the title of their organization."

THE following is an extract from a private letter we received recently from Dr. Edmund Montgomery: "The mere expression of opinion counts for nothing when it comes to natural science. Proof is here everything. So it was with gravitation, so with evolution, so with all natural science problems. Both Newton and Darwin worked for ever so long at the *proof* of their hypothesis. In both cases, many others had previously more or less distinctly advanced similar ideas. The power of scientific views lies wholly in their being open to verification. It is thus only that they conquer prejudices. . . . Before Darwin, the *Biblical* notion of the fixity of species prevailed. Linné and Cuvier had used their very accurate knowledge of natural objects in support of this preconception. The liberal opposition theory at that time was the Platonic archetype theory. Dear old Platonism, here, as everywhere, came in as liberating solvent of dogmatic fixity. But its ideal archetype, believed to govern ectypal formation, could not be verified; and thus no real science could be constructed on such a supersensible basis. Meanwhile, paleontological discoveries rendered it too plain that there had been a gradual development of organic forms. The puzzle was how to reconcile such experience with Biblical traditions. Hugh Miller, in geology, and Richard Owen, in biology, are types of such reconcilers. Owen conceived organic development as a constant creation, superintended by a directing deity, in fulfilment of a pre-established plan. Thus, for instance, the gradual stages of equine development, represented by fossil remains found in different geological strata, Owen looked upon as creative acts, evolving the horse for the final use of man. This is no science: it is merely a mixture of Biblical and transcendental conception. Lamarck, likewise guided by paleontological researches, framed the only pre-Darwinian theory of development open to scientific verification. But he himself did not work out the proof with sufficient scientific precision. This, no doubt, will be done in future; and I believe that transmission of faculties, acquired through individual exertion, will be found to play a great part in evolution. Darwin's greatness consists: first, in the conception of an hypothesis wholly in keeping and not transcending the actual facts of nature; and then in the laborious and scrupulous pains he has taken to gauge and verify his hypothesis in presence of *all* the facts of nature he could get hold of."

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 24, 1886.

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

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

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For The Index.

Ideals and Realities in the Social Question.

BY REV. J. G. BROOKS.

A Paper read before the Free Religious Association at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, May 28, 1886.

The social question is one of ideals,—of ideals over against things actual. A period sleepy and contented with itself would have no such problems. When men come to hate the existing, because they see the possibilities of a better, we first have the conditions out of which all social questions spring. In the nobler epochs, these discontents are always active. Our special difficulties press no harder than in other periods. The spirit of this long struggle is as old as civilization. Only the form of it has changed. Allowing for all such formal changes,—allowing for that most profound of all changes, from status to contract,—we yet find, especially in all higher moments of social development, the passionate forces of criticism hotly at work upon the actual order.

As is the case to-day there are in all history those who apologize for and stand by the existing state of things, whatever it may be. The greatest names in England defended rotten boroughs until 1832. When there were two hundred and twenty-three crimes punishable by death,—death for shooting a rabbit, or injuring trees, or Westminster Bridge,—the Lord Chancellor, Eldon, and the Chief Justice stood stiffly for things as they were, "because they were best." Lord Ellenboro railed against the innovators, and said that nothing was safe before such "speculation and modern philosophy." The thinker and the sufferer become critics of such vested wrongs.

Why is it that now, when we have triumphed over so many of these inequalities and ills, men were never less satisfied with the actual? The fault-finders never were busier, nor were they ever among a more respectable or learned part of society. We find dissatisfaction with things as they are, where we should least expect it.

In Prof. Paulsen's little book upon Kant's contribution to present problems in Germany, we find

a kind of pained wonder that, after all her splendid victories,—Austria and France so easily and so swiftly subdued, unity of empire at last secure,—the old fever of intellectual disquiet and critical irritation with actual things is profounder than ever.

At a dinner table in Paris, I heard a man boasting that the French were getting back far more money from the Germans than ever had been paid them by the war indemnity. Why? Because, while in France, the Germans got a good taste of the French wines, and would thereafter never be content with their own. Prof. Paulsen too, as others have done, suggests that the very successes of his nation have brought the people into wider relations than they had ever known, thereby catching sight of ideals of life and society which left them no peace with the actual. In such a case as this, so far as it is true, no remedy is of much worth that does not deal with this changed social sentiment. Nothing more truly characterizes the profound change in the form of the social question than this change in the sentiment of the masses. No fact is so deep and certain as a feeling. Whether to be praised or blamed, it is for the time irresistible. Optimistic statisticians wonder that their wise figuring doesn't silence all objections. It might, if the problem were any longer to be measured by things external.

It is simply because a new and almost universal feeling has entered into all the issues that no proof of outward improvement in the least satisfies those who have for the first time become conscious of social inequalities, and also caught sight of new and more certain means of lessening them. It is only saying that the masses are at last feeling upon their half-wakened nature the power of social ideals.

In earlier history, it was the few who dreamed of a new society. Now, the great unrest has fallen upon the hearts of the people at large. Let us trace for a few moments the history of social ideals. We shall find them slowly through the centuries coming nearer to the Demos, until, under the effects of commerce and popular education, the multitude of common toilers are moved not only to criticise the actual, but to use definite and practical forces to gain their ends, thus uniting into one working energy the ideal and the real.

Prof. Pfeiderer believes that Abelard was the first to teach altruism, in its modern sense of acting with no thought of self, solely for the good of the social whole. Though all practical interests seem covered by a great fog, in which the shades of Nominalism and Realism do battle, there yet appears in the realism which Abelard approached (a realism which we always have to think of as the exact opposite connoted by the present use of the word) the great thought of humanity as somewhat common to all the individuals of the race. The differences among them Abelard thought to be unimportant and superficial, while the spiritual similarities were profound.

This ideal speculation seems everywhere to fore-run all historic uprisings of the lower orders. As certainly as Rousseau *thinks* revolution before it flames into act, so surely do we find the dreamer of better things antedating the deed. Until "the people" got themselves related, through political power and education, to real social forces, their struggles to realize their ideals largely failed. The ideal was hopelessly separated from things real. For almost six centuries after Abelard, ideals never got into working connection with realities.

Early in the thirteenth century, Bohlke and his followers were crushed out, as was Rienzi later, for claiming that citizens should have part in the elec-

tions. Through all these dreary spaces of history, men were desiring equality of chances, but had no practical power to get it. Almost exactly five hundred years ago in England, the workingmen were crying out against their employers as bitterly as at any subsequent period. John Ball, the priest, used these words, which are like columns that one might cut each week from our labor papers: "How ill," he says, "have they treated us! And why do they keep us in bondage? Are not Adam and Eve their ancestors as well as ours? What can they show and what reason can they give, why they should be more masters than we? except, maybe, because they make us labor and work, for them to spend. They are clothed in velvet and rich stuffs, trimmed with ermine and other furs, whilst we are forced to wear coarse cloth. They have wine, spices, and nice bread, whilst we have only rye and straw refuse. If we drink, it must be water. They have grand houses and homesteads, but we must face wind and rain as we labor in the open; yet our labor it is which keeps up their luxury." As with Tyler, his complaints are against the cruel weight of taxation and the hopeless inequality of condition.

A century later, we find the laborers in South Germany making the same outcry against taxes and social inequalities. The young Boheim, their leader, says: "We will have it that all men live like equals and like brothers." His request seems to have been quite fair, but the bishop did not think so, and burned him at the stake.

Jack Cade, with whose actual history Shakspeare has taken as much liberty as with the coast of Bohemia, formulated fifteen grievances. He was probably right about every one of them, as were the German peasants, two generations later, with their twelve complaints, almost all of which have since been righted and become the common-places of social privilege.

From the thirteenth to the nineteenth, no century is without these uprisings and agitations for social equality. Throughout, the same spirit of conflict between an ideal and an actual. Things as they exist are intolerable to the thinker upon the one hand, and, upon the other, to those who struggle under the burdens. Abelard, from above, says the nature of man demands the equality which our uncorrupted instincts feel to be just. From below, Oldenburg peasants, sweating under a weight of special evils, revolt against their oppressors. Sir Thomas More, in his land of nowhere, pours out his whole heart about that fairer state that might be, if the gentler qualities were allowed to rule. At the other end is the practical revolutionist, who says to the London citizens: "The king is turning all Kent into a forest. The poor get no justice, and if convicted no trial. Officials extort great fees. Elections are only for men born to rank and favor," etc. These real evils he with his followers attack, and go to the wall; because all power was lodged with the upper classes. In Germany, it was a philosopher who said, in 1520, that things were all rank with injustice. A few years later, one hundred thousand peasants were killed for trying to get rid of some of these wrongs.

Everywhere, in this long history, is the thinker, with his ideals of justice, dreaming of an equity that nowhere exists. Everywhere, also, among the masses, instinct and actual sense of wrong play their part in social revolts. In everything that can properly be called the social question, the ideal and the actual, the dream and the fact, seem widely sundered, at least in no wise closely related, until the present century. The philosophers had ideals enough,—Plutarch's mythical Lyncurgus, Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, Bacon's

Atlantis, and Campanella's City of the Sun,—together with a host of lesser schemes, into which men of finer quality poured their hope of better things, and expressed their hatred of existing society.

The masses, too, a thousand times turn savagely upon their oppressors, and strive, with a certain dumb fury, to break their chains. Yet, until the French Revolution, no real light, like that of day, was ever reached. Comte, in his best and sanest book, has shown what was reached here,—nothing positive, not even a method, but the opportunity which freedom and the sense of it always give. The significance of that upheaval, even for our present problems, no one will easily magnify. The study of it made the poet Heine call it the prelude to another revolution, out of all reckoning, vaster and more momentous,—not necessarily one of violence, like that of 1793, but a revolution structurally far more profound. Whether Lasalle got it from Heine, whom, at this period, he knew, or from Fichte, whom he read passionately, is doubtful and perhaps unimportant. It is this conception of a revolution that he, by pen and speech, popularizes in Germany, perfecting what was begun in France as an ideal. No one ever did more than he to bring into working relation social ideals and social realities. The ideals of Louis Blanc are turned into real political forces by Lasalle. A French socialist acknowledges that, after the Revolution of 1830, Germany slowly came to the front in its leadership of the social question under its political aspects. Here, too, was a century of conflict between things ideal and things real.

There is in Goethe no thought that appears oftener than that touching the relation of ideals to realities. He will admit nothing to be beautiful or good in life or art, in prose or poetry, that doesn't so unite the stuff of our experience with ideals that the relation shall be free, natural, and mutually helpful. The greatest tribute that Stahr pays to Lessing is that he was first to make this clear to German thought. He calls it the greatest conception of the century. It was Goethe who perfected it, and made it a necessity to all thinking, even in the ideals of social life. Fichte has no end of fine socialistic speculation; but Lasalle, with an eloquence and a learning, too, that have made him an enormous influence, became an interpreter to the people of those larger thoughts and hopes which the few had cherished alone. What is peculiar to our modern problems finds its most perfect expression through this man. Karl Marx is too technically economic ever to be popular. Lasalle is full of subtle sympathy with history. He has restraint as well as passion, judgment as well as imagination. In spite of much to be forgiven, he is an "epoch-maker" in the social question. But the measure of his importance is his gift of translating into common speech the philosophic ideals of men like Fichte. Lasalle is often called a revolutionary socialist,—not in the sense of violence, however. His revolution was to be a growth and a very necessity of *thought*,—a revolution which comes because the thinking of the people brings it about. He says, "The true revolution will be founded on *thinking*." "That kind of a revolution," he adds, "never fails." It is in strict accordance with this idea of a change in popular thinking that led him to lay such emphasis upon education, the press, and all means that could make the people really look intelligently upon their own condition, and understand how unjust it was. In none, as in this leader, do we see so clearly both elements, ideals and actuals. Through him, we best see that historic change from mere philosophic vision to the definite use

of weapons purely practical. Lasalle is both thinker and doer. It is hard to tell if he be more idealist or realist. He saw clearly that political power was to make a new world of opportunity for the laborer. Here were the forces that were to give the masses their chance.

The earlier phases of the social question were dreams. Under the spread of the democratic spirit, they have changed into common activities, such as all men now use to gain their ends. Listen to the speeches of the most intelligent leaders of German socialism, and we best see how great a change has come. Compare the delicate speculation of Saint-Simon, Fourier, or even Louis Blanc, with that of Lasalle: "You common men," he says, "have at last power. Train yourselves to use it." Under a wider education and the suffrage, that is just what his followers are to-day doing. The old days of mere declamatory agitation are passing away. It is said German socialists are impatient of any and every speaker who falls into the old talk about "freedom," "justice," and abstract rights, and will cry him down. Liebknecht, in London, infuses this same purely practical spirit into the English following. "Agitate," he says, "to one sole end,—the use of actual political weapons." The Industrial Congress of 1883 shows the same tendency (and that to a remarkable degree) to unite upon definite working issues. A comparison of the manifestoes of the last generation with the more recent ones makes it clear that these men have lost all interest in sonorous phrases about "solidarity," "liberty," etc. They ask now, "What is to be done in the most direct, definite, and practical way to reach our end?"

It is a change not only from theory and vision to organized action, it is an activity that has at last, and for the first time in history, got *power* as well as a sense of rights. It has even more than this: it has become *conscious* of its power. This new consciousness of power it is that so changes the problem. There has come with it a vast mass of feeling, a new sense of contrast between rich and poor; and it doesn't in the least answer to say, "But Mr. Giffen and the statisticians have proved that the laborers get more wages and more comforts." All these things are relative to new desires that have been aroused. They are all relative to a new order of intelligence and ambitions, and to a new sense that power is at last gained, which may be used to equalize the human lot. I am not saying that this feeling is justified or otherwise, only that it is a fact of very great importance. Again, it is this new sense of the situation on the part of the working-day world that makes all confident optimism and despondent pessimism alike ridiculous. Every bit of perfervid optimism that builds itself on such external facts as higher wages and the increased purchasing power of money (losing sight of the new consciousness and sense of power) is all wide of the mark. The problem has become serious, because the subjective factor in it has grown into such prominence.

An optimistic friend will have it that the laborers are great fools, because they don't see how much their conditions have changed for the better. They used, forsooth, to wear no white shirts, and now they can buy them for forty cents. They once went barefoot, and now shoes can be bought for a single day's labor. This is not open to dispute, but it does not help us much. It rather tends to conceal the real difficulty,—namely, the changed nature of the problem, if not from an external to an inward one, at least to one in which feeling and a new consciousness of rights and powers have come to be most important.

Now, whatever opinions we form upon this question, whatever methods we adopt to reach our

end, this essentially new element must be reckoned with. Never in the world were the wage-workers so clearly conscious of the almost ghastly inequalities of existence. Our civilization and education are everywhere quickening them into this new knowledge of good and evil. And thus it is that they are by no means to be put down by any good-natured talk about cheap transportation or added wage. They well say, "For millions of us, things are intolerable, in spite of your progress."

But the optimist meets another practical difficulty in quieting the good people. They have learned at last that very many of the ablest economists and most instructed students call the actual order by quite as hard names as do those who suffer from its ills. The workers have read, or have been told, through their clubs and papers, what such men as Schaffle, Mill, Lange, Spencer, Fawcett, Laveleye, Jevons, Cairnes, and other specialists, have been saying about actual commercial society, and the welfare in that society of the lower-class workmen. These men of widest knowledge acknowledge, in the strongest terms, how cruelly unjust present distribution is, and how unfairly a multitude of laborers come out of the struggle. If the appeal is to authority, the wage-earner has as good a showing as his antagonist, and has come perfectly well to know it; and all those who think to quiet them, by appeals merely to external gains here and there, utterly misconceive the problem that is set us. Never before did the thinker and the doer quite so well understand each other as now. Never before was the ablest theorizing so at one with the practical aims of workingmen. The books of some of the profoundest German economists are handbooks of the agitators.

The movement known as "State socialism" was for a long time an ideal of the thinkers; now, it has become, in tendency at least, a reality. The widest common purpose, probably, among our labor organization is that toward this State socialism. Upon nothing do they more unite than upon the need of measures that shall insure State management of railroads, telegraphs, banking, etc., that vast private gains may be saved by the government for public uses. We know what powerful objections there are against this tendency; still, it is significant that the practical exigences of our industrial society are everywhere forcing upon the legislator this increase of governmental functions. The ideals of the thinker are being met by a form of legislation springing up out of the very necessities of present business and political life.

Perhaps even more significant is this growing union in another field, of the speculative and the practical. Co-operation was first a dream. Since 1846, some practical successes have been realized, though the earlier hopes have met with profound disappointment. Its very successes have shown how deep and permanent a function capitalist, director, and wage-earner alike represent. The middleman has not been got rid of, neither is there any sign that he will be. Schultze Delitzsch's scheme of banking in Germany has lasted a generation, as has the productive form in France, and the distributive in England. There is something pathetic in comparing the earlier hopes of those who were beginners in this movement with actual results. It has, I believe, grown certain that what is deepest in this social problem never will be touched by the older forms of co-operation. Only as co-operation passes into some form of profit-sharing, which preserves the threefold distinction of capitalist, manager, and wage-earner, does there seem to be any hope. It is, however, in this new form that the union of ideal and real elements is so full of promise. We now have a demand for this greatly improved co-operation (profit-sharing), that comes

not from the thinker, but from the practical business man.

The kind of agitation that has so disturbed the community during the last few months has made a distinct change of attitude toward these questions. What does this agitation mean? So far as we can measure it by any material test, it means that the present method of distributing the products and profits of industry is unsatisfactory, and must be modified. Everywhere in this great unrest there is the tacit assumption that business may be done without leaving such frightful contrasts among those who *do* the business; everywhere, the assumption that products are not now distributed upon any rational principle whatever. The labor organizations are asking for such a principle. What, then, is this principle of distribution which ablest theorists and scholars say is right and ought to exist, and for which labor is now clamoring?

The principle had, perhaps, its first most perfect statement almost a century ago, by Saint-Simon, in France. He rejected communism, because not practicable. As decidedly he rejected all appeals to violent methods or revolution. He rejected all the talk about equality, and said men were created unequal, and would and should remain so, except that all should have equal opportunity so far as possible. His principle was that each, according to his service to the community, should receive again. That in every business each should get out of it somewhat fairly proportionate to the quantity and quality of his work, is what Saint-Simon wished. This is what the wisest among economic students say is just, and ought to be. It is what the labor organizations tell us they mean to have.

Where, then, are the signs that we are coming a little nearer to this larger thought of Saint-Simon about business relationships? What evidence is there that his ideals are getting nearer to the real? Two bankers, in New York, have just told us that this must in principle come. I have heard, recently, three large manufacturers give it as their opinion that it must come. They knew nothing of the history of profit-sharing, but spoke only out of their own experience as practical business men. One said: "None of us will live to see more than its beginnings, nor can any one tell just what shape it will assume. Possibly, some form of wages by 'sliding scale,' so that the gains and losses of business shall come to all of us fairly. Business can't continue as things are and will be. Our men must be identified with our business in such way as to insure them such portion of the gains as their fidelity and efficiency permit."

This week, a large manufacturer in another branch told me that, in his opinion, our present wage-system must be modified, simply because the men were getting to know too much, and were, therefore, becoming too restless to leave business in any permanent security. Being pressed for something more definite, he said, "Just how it is to be, no one can see; but it is certain to my mind that, allowing for competent management, risks of capital, ratio of losses, etc., we have got to learn how, employer and employed, to work together, so sharing results that each man shall get more nearly what he contributes." This man had probably never read a volume upon these subjects in his life, but his own troubles had driven him to this conclusion. The man of ideals has been met at last in this question. The hard realities of common business are driving men to say that the dreamer was, after all, right.

We have, of course, only the beginning of these things as yet. The organizations will suffer defeat

and bitter disappointment, because they will, in their haste, overstep the severe economic limits that shut in about every one of the practical questions, higher wages or fewer hours. The first hard aspect is one purely of business possibilities. There can be no generalizing about them whatever. "Will this definite trade (competition, prices, etc., being as they are) admit of increased pay or shorter time?" Because they substitute heated rhetoric for a cool reckoning with these conditions, the laborers will suffer no end of ills until conditions are learned. In many great trades in France and England, however, they have been learned, and learned so well, that the laborers are as hostile to all disturbances as the employer. A system of bulletins, giving the daily statistics of the trade, prices, supply of labor, etc., has come to be of incalculable good in training the men to know their interests. We are just hearing in this country the demand for such helps to wiser and more cautious action. The hard experience of repeated failure is forcing the Knights to recognize the need of a prudence based upon slower and more careful investigation of industrial and economic facts.

The thing of moment, however, is the growing recognition among hard-headed business men that Saint-Simon's principle was, after all, a right one. The dreamer, the special student, and the wage-earner have come to a practical understanding. Godin and Leclaire proved that the ideal may work among realities. Here is a method that is as right in its sphere as the scientific method in its own.

Two things are now necessary: first, to extend cautiously and tentatively its use; second, to spread among labor organizations, by every means within our power, such economic knowledge as shall make them (as the great English unions have become) careful to know and to obey industrial conditions.

Let us note, finally, one other thing of hopeful character. If we sharply mark the limits between theory and practice, the social question is everywhere opening to the influence of higher moral forces. We are coming to see a little more clearly where scientific theory, untouched by sympathy, must have its rights, and also where, through practical application of principles, all moral energies may work under the guidance of a method that shall be based upon a large and well-ordered experience. This is essentially the method of science, and never until recent years was reached in the world's charitable work. But, before illustrating this, look for a moment to the new attitude of the economist toward morality.

While preparing this paper, I received a little book by Mr. Bowker, *Economics for the People*. It seems to me (though reading it hastily) hardly possible to praise it too highly. Wholly simple and popular, holding fast the conception of industrial laws, faithful upon the whole to the English school, it yet reflects with singular skill and sympathy the new and certain tendency of such studies into larger relations. Having stated the fact of theory, and of the persistent action of laws, he adds that such laws are reviewable by ethics. "Economics, as an art," he says, "is subject to a higher law." Over against the atom and self-interest, he places the whole of the commonwealth, which whole is under laws that are first ethical. No better statement than that is possible of what is best in the German ethical school of economists. He sees that these economic questions rise, and pass into larger political and social questions. We have such sentences as these: "The evils that society has done society must undo"; "Labor has not profited by civilization as it should have done"; "Better distribution depends largely upon social control,"—a statement that both Mill and

Fawcett make, adding that this social control is moral. "Legislation," he continues, "in the future must look to the many, rather than the few," and public opinion must hold each man to a responsibility in proportion to his power. He closes the book with words of Channing, "In proportion as Christianity shall spread the spirit of brotherhood there will be and must be a more equal distribution of toil and means of improvement." It is worth while comparing for a moment such sentiments in this little book with works of first-rate importance, something between the extreme ethical or historical school and the older *laissez faire*. Gustav Cohn, of Göttingen, represents probably what is best in German economic study. The first part of his *System of Political Economy* has just been published. He pronounces economics, in all these larger relations, strictly ethical, open and plastic to moral forces. All that enters into distribution is never to be disconnected from ethical considerations. The State, moreover, has definite, positive, moral obligations.

The other book (a part of which some Oxford scholars have lately translated) is by the greatest European scholar of political science, the late Prof. Bluntschli. He holds that the moment we rise to the thought of the social whole all questions become distinctively moral. He stands strongly for the historical movement,—that out of which the ethical economy has sprung,—and says, "The advantage of the historical over the empirical method is that it does not thoughtlessly and servilely worship actual institutions and facts." This method unites ideas and facts. The methods do not conflict, but supplement each other. It is the method, in a word, of the whole,—a method, he affirms, that is throughout moral. He makes the problem consist of a practical recognition of both ideal and real elements, losing hold at no point of either in our struggle to realize social ends.

To recapitulate, I have endeavored to show that the social question has become more and more a question of sentiment and feeling, and far less one that can in any way be measured by such external signs as the statistician tabulates. All these social relations have changed to the new consciousness of the wage-earner. He has been instructed into a new attitude; and the old evidences do not satisfy him, and will less and less satisfy as the same causes work further upon him that have brought him to his present critical and irritated condition. He has further grown to know the meaning of his new political influence, giving him, as it does, a sense of power to push home his claims, never before felt by the labor world. The new feeling and the new power have changed our problem. But, while hoping, it has given us a new and more definite hope. As the problem has become far more one of feeling, it has by so far opened to the action of intellectual and moral influence. This, together with the other fact that we have at last a rational method, based more and more upon a classified experience, is our hope. This I tried secondly to show, that, in this history, the ideal and the actual have been coming into closer sympathy and connection.

Methods of social work, involving such intimate union of theory and practice, intelligence and feeling, are new, and have been made possible by the rise of the democratic spirit. No English statesman ever thought of throwing himself for victory upon the masses of the people as Gladstone is now doing. Though he fail, his follower will win. Extremes here have come to understand each other so far that they will soon act to a common end.

One last word, then, upon this method through which the whole man may act, and act under the

guidance of a rational principle resting upon adequate experience. We have already reached such a principle in our associated charities. What is essential to the method is that it is rational, and guides itself by the largest and best-ordered experience. In the older ways of charity there was nothing that in any way resembled a method. There were only disordered kindly actions, springing from the impulses of pity. The new way is radically different, in that it allows the whole man to act and work for his fellows,—opening a way both for the head and the heart,—while it controls emotion in accordance to a theoretic conception, based upon systematized experience. The new way brings ideals and realities together.

To give one further illustrations: The first tenement houses, built from the promptings of charity, ran squarely counter to economic laws, like competition, supply and demand, and flow of population. There was no sort of reconciliation between reason and emotion, between ideals and realities. The new way does reconcile them. One may come with very high ideals, and still get on hopefully with the sternest facts of the situation. All privileges are granted to tenants in accordance to thrift, cleanliness, order, and honest self-help. All rests upon a solid business basis. In several of our largest cities, the returns have been five and six per cent. Houses were taken in the worst quarters. Occupants were subjected to thorough sanitary regulations. Doors are locked at ten o'clock. Prompt payment is required, a generous percentage being taken off if rents are paid in advance, and all sanitary and other regulations met. It is a system of physical, moral, and mental discipline, reaching not only the older tenants, but, what is far more important for the future, surrounding the children with such influences from the start as to insure them a fair chance in the world. I believe no one can study the results of such work as Octavia Hill has done, and such as has been done among us for five or six years, without feeling that for this special field a method permanently and ultimately right has been reached. The method never will be changed, but only perfected and extended. Ideals and realities meet here, and work together. In several of our most important fields of social work, no one need longer be shut out by any sense of despair from becoming, under guidance of these principles, a real helper in this problem of problems. These are humble and quite unexciting ways. The work will be tedious and slow, nor will any see great result of his endeavor. Yet all who feel that the work is worth doing may help it on. We must leave the excitements of revolutionary schemes to those who cannot work without melodramatic accompaniments.

The socialist (of revolutionary type) is not a builder. He is a critic, and our business is to use the sentiment he creates to constructive ends. As a fault-finder, he does invaluable service; but our answer to him must always be in the form of some better work than he does or can do on his theory. His ideals we must take, and turn them as fast as we can into facts. There never was a time when so large a number could intelligently and effectually work for this bettering of social conditions as to-day. Never before could those who wish well to their fellows, and are capable of acting from the idea of the social whole, so hopefully bring to bear upon these issues all that they know and all that they feel. Never had social ideals a fairer field for realization. We may excuse and even thank the fiercest of socialist critics, if he but quicken us to do what it is possible to do through methods that have now been reached.

The more feeling the fault-finder creates, the more force we have to use at our own proper work,—that of strengthening and educating, enlightening and moralizing, that general social sentiment out of which, so far as it is improved, every good must spring.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SCIENCE AND MATERIALISM.

II.

Editors of The Index:—

On looking over *Lay Sermons*, published by Appleton & Co., New York, 1871, I find that Prof. Huxley says, on page 106, "If there is one thing clear about the progress of modern science, it is the tendency to reduce all scientific problems to questions of molecular physics,—that is to say, to the attractions, repulsions, motions, and co-ordinations of the ultimate particles of matter."

"In the language of physical science (which, by the nature of the case, is materialistic), the actions of men, so far as they are recognizable by science, are the results of molecular changes in the matter of which they are composed; and, in the long run, these must come into the hands of the physical. *A fortiori*, the phenomena of biology and of chemistry are, in their ultimate analysis, questions of molecular physics."

"What I term legitimate materialism,—that is, the extension of the conceptions of physical science to the highest as well as the lowest phenomena of vitality" (p. 341). "What we call operations of the mind are functions of the brain, and the materials of consciousness are products of cerebral activity" (Hume, p. 52). "We know that the phenomena of vitality are not something apart from other physical phenomena, but are one with them; and matter and force are the two names of the one artist who fashions the living and the lifeless. Living matter differs from other matter in degree, but not in kind. Modern physiology offers physical explanations of vital phenomena, or frankly confesses it has none to offer. Descartes said, 'I shall try to explain our whole bodily machinery in such a way that it will be no more necessary to suppose that the soul produces such movements as are not voluntary than it is to think there is in a clock a soul which causes it to show the hours.'"

"These words," says Huxley, "might be taken as a motto for any treatise on modern physiology." "Descartes' physiology," he remarks, "like modern physiology, leads straight to materialism. Thus," says he, "I am prepared to go with the materialist wherever the true pursuit of the path of Descartes may lead. I hold with the materialist that the human body, like all living bodies, is a machine, all the operations of which will sooner or later be explained on physical principles. I believe that we shall sooner or later arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat. We know that in the individual man consciousness grows from a dim glimmer to its full light, whether we view it in the infant advancing in years or in the adult emerging from slumber and swoon. And we have as much reason for regarding the mode of motion of the nervous system as the cause of the state of consciousness as we have for regarding any event as the cause of another. It is quite true, then, to the best of my judgment, that all states of consciousness in man and in brutes are immediately caused by molecular changes in the brain substance. Our mental conditions are simply symbols in consciousness of the changes which take place automatically in the organism. I should not wonder if gross and brutal materialism were the mildest terms applied to what I have just said; and most undoubtedly the terms of the propositions are distinctly materialistic." "And I take it to be demonstrable that it is utterly impossible to prove that anything whatever may not be the effect of a material cause." "And I am glad on all occasions to declare my belief that their fearless development of the materialistic aspect of these matters has had an immense and most beneficial influence upon both physiology and psychology."

"And every one acquainted with the history of science will admit that its progress has in all ages meant, and now more than ever means, the exten-

sion of the province of what we call matter and causation, and the concomitant gradual banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity. And, as surely as every future grows out of the past and present, so will the physiology of the future extend the realm of matter and law, until it is co-extensive with knowledge, with feeling, and with action" (p. 142). "And, with a view to the progress of science, the materialistic terminology is every way to be preferred, inasmuch as it connects thought with the other phenomena of the universe, and suggests inquiry into those physical conditions or concomitants of thought which are more or less accessible to us, and a knowledge of which may in future help us to exercise the same kind of control over the world of thought as we already possess in respect of the material world. Whereas, the alternative, or spiritualistic terminology is utterly barren, and leads to nothing but obscurity and confusion of ideas.

"Thus, there can be little doubt that the further science advances, the more extensively and consistently will all the phenomena of nature be represented by materialistic formula and symbols" (p. 146).

And now, with these quotations before my readers, I would ask if any of them (in the absence of Mr. Savage's statements) would have suspected such a wide divergence and such a determined spirit of antagonism between science and materialism, or between the scientist and materialist, as would be likely to lead one to murder or exterminate the other, as represented by Mr. Savage.

Is there not, on the contrary, a spirit of amity, a similarity of sentiment, a oneness of object and purpose, which could only exist under the closest relationship and in the most cordial friendship?

In fact, have we not found that the two doctrines, the two characters, are centred in the same individual? The scientist is the materialist. Tyndall represents in one bodily organism both identities, and tells us in the most emphatic language that "the physical philosopher must be a pure materialist, and acknowledges himself to be such." And, with such testimony as this before us, are we not justified in concluding that Mr. Savage's tragic story did not arise in any fact connected with reading Tyndall or science?

In regard to Mr. Savage's statement that "as a theory for the explanation of the universe, and especially for the phenomena of 'conscious thought,' materialism has utterly broken down,"—to a person unacquainted with scientific principles and methods, this charge might, on the face of it, look reasonable; but to the merest tyro in science it is a most absurd allegation.

When did either science or materialism ever engage to account for all the phenomena of the universe? Never! It is Mr. Savage's religion and revelation which make such fallacious pretensions. Modern science and materialism make no pretensions to know more than they do know, and no creed or criterion binds them to attain to any stipulated standard. Science would commit suicide says Huxley by adopting a creed. What they know, they know provisionally; but the unknown and the unknowable they are in no way responsible for.

Tyndall says (p. 52), "As regards knowledge, physical science is polar. In one sense, it knows or is destined to know everything. In another sense, it knows nothing." Or, in other words, regarding certain things, science knows or is destined to know all; but, regarding other subjects and matters, she knows nothing, and never can know anything. "While science is a powerful instrument of intellectual culture and a ministrant to the material wants of men, if asked whether science [not materialism] has solved or is likely to solve the problem of the universe, I must shake my head in doubt" (p. 335).

"The burden of my writings is as much a recognition of the weakness of science (not the weakness of materialism) as an assertion of its strength. I have resolved at all hazards to draw the distinction between what men may know and what they may never expect to know" (p. 394). "The phenomena of matter and force come within man's intellectual range; but, beyond and above and around us, the real mystery of the universe lies unsolved, and, so far as we are concerned, is incapable of solution" (p. 395). "As far as I can see, there is no quality in the human intellect which is fit to be applied to the solution of the problem. It entirely transcends us" (p. 73).

As to the connection between molecular motions and states of consciousness, between the objective and subjective, "I do not see the connection, nor have I met with anybody who does. The thing eludes all mental presentation. . . . And yet there is a connection, as the prick of a pin suffices to prove. And, while accepting fearlessly the facts of materialism as dwelt upon in these pages, I bow my head in the dust before that mystery of mind which has hitherto defied its own penetrative power" (p. 409).

Accepting this testimony as valid, Mr. Savage must see that, if he condemns and deposes materialism for its "incompetence" to account for the "phenomena of the universe and the facts of consciousness," he must also place "physical science" ("God's very archangel"), as well as the "physical philosopher," the human intellect, and even poor Tyndall himself, in the same category. All are equally incompetent.

Now, what are we going to do about it? Will he and Mr. Fiske consent to reinstate materialism, or shall we consign all the other "incompetents to the limbo of past crudities," and take back our orthodox God?

As to the present standing of materialism and its forming a basis for a future philosophical system, if Mr. Savage had consulted either Huxley or Tyndall, or mixed a few hours with men of all classes of common intelligence, he would surely have given a different verdict from that which he quotes from Mr. Fiske.

When Tyndall said, "The philosophy of the future will assuredly take more account of the dependence of thought and feeling on physical processes," was he mistaken, or is it a fact? Is the brain now acknowledged to be the source of all mental processes, or do we still think the mind a supernatural entity? Every physiologist knows, now, that all manifestations of mind depend on physical conditions alone. And when Huxley said, "There can be little doubt that the further science advances, the more extensively and consistently will the phenomena of nature be represented by materialistic formula and symbols," did he say what was not the fact? We will let Edward von Hartmann answer, instead of John Fiske (Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, recently issued, vol. ii., p. 62),—"Almost all naturalists, physiologists, and physicians are materialists; and the more the knowledge and methods of physics and physiology are diffused among the educated public, the more does the materialistic view of the world gain ground."

Only those unacquainted with these facts, as the unscientific multitude, or the learned world without physical or physiological knowledge, or those who approach the facts with the preconceived opinions of religious or philosophic systems, can alone remain outside their influence. They must absolutely convince every unprejudiced thinking man, because they need only to be taken just as they are: they declare their meaning with such naïve plainness that it is not at all necessary to look for it. And this naïve clearness and directness, this forcible self-evidence which can only be denied by violence,—this it is which secures for the materialistic conception of the mind so great a superiority over the difficult and subtle deductions and probabilities, over the arbitrary assumptions and often distorted consequences, of the spiritualistic psychology, which induces all clear heads averse to mysticism and mere speculation to enrol themselves under the banner of materialism, which is simple as the nature which teaches it, and clear and correct in its consequences as its august mother, Nature."

I should very much like to add to the above, the testimony of Dr. Morton Prince, which is of the same purport; but my encroachments are already too great on *The Index*, for which I sincerely apologize, and with thanks for the editor's indulgence. True, Prof. Huxley says that the fundamental doctrines of materialism—that is, questions involving the ultimate nature of things—lie outside of the limits of philosophical inquiry. But this he likewise says of Spiritualism (such as Mr. Savage believes in), "and most other isms" (*Lay Sermons*, p. 144). In the sense that Mr. Huxley is not a materialist there are no materialists among thinkers to-day, for they all recognize the principle of the relativity of knowledge; and by this principle the ultimate substance, by whatever name called, is known only in its relation to consciousness, but in the sense in which Tyndall speaks of scientific materialism, and in the sense in which

I call myself a materialist, materialism has nothing to fear from such criticism as that of Mr. Savage. I am truly,

W. MITCHELL.

GLIMPSES OF COLONIAL LIFE.

Editors of *The Index*:—

In looking over some ancient papers, I found a few items of historical interest worthy to be preserved, and which may amuse your readers.

"At a court holden in Hartford the 27th of July Anno Dom. 1771," "James Johnson," "a transient person," was brought up to answer a complaint that, "on or about the 25th of July instant, with Force and Arms he entered into the shop of the complainant, . . . and did then and there Feloniously steal and Carry away from the complainant the following Articles To wit, Three Thousand of Fourteen ounce Taz or nails so Called of the Value of Five Shillings money two thousand Brass Chaise nails so called of the Value of Fourteen Shillings money amounting in the whole to the sum of nineteen shillings money." According to the law, he is condemned to pay to the complainant "fifty-seven shillings for his treble damages, and also a Fine to the King of ten shillings money to be disposed of according to Law and cost of prosecution allowed to be £0.10 and in case the said James shall refuse or be unable to pay said fine, then to be Whipped eight stripes on his naked body and that he stand committed untill the sentence be duly executed." In case said Johnson pays the fine, but cannot or will not pay the treble damages, then the Court "doth assign the said James in service to the said Jonathan for the satisfying the said sum." That is to say, "the said James shall faithfully serve the said Jonathan the full term of four months, . . . during which time the said Jonathan shall find and furnish said Servant with suitable and convenient apparel, meat, Drink, Washing and Lodging."

It seems questionable whether the thief or the complainant had the best of the bargain in this last judgment.

The grand jury in 1774 bring in a complaint "that on or about the 14th day of October Last past at Hartford aforesaid one John a Transient person, now residing in said Hartford not having the fear of God before his eyes, But being moved and instigated by the Devil, did then and there, wickedly and profanely swear by the Holy Name of God, and spoke and uttered with an audible voice these words to wit 'God damn you, I wish I may be Damnd if I dont whip you!' with many other vile words and Execrations of the same Wicked import against the peace of our Lord the King, and contrary to the form and effect of the statute of this colony, in such case made and provided," etc.

The warrant was issued in his Majesty's name to arrest this dangerous free speaker, but it does not appear what punishment awaited him. Another warrant is issued against certain parties, for a violent attack upon two women,—one Sarah, the wife of a citizen of Hartford; the other upon Sylvia, the property of Sarah Ledyard, a negro girl. The assaulting party were boys under twenty-one years of age, with one Jacko, a negro servant; and their natural guardians and Jacko's master are summoned to appear and be responsible for them. This paper is dated the 29th day of June, A.D. 1778.

These glimpses of Colonial life certainly do not make us regret that we soon after escaped from under the benign rule of George III.

E. D. C.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE INFLUENCE OF EMERSON. By William B. Thayer. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. Paper covers. Price 25 cts.

In this essay, Emerson's philosophy is reviewed from the stand-point of a careful reader and admiring student of his works. We give a paragraph or two which will indicate the drift of the writer's conclusions. "Cheerfulness and courage are the supreme virtues after Emerson's heart; they shine through his writings, and lived in his conduct. He exacts a deep patriotism and love of one's time. The practicalness of his teaching stimulates every one who has tasted it. . . . We have in him a unique combination of common sense and spiritual insight." "Let us not blink the fact that many persons do not understand Emerson; that some pronounce his essays

'commonplace,' while others lift their eyebrows, and with a superior air say, 'Moonshine'; that others, again, with exemplary modesty, if genuine, declare that 'he is too deep for them.' There is another class of Emersonian fanatics, who take it amiss that everybody will not worship at the little altar they have dedicated to him. By argument or sarcasm or brow-beating, they would capture that homage which is worthless, unless it come by love. But those who have imbibed even the humblest drop of Emerson's meaning will be annoyed by none of these; for they have learned from him that only the Infinite can satisfy all needs and appease all yearnings. To no book or music or landscape or friend is it granted to say the right word at every moment; but it is Emerson's high distinction to appeal to us in those moments the soul recognizes as the best. Seek him in lower moods, and his words kindle no response." "To those who, in reverence and sympathy, seek his wisdom, he unfolds precious revelations. He strips things and persons of their material wrap, and shows beneath the spirit, which is their substance, imperishable and infinite, the soul of the world."

ROMER, KING OF NORWAY, and Other Dramas. By Adair Welcker. Sacramento, Cal.: Lewis & Johnson. 1885. pp. 245.

The poem which gives its title to this book is the closing one. The others are respectively entitled "The Bitter End," "Flavia," and "A Dream of Realms beyond us." The scene of the first is laid in San Francisco, the second in ancient Rome, the third in Californian forests and the "unseen realms," and "Romer" in Norway. Love, madness, war, and death are the prevailing themes; and all but one of the dramas end in a melancholy manner. The author has evidently been a close student of Shakspeare, and has caught the Shaksperian tone, though not the spirit of the great dramatist. Considerable unexceptionable, because commonplace, moralizing is done by the heroes and heroines of these plays.

For The Index.

INSCRIBED TO TOM HUGHES.

You said it well, Tom Hughes! that bliss
Without alloy is simply this,—
To cut and turn and smell the hay,
An everlasting holiday.

Your heaven, old chap, would surely please:
You'd banish thrones; get off your knees;
Burn up psalm books; then plant more trees;
And praise the Lord, with birds and bees.

And if, dear Tom, you'll start the thing,
I know at least a baker's dozen
Will go for breaking up the Ring
And making Paradise a Common.

We won't deny the elect a chance
About their golden streets to drone,
And brag before a great white throne
Of how the damned their joys enhance.

Oh, no, Tom Hughes! if they can find
Such joys are suited to their mind,
Why, let them hide themselves on high,
In some sly corner of the sky.

We'll take our chance; endure the test;
We'll cut the hay, and do our best
To enjoy the world and help the rest;
And, blessing others, be more blest.

CLINTON, N.Y.

E. P. POWELL.

C. K. W. writes: "In the preface to that admirable book, *The Jesus of History*, now unfortunately out of print, its author acknowledges his resemblance to Joseph of Arimathea in one particular. He had held for several years the views expressed in that work, but had not declared them publicly, 'for fear of the Christians.' But for my remembrance of this expression, I should have failed to notice an historical inaccuracy in the excellent address made by Frederick Douglass in Tremont Temple, May 24, at the anniversary meeting of the New England Woman Suffrage Association. Speaking of the idea upon which this Association was founded, Mr. Douglass said that its growth had been strong, steady, and irrepressible, 'though the

heathen raged.' History will have to record that it was the Christians, not the heathen, and pre-eminently the Christian ministers, who 'raged,' when Abby Kelley and Lucy Stone and the sisters Grimké began to speak in public, though their speech was advocacy of righteousness and rebuke of popular sin. The facts upon this subject, happily preserved in the pages of the *Liberator*, must be remembered and repeated as long as the orthodox clergy continue their false declarations that the abolition of slavery and the elevation of woman have been brought about by such Christianity as they teach, and such Christians as have grown up under their tuition."

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IV. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

V. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

VI. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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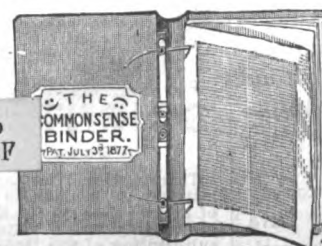
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